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" Truth can never be confirmed enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep "

SHAKSPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.

GÖTTE.

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THE FUTURE OF POLITICS.

THE results of the recent General Election clearly show that the names of the old political parties have lost their meaning. The worn-out creed of decayed Liberalism has become in great part the political faith of the Conservatives. What remains of the Liberal party is composed of a heterogeneous mixture of manufacturers and employers of labour and other capitalists, of various grades, all of strongly individualistic tendencies, to whom a progressive Liberalism of a scientific nature is almost unthinkable, and of workers whose opinions vary from those of the Liberals of the old type to something which does not differ much from Socialism in its aims, although they are not prepared to adopt the practical policy of the avowed Socialists.

It is therefore altogether a mistake to say that there has been a Conservative reaction in the country. The reverse has been the case; there has been a great advance, and men who a few years ago were considered advanced Liberals, are now, as they say, without having changed any of their opinions, in the ranks of what is called the Unionist, but which for all practical purposes is the Conservative party of the present day. The extreme members of the Liberal party now belong to the Independent Labour party, which is avowedly Socialist, although it is asserted that it has been joined by numbers of Conservatives who believe that they are able to combine their conservatism, on many matters connected with Church and State, with the industrial and economic policy of the Independent Labour party with more satisfactory results than with what they call the opportunist peddling of those who are able to control the actions of the Liberal party. We are therefore evidently in the midst of a transition period, and we must expect for some years to come, until the opinions of the masses of the people have been formed by a more complete system of economic and civic education than at present exists, to have many shades of opinion among those who belong nominally to the same party. The dividing plane of parties will be one of fundamental principle, and not of details of programme or of methods. The question which we have to consider is: What will be the nature of that principle?

Those who have studied the social problems of the day will have no hesitation in saying that the action of the Progressive party of the future must rest on a scientific basis, and its programme depend

on the reasoned deductions from the principles which lie at the root of all individual and national welfare. In short, true Liberalism must be based on the study of sociology, which is the synthesis of all that has made society what it is. Herbert Spencer has truly remarked that "the conception initiated and developed by social science is at the same time radical and conservative: radical to a degree beyond anything which current radicalism conceives; conservative to a degree beyond anything conceived by present conservatism." In the future politicians will be divided into two classes. In the first we shall have the so-called practical men who do not look far before them, who adjust their measures to meet the wants of to-day, and who endeavour to offend few prejudices or trench on few vested interests and privileges, but who never consider the probable consequences of their action. In the other we shall have those who are able to read the signs of the times and to understand their tendencies, and who endeavour to form ideals at which they ought to aim. They will be distinguished chiefly by paying more attention to the lives of the community than to what are usually considered the rights of property. While taking care that labour is made as efficient as possible, their aim will not be simply the maximum amount of material wealth, but the realisation of human welfare, and their ideal will be the attainment of a human life for every human being. The postulates of their economics will be founded more on the requirements of the multitudinous poor than on the demands of the comfortable few, so that their efforts will bring about a reconciliation of individualism and collectivism.

How many even of the leaders of the Liberal party have any ideals of this kind? The majority of them seem to be ignorant of the modern moral philosophy which is no longer individualistic, and which shows that the first and last duty of a moral man, is to know and do those things which the social community of which he is a member calls upon him to do, and that his welfare depends upon their proper performance. At least, if they know this philosophy, they keep it strictly as a pious opinion, and do not apply it to their politics. Even the journals which ought to guide progressive opinion, are for the most part content with advocating an empirical opportunism which prevents them from forming an ideal of industrial and social organisation, without which all true progress is impossible. In some respects, those which are professedly Conservative are more sympathetic on questions affecting the conditions of the people than those which are considered Liberal, although the methods of procedure which are proposed are, as a rule, very unscientific, and therefore in the end likely to lead to disastrous results.

It is, indeed, vain to expect anything else with the present method of selecting public representatives. The average member of Parliament is supremely ignorant, not only of the science, history, and

economics necessary to enable him to form an intelligent judgment on the questions of the day, he is frequently not acquainted with the institutions which he is trying to reform, or the social conditions which he professes to be anxious to improve. Rich parvenus who enter Parliament for the sake of being able to write M.P. after their names, and gratifying their own ambition or the vanity of their wives, a crowd of lawyers who use Parliament as a means of professional preferment, a number of landed proprietors who aspire to the position because their fathers held it before them, although the number of such is rapidly being reduced by successful industrials and company promoters, a considerable company of military and naval officers who seem chiefly intent on airing their professional or personal grievances, and a small minority who are actuated by a sincere desire to serve their country, and who attempt, as far as they can, to study all the aspects of the problems with which they are expected to deal, do not make a very promising body from which to expect either intelligent or honest legislation and administration. The representatives on local bodies are, on the average, not much better, for they generally consist of thoroughly respectable citizens intensely individualistic and selfish. Very often they have little knowledge of the actual duties they are expected to perform and are utterly devoid of all ideals.

Every country has the Government which it deserves, and we ourselves are to blame if ours is not so good as it ought to be. The majority of intelligent people recognise this, and it is a somewhat curious psychological puzzle, why, with all our advances in knowledge and education, we still allow ourselves to be largely ruled by the power of the purse. Candidates who are willing to spend their money lavishly and who are not utterly devoid of intelligence, are able to force themselves into Parliament, and win baronetcies and peerages, and having attained the height of their ambition settle down as real crusted Tories. The recent elections strikingly illustrate the power of the lavish use of wealth and of social influence. Not only were large sums spent directly on the elections, the management of which has come to be looked upon as a prize by a large body of lawyers and other hangers-on, but there was also for a long time previously a considerable amount of indirect bribery. Subscriptions judiciously applied, social functions performed with alacrity, hospitality handsomely dispensed, all tend to influence the ordinary voters, many of whom are guided neither by intelligence nor disinterestedness. The very poor have been won over by the coal-and-blanket theory of economics, and are content to sacrifice all hope of permanent improvement for a little temporary comfort. Moreover, social influence has been organised into a force which has probably become the most powerful which has appeared in British politics for many a day. The Primrose League, by its

combination of flattery and mild bribery, in the form of garden parties and other kinds of recreation, and with its appeals on behalf of the empire and the nation, of liberty and religion, is now able to command more votes than the most earnest calls to patriotism and duty.

Many who have hitherto considered themselves Liberals have only remained liberal so long as they found that their own interests were not being attacked, and now that the working-classes are beginning to make their influence felt they are drawing themselves into their individualistic shells, for they seem to think that if their own little bit of the world is disarranged, the universe will go to ruin. The parsons tremble for their stipends, the publicans live in fear of losing their incomes, the capitalists of all grades dread the increase of such measures as the death duties, and even the shopkeepers fear the approach of co-operation. All shout for the Union while they keep their eye on their own little bit of the spoil, which enables them to live with a fair measure of comfort, but they fail to perceive the causes of the great social problems which are inseparably connected with the conditions of the toiling multitudes. Unfortunately such problems are too frequently brought home to those most directly concerned, not through their brains, but through their empty stomachs, and their language is consequently not only extreme but also illogical, for it cannot be denied that every phase of intellectual conception depends to a very large extent on material conditions. When to the causes which have been mentioned we add the miserable internecine squabbles of the party most directly interested in the question of Home Rule, we do not require to look further for the reasons why the Liberal party was so badly beaten at the last General Election.

We have now arrived at a crisis in the history of political parties, and those who really wish to aid in the true progress of the nation and of the world must decide on the principles which should guide them in their individual and corporate actions. They must especially recognise that it is absurd to expect that the greatest industrial nation which the world has ever seen, can be governed in the name of democracy without a definite social and industrial scheme of organisation, which must form the basis for all the other developments of individual and national life.

The forces necessary for political and social salvation will not come from the learned and the wealthy, but from the great body of the workers who are brought face to face with actual conditions, and they must be of a spiritual nature founded on ideals of the possibilities of life. Probably the extreme Labour party is nearer those ideals than the orthodox Liberals, who still treat them with scorn. Unfortunately, in my opinion, the methods and language of the members of that party have tended to bring it into contempt. The Progressive

party of the future must absorb all that is good in the extreme parties and endeavour to realise their ideals by the applications of the principles and the methods of science. We require not only iconoclasts who will break down many of the mistaken ideals at present existing, but also constructive politicians who will guide the evolution which is going on in lines which will lead to an improvement of social conditions. While avoiding the fallacies which pervade a great deal of the current socialistic literature, we ought to recognise the full moral and economic importance of modern Socialism, and that it is a beneficent reaction of optimism against the blind and baneful pessimism which had penetrated both the souls and the minds of men. A dignitary of the Church of England has said, that revolution we may perhaps escape, but that evolution in the direction of Socialism he believes to be inevitable. A Moderator of the Church of Scotland has made practically the same admission: "The demand is becoming," he said, "ever more accentuated, that social well-being shall be realised through legislation. I am not frightened by names. There is no use calling such legislation grandmotherly. No sensible man will be scared by the application to it of the word socialistic. Where law can express and secure the deliberately uttered voice of the people as to rights and wrongs, let it be so. But no legislator can go before public opinion. He acts only when that is matured and consolidated." The proper attitude towards the sphere of Government at the present time has been well expressed by Lord Rosebery in the following sentences: "Do not," he said, "be frightened by words or phrases in carrying out your design, but accept help from whatever quarter it may come. The age seems to be tottering now between two powers, neither of which I altogether follow, but each of which has its seductive sirens wooing the spirit of the age. The one is Socialism, and the other is Individualism. I follow neither the one school nor the other; but what I think your association may look at, is to borrow something of the spirit of each, to get the best qualities of each, to borrow from Socialism its large conception of municipal life, and from Individualism to take its spirit of self-reliance and self-respect in all practical affairs. Take your honey from every flower and blossom that offers itself." If this advice be faithfully followed, the extent of the sphere of Government may be safely left to be decided by the circumstances of each case as it arises, and the evolution will proceed without producing any violent changes.

The evolutionary method of looking at scientific and social problems enables us to understand many of the ~~partial~~ views which are expressed regarding them and to ascertain the place which they fill in their complete solution. It helps us to make a synthesis of the partial solutions and to recognise the conditions of healthy social development. The most important of these are that there shall

no rights apart from duties, and that there shall be full opportunities for the physical, intellectual and moral welfare of the community. Above all, it must be distinctly remembered that no society can be in a healthy condition in which a large proportion of its members do not justify their existence by the performance of work which is useful to the whole community, and who therefore live on the results of the efforts of their less fortunate neighbours.

The sphere of politics, by which we mean the whole life of the nation, may evidently be conveniently divided into two parts: to the first of which belongs all that relates to economic and social conditions, and, to the second, the machinery which is required to lead these conditions to the highest state of efficiency. We will briefly consider each of these departments.

The leaders of the Liberal party seem to have little better to suggest than the improvement of political organisation, but while that cannot be neglected, it must never be forgotten that party organisation is of less importance than the spirit which animates the party. Lord Rosebery recently said, "In time of real Liberal enthusiasm, the very stones of the street breed candidates, and when we find 150 Tory seats uncontested we may say, 'that there is something rotten in the State of Denmark.'" There is, at present, not only a want of enthusiasm among the members of the Liberal party, but there is no very definite idea of a line of action to be enthusiastic about. The real want is not so much party organisation as political and civic education.

We will therefore begin with the economic aspect of the subject. The social question is essentially economic, for although other factors contribute in determining social conditions, yet the root of the evil ever lies in the economic system, which depends on the relations of land, capital, and labour. Land contains the whole of the raw materials out of which all man-made wealth is fashioned. Capital as at present employed represents, for the most part, mere tribute rights on labour; which enrich the fortunate few and depress the great body of the workers, while under present conditions labour is not only divorced from land, but is also unable to obtain the free use of capital. Hence arise the industrial and economic difficulties which are the chief problems of the time.

Until a few years ago Liberal ideas on the land question did not go beyond free sale, the abolition of primogeniture and increased facilities for the transfer of land. These items, indeed, still represent to a large extent the ideas of many of the leaders of the party, although some of them, on their own responsibility, have admitted the necessity for the taxation of land values. We cannot at present discuss all the aspects of the land question, or consider the various methods which have been proposed for dealing with it, but it must be recognised by the Progressive party of the future that no

measures will be adequate which do not tend in the direction of restoring to the whole body of the people their lost heritage—namely, the economic rent of the land. At the same time, it must be remembered that our whole land system has become so complicated, and that in many cases the nominal owners are not the real owners, that any sudden change would result in hardships which would to a large extent counterbalance the advantages to be derived. In this, as in other matters, if there is to be a revolution, it must be through evolution, so that the changes may be brought about without dislocation.

In the same manner the individual form of capital must be changed to the social or collective, and the seizure must be economic, not physical. A glance at the development of modern capitalism shows how the private manufacturer or capitalist developed into the company, how that extended through the action of the Limited Liability Acts, and how in recent years the tendency has been to amalgamate many companies into huge rings, trusts, and syndicates. In this country we have a few of such organisations, but if we wish to see their logical extensions we must turn to the United States of America, where all the chief industries are now in the hands of a few powerful syndicates, which control them largely to their own advantage. It has been truly said that "the shadowing curse of the United States to-day is monopoly. He puts his hand upon every bushel of wheat, upon every sack of salt, upon every ton of coal; and every man, woman, and child in the United States feels the touch of that moneyed despotism." And yet, contradictory as it may seem, in this country we are becoming more and more a nation of shopkeepers. Notwithstanding that the work of distribution is being undertaken by "universal providers" and co-operative organisations, the returns of the last census show that while a smaller proportion of persons is engaged in making a vastly increased quantity of goods, a larger proportion is engaged in distributing them, and that the labour which is saved in agriculture and manufacture is rapidly flowing into the work of distribution. The consequence is that the trade which is not overtaken by the large concerns is now struggled for by an increasing number of retail dealers who live on the verge of bankruptcy in attempting to earn a precarious subsistence, and at the same time degrade the economic position of the workers who produce the goods they sell.

The problem, therefore, is : How are we to escape from the evils of monopoly on the one hand, and of extreme competition on the other? Long ago Charles Kingsley pointed out that "it's in the fates, that association is the pure caseine, and must be eaten by the human race, if the world is to save its soul alive." How many of our politicians recognise this fact? It is evident that the majority are content to stumble along with opportunist measures, and without

any clear ideal whither they are leading. The more thoughtful among the economists, however, are beginning to agree with Dr. Ingram that "it is indeed certain that industrial society will not permanently remain without a systematic organisation, and that the mere conflict of private interests will never produce a well-ordered commonwealth of labour." The first principle which politicians must recognise is the necessity for all their measures being directed towards a more scientific organisation of society, and the problem which politicians have to place before themselves is not, Given the mass of the workers living in a state of economic instability and uncertainty; how best to preserve the privileges of the fortunate few; but rather, taking into account the whole resources of the nation, how are they to be utilised so that they may lead to the more equable distribution of wealth, and thus to the highest social welfare?

The workers were the first to insist on this problem being looked at, and by means of their trades unions compelled the capitalists to grant better terms. These unions are now protected by legislation, and it is the duty of politicians to see how far they can be extended in such a manner as to assist in the development of an improved industrial organisation. They must go further, however, and recognise the necessity for some form of association or co-operation to increase the efficiency of the work done, to reduce waste, and to cause a more equable distribution of wealth. On the Continent, within recent years, legislation has greatly developed the spread of co-operation of various forms by granting the different classes of workers facilities for obtaining capital, for the purchase of materials, and for assisting in the disposal of their goods. In this country, voluntary co-operation has made very great progress, but it would advance more rapidly if it were recognised by our legislature as a necessity in the evolution of industry. The town, county, and parish councils throughout the country are gradually perceiving the part which they might take in the higher forms of co-operation necessary for meeting the common wants of the people, and now provide gas, water, electric light, parks, galleries and museums, tramways, and other facilities which can be taken advantage of by the whole community. In fact, it is difficult to place a limit to the functions they might undertake if public opinion were convinced that they could carry them on with advantage. At a recent meeting in Glasgow, Sir John Gorst said, that in most towns and still more in country places, the local authority was very little alive either to the legislative power which it possessed, or to the necessity of exercising that power for the benefit of the people, and he pointed out that now, with parish and district councils and county authorities, the people had the responsibility of local government, and the local government was as much the creature of the people as the

Imperial Government, and the people therefore had no excuse if they did not let those who were entrusted with the administration of their local affairs know that all the powers which had been conferred by the Legislature upon local authorities ought to be used, and must be used, for the benefit of the people whom they governed. This, coming from a Conservative politician, should be an encouragement to weak-kneed Liberals to take a wider view of the possibilities of local government as a means of increasing the social welfare of the people.

Even Lord Salisbury, some time ago, admitted that Parliament existed chiefly for the purpose of passing measures for improving the social conditions of the people, and no doubt its influence in these matters might be very much increased. In connection with the central Government there are many forms of association or co-operation, and the questions for politicians to consider are, How far can they be extended? and, How far should such undertakings be left to local authorities and voluntary associations? The army and navy, the administration of justice and of education, the post-office and the telegraphs, are all examples of national co-operation. Our statesmen ought seriously to consider whether the time has not come for the nationalisation of the railways, and the municipalisation of credit, banking, and insurance, the profits from all of which go to increase the wealth of a comparatively small number of individuals. They ought further to consider the possibility of reducing the expenditure on objects which do not add to the welfare of the community, as, for instance, the army and navy. The competition which is going on among nations in the matter of armaments threatens to involve them all in bankruptcy and ruin, which will put a stop for an indefinite period to the realisation of the aspirations of the workers.

During the past hundred years or more we have developed immensely our material resources, but too often in a spendthrift fashion. We have flattered ourselves on our great industrial and commercial prosperity, but have not considered the national welfare in the future. We have, chiefly in order that the existing system of trade might be firmly established, piled up an immense National Debt, and at the same time have dissipated some of our most valuable assets. In his Budget speech of 1866, Mr. Gladstone insisted on the necessity of making a more determined effort to reduce the National Debt, and pointed out some of the results of the failure of our supply of coal on the economic conditions of the country. He said that "the upshot will be that the charge of the National Debt, which is now borne in full on property, profits and rents, and in a very liberal proportion by the latter, will remain as a permanent mortgage in its full force, on the lands, houses and works of the country." Even at present it ought to be more clearly

recognised than it is, that the interest on the Debt is ultimately a mortgage on labour, and that, like all other mortgages, it ought to be liquidated as soon as possible, and this should be one of the chief items in the programme of our politicians.

The whole subject of taxation would necessarily be revised in carrying out any system of land reform; but for a considerable time to come, during the transition period, careful attention would require to be given to the incidence of taxation, imperial, national, and local. The guiding principle should be that the greater part of it should fall on unearned incomes of all kinds, which are simply so many imposts on labour. The methods which were adopted to a certain extent in the last Budget must necessarily be extended, and all property held subject to the common good. The problem is, How far, and at what rate, can those principles be applied with safety at the present time? Local debts should also be liquidated as quickly as possible by means of a sinking fund or otherwise, so that the economic effects of the works which they represent may be fully shared by the whole community, and not simply by a fortunate few who have money invested in them.

The first item in the programme of labour should be the improvement of the labourers. The late Sir Morell Mackenzie said: "We have a Minister of Agriculture whose duty it is to see that the four-footed commonwealth sustains no detriment; why should there not be a Minister of Hominiculture, charged with the development of the national resources in respect of that not altogether valueless product, man? The 'perfectibility' of the human race depends much more on physical than on mental culture; for intellect, energy of will, and strength of moral fibre are largely dependent on sound bodily health." This opens up many questions of supreme importance on which our legislators scarcely ever touch. A more rational system of education and more systematic attention to public health would no doubt go a long way towards improving the physical conditions of the community, but there are many difficult questions connected with population which require very serious and special consideration. Whatever difference of opinion there may be about some of them, there can be none as to the necessity for the sterilisation of the unfit, and the prevention of the propagation of the diseased, the mentally weak, and the vicious. Instead of continuing the process of building homes for imbeciles, lunatic asylums, and prisons, it would be much better to strike at the roots of the evils which render them necessary. In this connection it is absolutely essential that the health of the women, the future mothers of the race, should be carefully guarded, and that the children should be well developed physically before being set to work. The school age should at once be raised to fourteen, and before long it should be

sixteen, which would allow a fair time both for intellectual and physical training.

The demands of labour are being made known in a more or less articulate and coherent form. The working-classes are beginning to recognise their power and to expect that they should receive a larger share of the proceeds of their labour. They cannot be accused of extravagance if they ask that they should obtain sufficient reward for their work to enable them with prudence and economy to maintain themselves and their families, and that without requiring their wives to take any part in factory or other similar work, and to make provision, either directly or indirectly, for their decent support after their labouring powers have failed; that they should have healthy and convenient houses and workshops, and that they should be protected as far as possible from injury when following their occupations; and that their hours of labour should not be so long as to injure their health and prevent them from enjoying a reasonable amount of leisure, and that proper facilities be given for the enjoyment of that leisure, either in their own homes or through the various kinds of public institutions. They are beginning to expect that the work they do shall be really worth the doing, and to believe that life was not given simply for the purpose of producing manufactured goods and realising profits, but rather for living the lives of healthy and happy rational beings. These demands open up many problems which are now being very much discussed, and the greatest care will be necessary on the part of our politicians that the attempts at solution are, at least, on right lines. Moreover, labour problems cannot be taken in Britain alone, they must be considered in their relations to the conditions in other countries; and thus politicians are compelled to study the Foreign and Colonial policy which ought to be followed by the Government. It is evident that so many important problems should not be left to the caprice of private members or to haphazard agitation, but should be under the superintendence of a responsible Minister of Labour, who would, as far as possible, concentrate public opinion on the various subjects, and thus hasten the evolution of industry in a rational manner.

As Sir John Gorst recently pointed out, in a speech in Glasgow, the various local authorities have now sufficient powers to enable them to become very efficient instruments of social reform, if they only exercise them in a rational manner. They might insist on good sanitary conditions both in houses and workshops, and provide many of the means of recreation and enjoyment. On the drink problem they still require additional powers to enable them to carry out the will of the majority of the people. The measures to be adopted in this respect deserve very careful attention; but whatever is done it must always be remembered that the ultimate solution of the drink

problem is to be found in improved education and better social conditions.

This raises the large and difficult subjects of education and religion, into which, however, our present space will not allow us to enter. It ought to be specially noted that our politicians seldom recognise the distinction between education and mere instruction, or between religion and the organisation connected with the churches. Real education and true religion would show the necessity for a programme of social measures such as we have indicated being carried out in a rational and systematic manner. Of course no practical politicians would propose to attempt to carry all the measures in one or two sessions of Parliament. They would select the most important to begin with, and the others would be kept in view. Every step would be directed towards the carrying out of the ideas involved. In short, legislation must become the conscious effort of the people in determining the destiny of the nation.

Having decided on a rational line of policy, the next step is to consider the means which are best adapted for carrying it out, or, in other words, the most efficient machinery of Government. This, meantime, we can only indicate in the briefest outline. Hitherto, the subject has generally been looked at from a wrong point of view, and instead of proceeding from the centre to the circumference of the sphere of Government, legislation has generally gone in the opposite direction. Now, however, a more rational method is beginning to prevail, and local government has been largely extended, although, in many respects, the powers of the various bodies are very defective. The parish councils should deal with all the affairs which are strictly parochial, the town and county councils with those which concern their own areas, while a group of counties, or all the counties of a nation, should have a council which determined the matters which were common to the area represented. Above all should be the Imperial Parliament, which should contain representatives of the different parts of the empire, and which would act as a final court of appeal when any difference arose between the constituents. The method of representation in the parish, town, county, and national councils should be by manhood suffrage, and thus get rid of all the injustice and inequalities of the lodger vote. The measure of women suffrage should, at least, be as great as that at present under the Parish Councils Act. A more equable distribution of areas, or some system of proportional representation, is necessary to make the House of Commons more representative of the opinions of the majority of people in the country. As to the House of Lords, its present constitution is an anachronism which cannot be tolerated much longer. The various representative institutions must, in short, be made more truly representative, so that they may aid in the development of

what may be called a sociocracy, or the movement for guiding and regulating social phenomena.

The process for improving the machinery of legislation should proceed at the same time as that for bettering social and economic conditions, and both by the method of evolution, and not that of revolution. They must be supported by a healthy and intelligent public opinion, formed by citizens whose highest ambition is to become conscious helpers in the evolution of a nobler form of society than that of which they are at present a part. The members of the Progressive party of the future will carefully study the signs of the times, and endeavour to understand their tendencies, and from a careful study of the scientific principles of politics they will aim, not only at producing the maximum amount of wealth, but the maximum realisation of human welfare. Their ideal will, as I have stated, be the attainment of a human life for every human being, and their efforts will ultimately bring about a reconciliation of Individualism and Socialism.

HENRY DYER.

CORRIGENDA IN CARLYLE'S "FRENCH REVOLUTION."

Sixty years ago Carlyle, whose centenary we have just celebrated, and who, a twelvemonth previously, had settled at Chelsea, was at work on his *History of the French Revolution*. He had spent a fortnight at Paris in 1824; but though the Revolution had doubtless even then interested him he had no thought of becoming its historian, or he might have interrogated survivors, not the mendacious Barère indeed, but Robespierre's sister and the juror Souberbielle. What then interested him was social and architectural Paris, the narrow streets, the absence of foot pavements, the crowd of hucksters on Pont Neuf, the suicide at the Morgue. It was not till after 1830, on the suggestion of Mill, who had paid an enthusiastic visit to the scene of the second Revolution, had made the acquaintance of Lafayette and had written interesting articles on France in the *Examiner*, that Carlyle perceived a congenial subject, though he wavered for a time between the French Revolution and the Scottish Reformation, between Robespierre and Knox. When he had made his choice Mill sent him "almost a cartload of books," elsewhere he says "above a hundred," and though Carlyle, "after six weeks of baffling wrestle," abandoned the attempt to utilise the British Museum collection of pamphlets which later on furnished Louis Blanc his chief materials, he could consult the *Moniteur*, with its then imperfect index; the *Parliamentary History*, a compilation of forty volumes then approaching completion; and the *Biographie Universelle*; not to speak of Lacretelle; the "prentice work" of Thiers, now deservedly forgotten except, strange to say, in English translations; and minor annalists. He was thus not overburdened with materials. Had he begun his task at the present day we should have had doleful complaints of 'shot rubbish,' for patience was assuredly not one of his qualities, and he did not consider that every historian or biographer has to sift heaps of dross. Still less was he troubled with manuscripts. He wished indeed, but could not afford, to spend the winter of 1833 in Paris to prosecute researches; but even had he done so, the National (then Royal) Library had at that time no pretence of a catalogue, while the Foreign Office records and the archives were scarcely accessible. Even had the facilities been greater he would

perhaps have refused to sift the rubbish heaps; for on July 24, 1836, when nearing the end of his task, he wrote to his wife: "It all stands pretty fair in my head, nor do I mean to investigate much more about it, but to splash down what I know in large masses of colours that it may look like a smoke and flame conflagration in the distance, which it is." He virtually wrote his book from the *Moniteur* and the *Parliamentary History*, the latter now entirely superseded by Michelet (1847-63) and Louis Blanc (1847-55). Nobody, however, will dispute Carlyle's words, "You have not had for a hundred years any book that came more direct and flamingly sincere from the heart of a living man."

Froude has admirably described the spirit in which Carlyle views the Revolution, the spirit of a Hebrew prophet, discerning Divine retribution on ill-doing; and Carlyle himself styles it, in a letter to Sterling, "a wild, savage book, itself a kind of French Revolution. . . . It has come hot out of my own soul; born in blackness, whirlwind, and sorrow." He thought it had "probably no chance of being liked by any existing class of British men," but it speedily achieved popularity. Mill described it in this REVIEW as "one of those works of genius which are above all rules, and are a law to themselves"; while Kingsley says: "No book, always excepting Milton, so quickened and exalted my poetical view of man and his history as that great prose poem, the single epic of modern days, Thomas Carlyle's *French Revolution*."¹

Carlyle's conception of the Revolution would not have been modified by further evidence, and it will continue to commend itself to English minds. It was not, moreover, in his temperament to revise subsequent editions of his books. From a man in whom, as in primitive times, priest, poet, and historian were blended, we cannot expect studious watch for corrections. His books, as he told the Edinburgh students in his Rectorial address, always made him ill; consequently, when once finished he thought no more of them. "In not many weeks," he wrote to Sterling when on the point of completing his task, "I can hope to wash my hands of it for ever and a day." A book with him was the eruption of a volcano, once active, thenceforth at rest. He parted with his literary offspring just as birds part with their broods. He suffered the reaction attendant on mental tension, and whereas Mill, with his morphegmatic nature, retained to the last an interest in France, his vindication of the Revolution of 1848 against Lord Normanby being translated by President Carnot's father, Carlyle for the rest of his life showed perhaps even less than the interest of an average man of culture in a country which presents the most lurid page in human history. In his Lectures on Heroes in 1840 he was bound, indeed, to speak of Napoleon, and had therefore to notice "the third and

final act of Protestantism, the explosive, confused return of mankind to reality and fact, now that they were perishing of symbols and shams," and in November 1870, in a letter to the *Times* justifying the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, he referred to the Revolution as

"embarkation on the shoreless chaos on which ill-fated France still drifts and trembles. . . . France made her great Revolution, uttered her tremendous doom's voice against a world of human shams, proclaiming as with the great last trumpet that shams should be no more. I often call that a celestial-infernal phenomenon, the most memorable in our world for a thousand years; on the whole a transcendent revolt against the devil and his works."

But with the exception of these two utterances, one arising out of the nature of his subject, the other evoked by admiration for Germany, a sort of postscript to his *Frederick*, Carlyle had nothing to say on France after the publication of his *History* in 1837. An index and chronological summary were added indeed, but he made only two corrections in the text, and even these were not of his seeking, but enforced as it were upon him. In 1838 Admiral Griffiths, as an eye-witness of the sinking of the *Vengeur*, wrote to a London newspaper to contradict the highflown account adopted by Alison and Carlyle from French writers, the result being a correspondence between Griffiths and Carlyle, and a fruitless attempt to elicit an explanation from Barère, the impenitent inventor of the legend. And Admiral Nesham's son, in 1854, wrote to tell Carlyle that the name was not Needham (as he had found it misprinted, though the *Moniteur* might have set him right), and that the sword presented by the Paris municipality in 1789 was not "long since rusted into nothingness," but was a relic carefully preserved. These are the only corrections which Carlyle made. One would fancy that Godefroi Cavaignac and other friends must have called his attention to other inaccuracies, but, if so, he took no notice of them. Even on a second visit to Paris, with Browning, he does not appear to have visited the spots associated with the Revolution.

Contemporary criticism, moreover, was not such as to impel him to make corrections. Mill, who had himself studied the subject, said of him in this REVIEW in 1837: "A more painstaking or accurate investigator of facts and sifter of testimonies never wielded the historical pen"; and Croker, in the *Quarterly* of 1840, while mingling criticism with praise, confined himself to pointing out some slight mistakes—the number of the priests massacred at the Abbaye (twenty-one not thirty), the description of Maillard, huissier-à-cheval, as a "riding usher," instead of a process-server doing business in the country, the taking Marat for a veterinary surgeon, instead of doctor to Artois's ostlers, and the supposition that Marshal Maille (Maily) was massacred in September 1792, whereas the "septuaginarian" (he was then really eighty-two) was guillotined at Arras in 1794. Croker also denied, on the authority of Michaud's

Biographie Universelle, that the Prussians met with bad weather in Champagne in September 1792, but Carlyle, though he has exaggerated the downpour, had read Goethe's *Journal*, which speaks of heavy rain. Croker refers to the chapters on Varennes as an "admirable specimen of almost epic energy," and strangely enough for a man so well acquainted with the Revolution, he describes the Vendémiaire rising as the "last struggle of Jacobinism," whereas it was the struggle of reaction. As for French critics, Philarète Chasles, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1840, while declaring the work untranslatable and almost unintelligible, says nothing of inaccuracies, and the French translation, which did not appear till 1865, attempted no corrections.

It is certainly to be regretted that Carlyle did not keep his work posted up to date, nor pay any attention to the deluge of publications on the Revolution which was going on during the latter part of his lifetime and still shows no abatement. But we must take Carlyle as Nature made him. He was a seer, not an antiquary, and some inaccuracies do not prevent his book from being a classic. Just because it is a classic, however, it should now be edited. Nobody, indeed, would propose excisions, though three chapters are a positive tissue of mistakes, still less additions, albeit numerous episodes have now come to light which Carlyle would assuredly have inserted had they been known sixty years ago; but more or less serious errors should be corrected in footnotes. Pending this standard edition, let me point out the principal *corrigenda*.

Carlyle cannot be fairly blamed for repeating legends or misconceptions which at the time were almost universally credited. Thus the pillage of Réveillon's paper-mill was long regarded as a piece of revenge for oppression; but it was really due to some heedless words uttered by him at the election meeting in St. Marguerite's Church. Mirabeau's retort to De Brézé was not, "Tell those who sent you that we are here by the will of the people, and that nothing but the force of bayonets shall send us hence," but "We have met by the will of the nation, and we shall leave only by force." Nor was his interview with Marie Antoinette a nocturnal one, as alleged by that inaccurate gossip, Madame de Campan. He spent the night of July 2, 1790, at Auteuil, at the house of his niece, Madame d'Aragon, and next morning his nephew, Du Saillant, disguised as a coachman, drove him in a closed carriage to St. Cloud, where he alighted at the foot of the Queen's staircase, and was ushered into her apartments, the king also being present. He may, however, as Madame de Campan relates, have said at parting: "Madame, the monarchy is saved." What is certain is that he committed a breach of etiquette in not immediately writing a courtly letter of thanks for his reception, and that he had to be reminded of the omission by La Marck, who told him that the Queen expected

an effusive letter. The famous reply of Liancourt to Louis XVI. has also been inaccurately related. He did not wake up the King on the night of July 14 to describe the capture of the Bastille as not a revolt, but a revolution. It was two days before, on apprising the King of the ferment in Paris, that, to Louis's remark, "Why, it is a revolt then," he answered, "No, sire; it is a revolution." The fall of the Bastille was known at Versailles the same afternoon. Carlyle has adopted Jacobin exaggerations as to the famous Versailles banquet which formed the pretext for the march of the Paris mob. The alleged orgie was the dinner usually given by their comrades to a newly arrived troop, and the Flanders regiment had been sent for on account of two unsuccessful attempts by a Paris mob (on August 13 and September 17) to march on Versailles. Desmoulins asserted that the dinner cost 26 francs a head; it really cost $3\frac{1}{2}$ francs. There was no trampling on the tricolour, for the garrison had not yet relinquished the white cockade. Nor did the women spontaneously initiate the march to Versailles. They were adroitly placed at the head of the mob in order that the troops might not fire, and perhaps also in order that they might exercise their seductions. Passing on to the "feast of Pikes," the celebrated Baron Trenck, it should be known, was not then in Paris, though the waxwork Madame Tussaud, or whoever wrote her book, remembered dancing with him that night, for he was then in Hungary, and, had he foreseen the guillotine, would have remained there. Morande, the scurrilous pamphleteer, is mentioned by Carlyle as also a victim of that guillotine. He richly deserved it, but he contrived to escape notice in the provinces, became one of Napoleon's justices of the peace, and lived till 1806. Carlyle did not implicitly accept the story of Mademoiselle Sombreuil's draught of blood, but cautiously said, "If universal rumour can be credited." The story, however, did not rest on universal rumour, for it was first published, though not perhaps invented, by Legouvé in 1800. He was less wary as to the Girondins' last supper, an invention of Nodier, embellished later on by Lamartine. Another thrilling episode, the attempted rescue of the last batch of victims, has been recently disproved by the publication of the report of the officers commanding the escort. Though rightly thinking little of Thiers' first and immature work, Carlyle adopted his grotesque blunder as to a contemplated monster guillotine, despatching 150 persons at one blow. There was an intention of trying the Luxembourg prisoners in one batch, and Judge Dumas began constructing an enormous scaffolding, a dock in which they were to be ranged in tiers, but, on Fouquier Tinville's representations as to the bad effect of such a spectacle on the public mind, the plan was abandoned. Thiers mistook *échafaud*, in the sense of scaffolding, for *échafaud*, scaffold. The Goddess of Reason was not Mademoiselle Candeille, but another opera singer, Maillard. In the story of the flogging of the women, at

the dispersion of the Jacobin club, Carlyle has followed Beaulieu, who, however, was not an eye-witness. Both sides told their story to the Convention, and neither of them mentioned such an indignity. Lastly, Napoleon's account of his half-hour's deliberation before accepting the invitation to put down the Vendémiaire rising is contrary to all testimony and probability. Napoleon was simply one of Barras's aides-de-camp, and Barras had four generals under him, all obviously superior in rank to Napoleon, who had been daily importuning Barras for an appointment, but was strangely undiscoverable at the critical moment, being in treaty with the insurgents. Not till he had found their offers or prospects uninviting did he repair to Barras, who had been vainly inquiring for him, and all the posts but that of aide-de-camp had then been filled up.

I pass on to cases in which Carlyle's mistakes are less excusable. At the opening of the States General he makes the procession go from St. Louis Church to Nôtre Dame, whereas it went from Nôtre Dame to St. Louis, where La Fare, Bishop of Nancy, after drawing an exaggerated picture of the oppression of the peasantry, turning to the monarch, exclaimed, "And all this is done in the name of the best of kings," whereat the expected plaudits resounded. The nobles did not at that ceremony wear "bright dyed cloaks of velvet," but black ones, to match their black coats, vests, and breeches. The cardinals alone, and there could have been only three, wore red copes, the other prelates having rochets and purple mantles. It is a slight matter, but Paris was not divided in 1789 into forty-eight districts, but into sixty; on the subsequent division into sections, however, there were forty-eight. Nor did Fouquier Tinville notify sentence of death to Lamourette or any other prisoner, for he was not judge, but public prosecutor. Madame de Buffon, Egalité's mistress, was not the "light wife of a great naturalist too old for her," nor even the widow, but the daughter-in-law. The naturalist had died in 1788, and had been a widower since 1769, when his virtuous wife, Mademoiselle de Belin, died at the age of thirty-seven. It was Buffon's son who, in 1784, married Mademoiselle Bouvier de Cépoy, in ignorance that both she and her mother were too intimate with Egalité, and had accompanied him to England. Buffon divorced her in 1792, and married Georgette Daubenton, but in a few months was guillotined. His first wife was inhuman, as well as light, if it is true that she might, by her influence with the Jacobins, have saved her ex-husband. Manifestly by a mere slip of the pen, which he should have corrected in the second edition, Carlyle likewise confuses Carnot with his son, styling him Hippolyte in lieu of Lazare. The duel between Lameth and Castries did not take place in the Bois de Boulogne, but on the Champ de Mars. Because Barnave and Cazalès fought in the Bois, Carlyle apparently took for granted that all duels came off there. He also mistakes

the origin of the term *sans culotte*. To be "destitute of breeches" was not a "mournful destitution," but was simply wearing the unfashionable trousers instead of the fashionable breeches.

With Madame Roland, Carlyle seems to have had a fatality of inaccuracy. Her platonic lover was not, as he says, Barbaroux, but Buzot, to whom she wrote from prison: "We cannot cease being mutually worthy of the sentiment which has inspired us. Having this, one is not unhappy. Adieu, my friend, my beloved, adieu." Fouquier's revolting questions to her were not put at the trial, for the interrogatory was there conducted by the judge, but at the preliminary examination, answering to our committal for trial. On her way to execution she did not, according to the best authorities, exclaim, "O liberty, what things are done in thy name," but "O liberty, how hast thou been duped!" The reference was not to the persecution of Royalists, much less to the execution of the King and Queen, for as early as 1789 she longed for their execution or their assassination by a "generous Decius," but to the slaughter of her Girondin friends and to Jacobin tyranny. At the foot of the scaffold she did not insist on preceding the trembling Lamarche, in order to show him how to die, but on his preceding her, that he might not be still further unnerved by her death. That she asked for pen and paper to record her thoughts is, moreover, as Dauban remarks, "contrary to all probability." The spectacle of her being unfettered, and having writing materials brought her, that she might write on her knees in the cart or on the steps of the scaffold, the executioner meanwhile waiting, would have been introducing a burlesque into a tragedy. Equally improbable, by the way, is Lavoisier's alleged request for a respite to finish some chemical experiments. He had been busy in prison, along with his colleagues, in drawing up the accounts of the revenue farming, and on the eve of his trial had written to a friend an admirably calm farewell letter. But to return to Madame Roland. She was condemned on the afternoon of November 8, 1793. News of the condemnation reached her husband on the 10th, on the evening of which day he quitted his retreat and stabbed himself. He had not positively heard of her death, and in the letter found on him he says, "I have quitted my retreat at the moment of hearing that my wife was about to be butchered, and I will not any longer remain on a soil covered with crimes."

Carlyle probably died without any consciousness of his gravest mistakes, his account of the King's flight to Varennes. It was not till March 1886 that Mr. Oscar Browning, who in the previous autumn had been over the ground, showed, in a paper read before the Royal Historical Society, that the account, while "a very vivid picture of the affair as it occurred, in its broad outlines consistent with the truth," was "in almost every detail inexact," "almost every statement false or exaggerated." Carlyle's cardinal blunder was that he

took the distance from Paris to Varennes to be only sixty-seven miles, whereas it is 150. I should imagine that he confused Varennes-en-Argonne with Varennes-Jaulgonne, a village not lying far off the route, now sixty-six miles by rail. From this blunder flowed a whole catalogue of errors, for which I must refer the reader to the Historical Society's Transactions. Mr. Browning's paper is evidently not so well known as it should be, inasmuch as the Marquis of Ripon, at the London meeting for the purchase of the Chelsea house, cited the flight to Varennes as an example of Carlyle's historical gifts. Suffice it to say that the pace of the royal carriage in Carlyle's narrative became three miles an hour instead of six and a half, and that the carriage itself became a huge lumbering vehicle, whereas it was a well-constructed postchaise, going at an ordinary pace, on an occasion, however, when the pace should have been unusual. Mr. Browning is thorough, almost merciless, in his exposure of errors. He could not indeed be expected to pass over Carlyle's description of Drouet as in his nightgown, instead of dressing-gown, as ludicrous a mistake as that with which Carlyle twitted a translator of *Faust*, who made the fainting Margaret ask her neighbour at church for her dram-bottle in lieu of her smelling-bottle. But he might have been a little less severe on the town of Varennes being styled a paltry little village; on Drouet being described as still in the prime of life, when he was only twenty-eight; on *couchée* for *coucher*; on Pont-de-Sommevelle for Pont Sommevesle—both forms seem to have been used; and on the presence of sunshine. This last correction is rather strained. Because the King's brother had a cloudy day for his journey to Mons, it does not necessarily follow that the sky was overcast from Paris to Varennes. Mr. Browning might, however, if he had glanced further on, have detected another mistake. Copying a misprint, Carlyle describes Drouet as imprisoned at Spitzberg, "far into the interior of Cimmeria," whereas he was cast into the well-known fortress of Spielberg. He might have mentioned that Drouet was exchanged with other French prisoners for the King's daughter, one of the fugitives arrested by him at Varennes, and that after the Restoration he lived in poverty under an assumed name at Macon till his death in 1824. If in arresting the royal fugitives he was not actuated by duty but by mercenary motives, the imprisonment and eventual poverty were well deserved.

Inexcusable as the miscalculation of distance is, coupled with errors not all necessarily attendant on it, it would be ungracious to part from Carlyle without bearing testimony to his impartiality, and this is best done by quoting two Frenchmen of opposite parties, who both accuse him of bias. The Royalist M. Maget, in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* (October 1886), describes Carlyle as the earliest of the Dantonist historians, and as in general favourable to the Revolution, admitting its inevitableness, the Terror included,

and admiring the liberalism of the Girondins and the gigantic genius of Danton. M. Maquet not inaptly compares him to Hamlet, with his alternate extravagances and lucid glimpses, his sobs and fits of laughter, lofty lyrism and rank buffoonery. Now hear an opposite view. A Frenchman, writing in 1864, maintains that Carlyle, while well fitted to become the historian of Puritanism and Cromwell, could not appreciate the French Revolution, for, seeing no sense of duty, religion, or conscience, he perceived nothing but an outbreak of anarchy.

“ But [he says] put the good alongside the bad, and mark the virtues alongside the vices. These sceptics believed in proved truth, and would take her only for mistress. These logicians founded society solely on justice. These epicureans embraced all mankind in their sympathies. These fanatics, these artisans, these starving and ragged peasants, fought on the frontier for humanitarian interests and abstract principles. Generosity and enthusiasm abounded here as with you English; recognise them under a form not your own. They were devoted to abstract truth, as your Puritans were to divine truth. They followed philosophy, as your Puritans followed religion. Their object was the salvation of the world, while your Puritans’ object was individual salvation. They fought against evil in society, as your Puritans against it in the soul. They were as generous as your Puritans were virtuous. They had, like them, a heroism, but sympathetic, social, eager for propaganda, which has reformed Europe, whereas yours served yourselves only.”

Will it be credited that this eloquent vindication of the Revolution was written by Taine—Taine who had not then studied it, and who was destined to depict it in far darker colours than Carlyle, whom he mistakenly charges with onesidedness? It is surprising that none of the ardent critics of his history should have cited the Taine of 1864 against the Taine of 1884.

J. G. ALGER.

THE FALL OF MAN.

"The Hebrew conception of the world, like the Arabic, inclines to a glorification of the Nomadic life . . . The Hebrews refer the Origin of Agriculture to a curse imposed by God upon fallen humanity."—IGNAZ GOLDZIHNER.

THESE births of heaven and earth did Yahuwh¹ form
When from the watery heaven he first did cleave²
The arid earth.

No herb had yet sprung up ;
No bush relieved the desert's vast expanse ;
For Yahuwh 'Ēlohiym had sent no rain,
And Man was not yet there to till the ground.
But from the earth arose a welcome fount,
Which gave the thirsty ground not only life
But fruitfulness.

And Yahuwh 'Ēlohiym
'Then fashioned man from dust. From earth he rose,
And in his nostrils Yahuwh then did blow
The breath of life ; and thus did Man become
A living animal,³

¹ Not Yehowah (Jehovah), which is a hybrid formed of the consonants of one word and the vowels of another, nor Yahveh, for which no better warrant can be found than the statement of Theodoret that the Samaritans pronounced the name 'Iaſc, while the Jews pronounced it 'Iaw. For the proper pronunciation, see Yēshangyahuw (Isaiah) = Help of Yahuwh ; Yirmēyahuw (Jeremiah) = Set up by Yahuwh ; Hhizqiyahuw (Hezekiah) = Strengthened by Yahuwh ; &c. The rendering of proper nouns is one of the most indefensible parts of the Anglican versions of the Old Testament. Who, guided by the English text alone, would suppose that Cain and the Kenites are related as Israel and the Israelites ?—especially as it is implied by the narrative that the descendants of Cain were all drowned in the Noachian deluge, while the Kenites frequently figure in the later parts of the Old Testament. Nothing, too, has more tended to destroy, in the English translations, that oriental aroma which is one of the chief charms of the Hebrew scriptures, than the inconsistent Grecizing and Anglicizing of Hebrew names.

² Not "create," as in Genesis, ch. i. v. 1, and ch. ii. v. 1. The Hebrew verb *bara'*, which is thus translated, has for its primary meaning "to cut" or "carve." Only in a secondary sense does it mean to produce. In Joshua, ch. xvii. v. 15, it is used to express the cutting down of trees in a forest. A labial followed by "r" seems to be used in many languages to convey the idea of separation. I see no reason to doubt that both of the cosmogonies in Genesis opened with the widespread notion that the evolution of cosmic order out of chaos commenced with the separation of the heavens and the earth.

³ "Living soul" is misleading. The words thus translated—*nephesh khayah*—do not occur in Genesis, ch. ii. v. 7, for the first time. They are used in verses 20, 21,

Then Yahuwh caused
 From out the ground to germinate all trees
 Pleasant to human eyes and good for food.
 He made, of yore, a Garden of Delight¹
 And in it placed the Man whom he had formed.

Then Yahuwh 'Ēlohiym himself bethought :—
 "It is not good for Man to be alone ;
 A counterpart to help him will I make."
 And Yahuwh 'Ēlohiym from earth then framed
 The birds of heaven and the beasts of earth,
 And brought them to the Man,² to see if he,
 In naming them, would recognise his mate.
 Among them none he found ; so Yahuwh caused
 A deep unconsciousness to fall on Man.
 He slept ; and Yahuwh took from him a rib,
 And built it into Woman. Her he brought
 Unto the Man, who said :—"Ah ! this time see
 The mate whom I have sought, bone of my bone,
 Flesh which was erst my flesh. I call her Life,³
 For life she gives to Man."

Then Yahuwh gave
 To Man this strict command :—"Of all the fruit
 Of Pleasure's Garden may'st thou freely eat,
 Save of the crop of that one central Tree,
 The Tree of Carnal Knowledge,⁴ good and ill,
 Most wholesome and most pois'nous, bearing boons
 Of sanest life and purest happiness
 To those who eat of it within the bounds
 Which I shall set, but with disaster fraught
 When I forbid it.⁵ Therefore, Man, beware ;
 For in the day thou yieldest to the lust
 Of that seductive fruit, then Death shall come."

24, and 30 of the first chapter, to describe birds and sea-monsters, cattle, creeping things, and beasts of the earth. So far is *nephesh* from having any spiritual significance that Noahh is commanded (Genesis, ch. ix. v. 4) not to eat it.

¹ *Paradysum voluptatis* in the Latin Vulgate. *Ngeden* (Ēden) is the Hebrew for "delight" or "pleasure." Compare the Greek ἡδονή. To allow ourselves to be drawn, by the clumsy interpolation about the four rivers, into a geographical search for *Wo lag das Paradies* is just as wise as it would be to fit out a naval expedition to the coast of Bohemia on the authority of Shakespeare. Perhaps it is not surprising that transcendentalists should vary their quest for the explanation of objective things in the fathomless abyss of their consciousness by an exploration of the earth's surface for the site of the Garden of Delight.

² 'Adam is the Hebrew for "man."

³ Hhawah (Eve) is the Hebrew for "life."

⁴ See Genesis, ch. iv. v. 1.

⁵ Here and elsewhere, I take the prophetic license of expansion ; but I have endeavoured to keep strictly to the spirit of the legend, and to add nothing to it which is really extraneous.

And Man was wedded unto Life. At first
All seemed a dream of innocence and bliss.
But time went on ; that nakedest of beasts,
The Serpent¹ grew mature, and to the Woman
Whispered rebellion 'gainst the dread decree
Which shut her out from knowledge, and the Man.
She saw the Tree apparently was good
To quench the appetite and slake desire.
Her eyes upon it rested longingly,
She yielded, took of the forbidden fruit,
And with her husband ate.

A change profound came o'er them. Hitherto
They two had trod the Garden of Delight
In sweet unconsciousness of evil. Shame
They ne'er had felt ; they knew not what it was.
But now they looked upon their naked selves
With new-born bashfulness, and haste to hide
The seat of concupiscence. Fig-tree leaves
They took, and twined them into girdles. Thus
Their very effort to conceal their shame
Betrayed their fall.

And Yahuwh 'Elohiym, at eventide,
When o'er the plain the cool refreshing breeze
Does waft the perfume of a thousand flowers,
Was walking in the Garden, when the sound
Of his approaching footsteps met the ears
Of Man and Woman ; and they hid themselves.
And Yahuwh called unto the Man, and said :—
“ Where art thou ? ” Then from out his hiding-place
Came Man abashed, and said :—“ Thy steps I heard,
And fear came o'er me, lest my nakedness
Should shock thee.” Then said Yahuwh 'Elohiym :—
“ Who told thee thou wast naked ? Of the Tree
Of which alone I bade thee not to eat
Hast thou indeed partaken ? ” Then said Man :—
“ The Woman whom thou gav'st to be with me—
She gave me of the Tree and I did eat.”
Then Yahuwh 'Elohiym to Woman said :—
“ What hast thou done ? ” “ The Serpent,” she replied,
“ Did fascinate me, and 'tis true I ate.”

¹ The Serpent of the Fall of Man is undoubtedly the phallic serpent. See the Rev. Sir G. W. Cox's *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, p. 353.

Then Yahuwh to the Serpent next did turn,
 And thus addressed him :—" Since thou this hast done,
 Accursed shalt thou be, and aye shalt go
 Upon thy belly and eat naught but dirt.
 Between the Woman and her seed and thee
 And thy seed, strife eternal will I cause ;
 And it shall bruise thy head, which * * *
 Shalt thou conceal."

To Woman Yahuwh said :—

" As outcome of thy disobedient deed,
 Thy pregnancy with pain shall multiply,
 And children shalt thou bear in agony.
 Dependent on thy husband shalt thou be,
 And he shall rule thee."

To the Man he said :—

" Through list'ning to thy wife's seductive voice,
 And doing what I told thee not to do,
 The earth for thee shall now become accursed,
 And thorns and thistles shall it yield to thee.
 Thy toil shall be increased ; the herb thy food,¹
 Thy sweat the price of bread, till earth reclaims
 What erst it lent. To it shalt thou return ;
 For dust thou wert and dust shalt thou become."

And so from out the Garden of Delight
 Were Man and Woman driven. There no more

¹ These pregnant words sound the keynote of the myth. They breathe contempt of agriculture and those who live on its produce. The hatred of the Bedouin for settled husbandry and town life is a frequent subject of remark by travellers. So deeply rooted is the sentiment that, even when Arabs are forced to live in towns, the result, as Schweinfurth has said, " is essentially half a camp life." That this passionate nomadism was not confined to the Arabic branch of the Semitic family, but was prevalent among the ancient Hebrews, there can be no rational doubt. " The tents of Qedar " are referred to in the Song of Songs as objects of special comeliness and endearment. The Jew still repeats with gusto the words of Bilgam (Numbers, ch. xxiv. v. 5) :

" How goodly are thy tents, O Yangārov !
 Thy tabernacles, O Yisra'el ! "

The heroes of Hebrew antiquity are nomads ; the bad characters and their descendants are agriculturists and artificers. In the legend of Qayin (Cain) and Hevel (Abel)—which may be regarded as supplementary to that of the Fall—the representative agriculturist kills the representative shepherd. The murderer builds the first city, and his duplicate, Thuwval-Qayin (Tubal-Cain) is " the forger of every cutting instrument of copper and iron." On the other hand, Yaval (Jabal) and Yuwval (Jubal), the duplicates of Hevel, are the progenitors of such as dwell in tents, have cattle, and find innocent enjoyment in music.

If I understand the story of the Fall aright, it means that Man, by eating too freely of the Tree of Knowledge, brings on the multiplication of childbirth and the sorrows of motherhood ; that, in order to feed the extra mouths, Man is forced from the freedom and detachment of Nomadism into the toil of Agriculture ; and that the results are the clashing of interests, fratricidal strife, and the subjection of Woman.

In sweet nomadic leisure did they roam.
Men rose, their sons, a num'rous progeny,
And, forced to till the worser parts of earth,
By irksome labour bought their scanty food ;
And towns—grim, careworn, jostling towns—arose
On sites oft sodden by a brother's blood ;¹
And cruel instruments of steel and brass
From out the bowels of the earth were torn—
The shepherd's crook, the notes of harp and pipe,
To dirt and discords, fire and smoke, gave way ;
And fear of beings transcendental barred
The Garden of Delight.

J. H. L.

¹ Compare the Romulus-Remus legend. The she-wolf by whom the brothers were nurtured I take to be the sinister Strife of the Hesiodic variant of the Fall of Man. In this version of the myth, the place of Hhawah is taken by Pandora, who is created for the very purpose of seducing the man, and whose box or vessel supersedes the Tree in the midst of the Garden. Instead of the poaching on the forbidden fruit we have the stealing of the Divine fire ; but the offence is really the same and the punishment the same. The opening of Pandora's box and the eating of Hhawah's tree produce the like dire disasters for mankind. When the lid of Pandora's vessel was lifted, out of it flew strife, harsh labour, and death-productive ills, which spread themselves over the races of men, while Hope, by command of Zeus, was made a prisoner.

CANADA, BRITAIN, AND THE UNITED STATES.

HISTORIANS inform us that nations, like individuals, have their periods of growth, adolescence, and decay. There is another theory that nations do not fall—that national progress does not end in perdition: they only become transformed. If national life, like the life of the individual, is a natural law, the conclusion seems clear that the age of decrepitude in a nation is rather a determinable quantity than an abstract theory. Again, if the process is one of transformation, and not of collapse, then the international lines become a pure abstraction. If dead Rome still lives, the real international line, if any exists, lies between the so-called nations founded upon her institutions and other parts of the world. If her institutions were the source of her decay, those who maintain that we are still under the sway of ancient Rome must surely concede that we, as modern nations, shall suffer the same fate.

The question of age as a measure of national decrepitude is of imperial importance from the view that youthful and aspiring colonies, masters of their own destinies, cannot be expected to link their fortunes with mother kingdoms who are suffering the infirmities of age.

Seeing that a problem so deep and many-sided cannot receive detailed treatment within the limits of a magazine article, I purpose to confine the discussion to questions which have fallen under my own "sphere of influence," and which have been largely overlooked by other writers.

It is noteworthy that the impressions stamped upon the English mind with respect to colonial relations have had their main source in officialism. Also, on the other hand, colonists are not generally aware that the chronic problems of Britain—of all Europe, indeed—are social rather than political. The colonists are rather politicians than social reformers, which distinction is due to the difference of age. The law of development has been substantially identical in all the colonies, but lest I should be accused of over-stepping the borders of my native sphere, I shall limit my observations to Canada.

The guiding principle which tends to the realisation of the

Imperial Federation is said to be loyalty—loyalty to the mother country. Without attempting to draw metaphysical distinctions between loyalty and patriotism, which imply a lack of harmony between sovereign and subject, let it be concluded that the sentiment may have its source in more than one mainspring of action. 1. It may imply attachment by virtue of the historical past, through pride in, or satisfaction with, present institutions, and through an inspired hope for the future. 2. It may imply the country wherein reside one's material or economic interests. 3. It may imply the land of one's associations—friendly bonds and family ties. Attachment by virtue of past history implies a knowledge of that history. Hence this source of patriotism is the pride of the educated classes, and without faith in the continuity of the laws of development, as depicted in the pages of history, no hope in the stability of existing institutions or in a pleasing destiny can be inspired.

What did the early emigrants to America take with them? What did they leave behind? They carried, as part of their organism, the fundamental law of the British Constitution—liberty and self-government. "Laws to bind all must be assented to by all." They resented all violation of this sentiment because they had British red in their blood, British brawn in their limbs, and had learned to cherish the value of British fair play. This sentiment of individual elbow-room is the most precious heritage of the Teutonic race. Also, this supreme law of their nature provoked the Canadian Rebellion. Yet, the pioneers of the United States and Canada left many sentiments of loyalty behind. Being poor, they had little difficulty in taking with them all their worldly possessions, yet many friendly associations, many bonds of sympathy, lingered in the mother land, and they could not altogether deny their history.

In speaking of Canadian loyalty, much depends upon the generation to which reference is made. The sentiment of British connection displayed by the United Empire Loyalists, who migrated from the United States to Canada with the view of enjoying a fuller share of freedom, need not be denied, but to conclude that their posterity, by a sort of hereditary law, has further developed this spirit of loyalty is a falsification of Canadian history. In order to understand the real changes which have taken place, it is necessary to split the history of Canada into three periods, each corresponding to a generation more or less distinct. The first dates from the earliest settlers, mainly composed of United Empire Loyalists, to the time of the Canadian Rebellion in 1837. This period embraces two important events—the granting of the Canadian Constitution by the Imperial Parliament in 1791, and the war of 1812–14. From the Rebellion to the passing of the British North American Act in

1867 was substantially the second generation, although certain statesmen continued to exercise considerable influence after the date of the British North America Act, by which the provinces were confederated under the name of the Dominion of Canada. The third generation are only now beginning to guide the destinies of the Dominion. Lest I should be blamed for going beyond my depth, I purpose to interpret Canadian history in the spirit of my Canadian fellow-countrymen of the third generation, to which I belong, and shall reflect the sentiments of the thoughtful and independent members of that generation.

Few nations can boast of a history more unique than Canada. Within three-quarters of a century she has found herself engaged in struggles with the aborigines; she has found herself in fierce conflict for home rule against the vacillating and irresolute ministers of the British Crown and their too irresponsible representatives in Canada; she has found herself in frequent hostilities with the American Republic bordering upon the south; she has found herself engaged in still more insidious struggles against priestly domination; and she has suffered from political and ecclesiastical conflicts due to alien nationalities.

Early and prominent amongst these struggles for liberty may be named the chain of events which culminated in the Rebellion. Rebellion it may be called from the English standpoint, but, viewed from the Canadian mode of thought, and in the light of the scientific interpretation of history, it was fundamentally a civil war of religion. It was an uprising provoked by the short-sightedness of the "Family Compact," urged on by the still more overbearing clergy—whether viewed from the conduct of Archbishop Strachan, as counsel for the Church of England, or from the attitude of Dr. Ryerson, in his efforts to establish a hierarchy of Methodists. Dr. Ryerson—a priest as intolerant and jealous of the material interests of his holy order as the priesthood of more ancient fame—did not insist upon establishing his Church in Canada so long as he received equivalent advantages and privileges for his sect and his Cobourg Academy. He boasted that, due to his warning, not a single member of his Church was implicated in that "disloyal rebellion"; while, to-day, Canadians vie with one another in resounding the names of the heroes of that event, pointing out that all the demands of the rebels, save that of unrestricted reciprocity with the neighbouring Republic, have been achieved. The chief reforms advocated were representative government, abolition of primogeniture and of the Land Company, and, later on, the secularisation of the clergy reserves—reforms supported by the maritime provinces and the United States. Even the French Canadians sank their nationality to promote the common cause. While no party would now counsel a relapse to the days of "Family Compact" rule, yet the heroes of those reforms, so

dearly bought, have been stigmatised as rebels and traitors by the "Compact" and the priestly factions.

The more remote cause of the Rebellion resides in the Constitution which Pitt felt constrained to grant the Canadian people, wherein one-seventh of the land of Upper Canada was set aside for the support of the clergy. These reserves were claimed by the clergy of the Church of England, which stirred up the jealousy and discontent of the other denominations. If a pioneer church can urge the strongest claims to be established, Dr. Ryerson, on behalf of his ecclesiastical brethren, could have presented a strong case, for the inhabitants might have relapsed into barbarism before the English and Scotch clergy commenced their missionary labours. For more than a quarter of a century after the passing of the Constitutional Act, nothing was heard about the establishment of a church in Upper Canada. Pitt's was a paper constitution, which is un-British, and besides, the appropriation of land for the support of a clergy has no analogy in the origin of tithes. Yet British institutions were to be faithfully imitated according to the theory of the constitutional party, and that too under circumstances unfavourable to their development. Moreover, the English clergy in Canada contended that an established church was necessary to maintain their loyalty, and they could not afterwards logically turn round and say that they remained loyal in spite of the abolition of their reserves and revenues from other sources. What did the other denominations require to preserve their loyalty? The ecclesiastical error committed by Pitt and his followers was the failure to distinguish the enforcement of a new Divine right and the defence of rights Divine centuries after their establishment. An historical blunder was also committed. Up to the economic period which now reigns, the political power had always resided in the owners of the land, and it was therefore a most violent dualism to create a system of small proprietary, composed of enfranchised peasants, and then establish institutions having the tendency to rob them of their political powers and material possessions. Social status and prestige had always been attached to land titles, and it could therefore not have been possible to enforce a landless aristocracy, even with the solidarity of a "family compact," upon pioneer inhabitants already in peaceful possession of the soil. The peasants were the classes and the masses rolled and welded into one and the same political phenomenon. The nature of land titles decides the destiny of a nation; it is the root of all economic and moral phenomena; and it is thus not surprising that the confederation of the British North American colonies more closely resembles the American than the British Constitution.

The political aspect of the Rebellion consisted in the disloyal attitude of the party holding the balance of power. Himself the son of a United Empire Loyalist who was an officer in the British

army during the American War of Independence, Dr. Ryerson, a Canadian, bore the ancestral name of a family noted for their loyalty. Up to 1833, he was a Liberal bordering upon the rebellious instincts of that party. Such he was in the interests of his creed, but upon his appearance in England, where hopes revived of his obtaining clergy-reserve equivalents from the Home Government and by personal canvassing from door to door, the ancestral loyalty again swelled his bosom and reanimated his bones. Through the English press, and through his influential journal in Canada, organ of the Methodist party, he flattered the Tories in England to the verge of a Canadian upheaval. In 1836, when Sir Francis Head dissolved the Upper Canada Legislature, the election was adroitly turned upon the cry of loyalty, and Dr. Ryerson, holding the balance of power, supported the "Compact" and the High Church party who had previously branded the Methodists as traitors and rebels. The consequence was that the Liberals suffered an inglorious defeat at the polls, although not even the leaders of the Rebellion desired separation if remedial measures could be otherwise obtained. This "unkindest cut of all" precipitated the Rebellion. In his treatment of the rebels, Lord Durham violated the most sacred privilege of Britons—the right of trial by jury. Loyal Canadians will ever cherish the memory of those who suffered death for participation in their charter of liberty, and will desecrate the names of those who received promotion for their crimes.

A young Canadian historian, Mr. J. C. Dent, although possessing Liberal sympathies, makes a bold attempt to revolutionise our previous ideas of our history. He replaces W. Lyon Mackenzie, as hero of the Rebellion, by Dr. Rolph. The former was a man of the people, while the latter was leader of the quasi-aristocracy. Dr. Rolph was a miraculous personage—a man who could run with the hare and hunt with the hound. His party did not object to a rebellion so long as it was conducted in a loyal, orderly, and constitutional manner. It can only be called a people's rebellion, and all the credit which is now claimed, all the constitutional changes which the rebels sought to bring about, belongs to the people. Physically the battle was lost, but the principles which gave it birth have triumphed, and the uprising was justifiable on the ground that it convinced English statesmen of the reality of the grievances.

The asserted loyalty of the official party in Canada may be viewed from the standpoints of the motive, the word, and the deed. Passing on to a more recent period of Canadian history, it may be summed up in the biography of the late leader of the Conservative party, Sir John A. Macdonald. In word, he was profusely loyal to the British Crown. "A British subject I was born," said he; "a British subject I will die." In motive he sank into political corruption rather than lose opportunities for making his name

famous in British and Canadian history. In deed, he was foremost in fostering the spirit of Canadian nationality and independence by undertaking the most stupendous enterprises. The British North America Act—in which he took a leading part, and which appeared to be the only solution of the endangered problem of representation by population—worked wonders in developing the sentiment of Canadian nationality. Then, again, may be added his construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the opening up of the Northwest for settlement. Nothing more is now needed to convince Canadians that they are a growing nation with illimitable resources and powers of expansion. The late leader of the Liberal party, the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, was too canny a Scotchman to push forward this vast enterprise in sympathy with the swelling tide of Canadian nationality. Was it another manifestation of loyalty on the part of Sir John when he applied the power of dealing with tariffs in a confessedly anti-British spirit with the view of subserving the commercial interests of Canada? This protective movement is known as the “National Policy.” More consistent is the attitude of the party in resisting the claims of the Liberals with respect to treaty-making powers in order to retain a faint resemblance of connection with the Mother Country. The conviction is gaining ground in Canada that the function of the Governor-General is to teach English manners to a social oligarchy in Ottawa, with branch *salons* in Toronto and Montreal. Canadians are losing faith in the ability and candour of the English statesman in guiding their foreign policy, and mistrust him when there is a clashing between English and Colonial interests, so that the theory of the official party to the effect that British connection saves the expense of Canadian representatives at foreign courts is hardly logical, nor is it altogether consistent with the practice.

The distinguishing temperament of the Conservative party is their fancied ability to govern political and economic phenomena by sentiment; while the Liberals look upon the destiny of Canada as a question of fatality over which sentimental ideas have little control. A few instances may be cited. Hon. Edward Blake, late leader of the Dominion Liberal party, now M.P. in the British House of Commons, in his resignation address before his Canadian constituents in 1891, expressed his conviction that “some day, sooner or later, a political reorganisation of the continent, should and must take place.” Sir Oliver Mowat, leader of the Reform party in the Canadian province of Ontario, recognised the same law when he declared that when a change was found to be inevitable, it would be in the category of independence. This mode of thought is not confined to Canadian exponents of the law of development. Sir Henry Parkes, upon the question of preventing Chinese immigration, said he cared nothing about the cobwebs of technical law; he was obeying a law

far superior to that under which the Chinese claimed their rights, namely, the law of the preservation of society in New South Wales. So long as economic laws, which Englishmen have been so largely instrumental in developing, remain supreme, loyalty will follow the cargo; the cargo will not follow the flag. This evident truth cannot be ignored in face of the fact that Canada's commercial relations with the United States are, step by step, growing more significant than those with the mother country.

The rule of colonial relations by means of sentiment is strikingly illustrated by the attitude of the official party in Canada towards the Imperial Federation movement. Another apt illustration is the prevailing theory that, inasmuch as the whole includes the parts, there can be no friction between loyalty to the Dominion and loyalty to the British Crown. This is the response made when the question is asked: What is Canadian loyalty? I have already shown the historical relation between the whole and the part, and shall now consider the question from the sentimental point of view, taking as my main guide the sentiments uttered in moments of glow and gush of feeling.

In his begging mission for his holy order, Dr. Ryerson wrote:

"During my exile here in England I have more and more longed for news from Canada, and cooling waters to the panting hart could not be more refreshing than the late intelligence from my dear native land has for me."

Again he wrote from England:

"I was comfortably seated amongst my kind friends in Kingston, but am now cast forth in this distant land."

Again:

"Whatever may be my shortcomings, and even my sins, I say with truth that I love my country, that by habit of thought, by association, by every possible sympathy I can awaken in my breast, I sought to increase my affection for my native land. . . ."

In his defence of Sir Charles Metcalfe, he said:

"I have written these pages . . . as a man who has no temporary interests whatever, except in common with those of my native country: the field of my life's labours, the seat of my best affections, the home of my earthly hopes."

In a sermon, Principal Grant says:

"Canada is our country, our home, no matter where we were born, and we must all, whether English, Irish, Scotch, French, or German, be Canada-first men, and we must all seek the peace and welfare of our country by every means within our power. . . . O for some God-inspired leader to make us feel that we are all Canadians."

At the Centenary celebration of the first parliament of Upper Canada, now Ontario, Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier of this leading

province of the Dominion, after praising the United Empire loyalists, even admiring the loyal sentiments still prevailing, and after denouncing both Imperial Federation and annexation to the United States, said :

"For myself, when a change is found inevitable, it is my calmly considered opinion that independence would solve the question, and prove to be the best interests of the people."

If we now closely examine the development of Canadian sentiment, we shall find that the younger the generation—with its growing familiarity with Canadian history and with the expansion of the material resources of the country—the greater is the indifference to or apathy with English institutions and the greater is the tendency towards independence, annexation, or a reconstruction of the continent of North America. Fully recognising this natural growth, the advanced politicians understand how to appeal to the sentiment as a matter of tactics.

During the palmy days of the first and second generations, attachment to the mother country was kept alive by a more or less exclusive study of English history in the public schools, Canadian history having largely been matters of current events. Now English has to compete with Canadian history side by side, and it can hardly be expected that Canadians will renounce their own and attach themselves to a history full of bloody struggles for the possession of an inorganic fiction under the style and title of the British Crown. There is a striking analogy in the history of Texas. Some years ago, when an attempt was being made to split this vast "Lone Star State" into two, the defence was that the blood of all loyal Texans, from all parts of the State, co-mingled to stain the walls of the Alamo. In both instances, the unity of history is the rallying point of national autonomy. Yet happier is the nation who has no history. Still happier is the nation who can deny her history in her search for higher truths than national autonomy.

The questions of Imperial Federation and Independence are powerfully influenced by Canada's geographical contact with the American Republic. This relation has been specially forced upon my attention during my three years' experience in different States of the American Union. The Canadian—a hardy and active specimen of his race, and readily adapting himself to climatic changes, and changes of social and political conditions—is held in high esteem by the American, compared with the European, who is slower and more fastidious and punctilious both in the practical and the sentimental phases of life. The Canadian is said to have more "snap" in his organism. The emigration from Canada to the States has been enormous, although, due to the "snap" of Sir John A. Macdonald, it has been greatly arrested by the opening up of the

North West. It is usually the younger members of the family who quit the parent home, so that, in relation to friendly associations and family ties, Canada now occupies a relation to the United States analogous to that formerly occupied by the mother country with regard to the Canadian pioneers. Multitudes of Canadians have children, relatives, or friends across the border-line, many of whom have property, or prospects thereof, in Canada. Thus we see that practically the last bond, the last tie, which formerly bound Canada to the mother country, has been snapped asunder, and the tendency has been towards a social, political, and commercial union between the northern and southern divisions of the continent of North America. Unity of history, of language, of institutions, of aspirations, and geographical unity have been the connective tissue. It is noteworthy, moreover, what little interest Canadians take in European affairs, even those of Great Britain, compared with the more absorbing events which transpire in the United States. It is not surprising that the cause of Ireland inspires so much sympathy in Canada and the neighbouring Union, for this trio of countries has undergone, or is undergoing, the same struggle for home rule. The hatred of coercion is as strongly marked in Canada as in America, and the cry of lawlessness produces a feeble effect upon those who have little knowledge of, and less sympathy with, the laws which are broken. In the American ear, there is no music more melodious—tones more sonorous than the music of the spheres—than the crackings due to the twisting of the British lion's tail. Must Canada dance to all this music? The United States are big enough for the typical American, and he does not cast a lustful eye upon Canada for the mere glory of conquest. He is only jealous of European interference upon *his* hemisphere. International friction is growing less intense as intercourse and mutual understanding gain in volume and strength, and both countries are beginning to realise that their institutions and aspirations are practically identical. The tariff war, directed rather against Britain than against Canada, only demonstrates the futility of attempts to obtain revenge by committing suicide. Political corruption, the essence of democratic institutions, is more highly developed in the United States than in Canada, but this is only a new phase of business enterprise. It is not more horrible than buying and selling goods for profit appeared to our ancestors in the Middle Ages. This corruption, however, is the main obstacle to the growth of the Annexation movement in Canada. On the other hand, social questions are riper in the United States than in Canada, due to the magnitude of the cities which the prolonged protection policy has built up; and in this sense the bond amongst social reformers in the United States and Britain has become strengthened. In social reforms, like church matters, there are no international lines. In all Christendom we find

the same warfare against the same social ills. It is no longer considered disloyal for British subjects to emigrate to the States rather than to the Colonies ; and the latter have ceased to be of any special advantage to Britain as a dumping-ground for her imaginary surplus population. Even as a commercial speculation, their special service is at best doubtful, and all that can be safely urged in favour of their retention is the flattery they afford to the ancestral pride of Englishmen. To England belongs the honour, the glory, and the pride of enjoying a colonial possession ; to Canada belongs the humiliation of being a colony.

The decay of Canadian loyalty to the mother country is not due to any moral obliquity inherent in the Canadians themselves. The causes in the main may be reduced to three : 1. Geographical isolation. 2. The prominence (in all Europe) of social problems, due to deep and wide-spread misery and consequent national decay, which Canadians cannot understand. 3. Historical events over which Britain herself has exercised the controlling influence.

The prevailing fear in Canada as to the recklessness of English statesmen with respect to Canadian interests abroad has recently taken a turn, the gravity of which is not generally apprehended. I refer to the question of copyright. The test now is, whether the loyal Conservatives of Canada will attempt to wreck England's international relations, and the attitude of the United States will be watched with curious eye from all quarters. Should the Anglo-Canadian relations become endangered, the thanks will be due to the "national policy" through which the Conservative party has prostrated itself at the feet of the Canadian oligarchy of manufacturers and mercantiles.

In the foregoing analysis, I have striven to reflect the sentiments and feelings of the rising generation of thinking Canadians, uninfluenced by my experience during the past seven years which I have spent in England, France, and Germany with the special object of studying the political situations, and working out social problems by the introduction of scientific facts and methods. In presenting the impressions which Europe has stamped upon my mind, I cannot vouchsafe the concurrence of my countrymen, and it must be understood that what I am now about to say is my individual opinion only.

When the home-keeping Canadian once "grows aware that in Europe the social is rapidly superseding the political *regime*—that international wars are being replaced by civil wars of capital and labour—he will undoubtedly become still more indifferent about that branch of the proposed Imperial Federation scheme known as the *Kriegsverein*. Should economic forces spend their fury in this form of warfare, the co-operation and sympathy of Canada would be more hopeless than ever. The State, as now constituted, is obliged to side

with the capitalist, if it does not remain inactive, and Canadians would then undergo a shock of resentment at any forms of coercion emanating from landlords or capitalists. Under such misfortunes, a *Zollverein* would be still more hopeless than now. Moreover, the history of indirect taxation has proved that, especially in the long run, it is impossible for one nation to tax another. The expedient is only useful for playing upon our ignorance. Yet a purely and wholly direct system of taxation, more or less suddenly imposed, would provoke a revolution. Politics in Europe is a machine for grinding taxes. The demolition of tariff walls would remove every essential feature which splits civilisation into nations. Not our labouring classes, not our men of science, not our social reformers, not our priesthood—none of these know anything about international hen-scratches. The Canadian must ere long see that the English movement “back to the land” must tend to curtail the commercial supremacy which Britain has enjoyed, and that the tinkering with tariffs must grow correspondingly less necessitous.

Like the feudal system, the economic must pass away, and the experiment is now in full blast whether the transformation will be evolutionary or revolutionary. The Socialist has solved nothing—his theories do not even lead to Socialism—and Individualism is a proved failure. Many social experiments have been and are being tried, all of which are claimed to be based upon some new principle, but there is nothing new in them, and their failure is thus a foregone conclusion. The educated classes on the Continent are specialists, and so cannot see the comprehensive nature of the social problem. In England there are more thinkers in the sociological field, and their systems are broader, if not deeper, and there is also greater eagerness in search for higher and highest truths. While all these movements are taking place in Europe, neither the American nor the Canadian enjoys much dawning of consciousness that there is a social problem to be solved. On the western hemisphere the belief still remains prevalent that the political machine is all-sufficient.

In Britain personal reform spreads more readily than upon the Continent. Indeed, this is the characteristic virtue in all English-speaking countries, and is the highest hope of the future, although amongst certain enthusiasts, there is a strong tendency to drive it into political tyranny. Where the individual puts forth no efforts to save himself, all the faith in the supernatural powers of the State will not lead to social salvation.

All the foregoing facts considered, it appears to be England's plain duty to foster the greatest possible unity and harmony between Canada and her neighbouring brethren, and whether the *rapprochement* take a political or a commercial turn of events should be a matter of absolute indifference to Englishmen. This policy is

not put forward as a sentiment, but with the view of giving free play to economic forces in the working out of Canada's "manifest destiny." Should Independence appear to be a more natural solution, let that spirit also be fostered. Britain has expended her energy in the development of economic laws, and the time is approaching when she must decide whether she will sink underneath their weight, or whether she will hold up to the world the prospects of a new civilisation founded upon more exalted ideals than those which she has hitherto imposed upon the nations. Then let all the English-speaking nations be a unit in demonstrating to the other nations of the earth that national decay is an economic and not a natural law, and that the time has arrived when civilised man may enter upon purer, nobler, and loftier ideals of conduct than those depicted in the pages of history.

COSMOPOLITE.

POST-SCRIPT.—Since this article was printed and paged, the copy-right question, mentioned on page 37, has taken quite an unexpected turn. Mr. Hall Caine's mission to Canada, under the auspices of the Society of Authors, at present indicates the prospects of conciliation, due to his overwhelming personality. Had the solution been left to take the ordinary political course, as seemed to be the case when the paragraph in question was penned, the United States, true to their antecedents, would no doubt take advantage of the bungling which would be sure to have ensued, and the turn of events has only tended to prove the superiority of individual enterprise over political methods in the solution of international and Anglo-Colonial disputes.

C.

MATTHEW ARNOLD'S LETTERS.¹

It is perhaps to be regretted that the life of Matthew Arnold cannot be written. Few Englishmen of the nineteenth century have been so sincere and so outspoken in their criticism of their contemporaries. Matthew Arnold was often wrong, both in his premises and in his conclusions; but he was always truthful and conscientious. Of some subjects he had a profound knowledge; for example, he had made a thorough study of Homer, and of Greek literature generally. He also devoted much attention to the literary aspect of the Bible. Not only was he a true apostle of culture, but the most catholic-minded and cosmopolitan of English writers.

Why, then, should his life be left unwritten? The answer is one which cannot be disregarded by those who cherish the memory and respect the wishes of the illustrious dead: Matthew Arnold himself desired that he might not be made the subject of a biography.

The two volumes, however, containing selections from his Letters, which have been published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., reveal some of the most loveable traits in his character, as well as his intellectual peculiarities.

He was a man of childlike and affectionate nature, and yet the possessor of an intellect which could appreciate the literatures of all nations. He was entirely free from Anglo-Saxon insularity. He lashed with refined sarcasm the smug self-complacency of the British Philistine, and made the "vulgar-mindedness" of the middle-class so odious that the best amongst them have, by this time, learned to be ashamed of their own sordid vices and almost equally sordid virtues. In many respects he was, perhaps, hypercritical. He always loved to praise the French, and to declare that they are superior to the English.

Gustave Flaubert's letter in 1869 to the Municipal Council of Rouen, on their refusal to allow a fountain to be erected in the town in memory of Louis Bouilhet, denounces the entire French middle-class as "unenlightened," as well as cowardly and incapable.

Matthew Arnold was right to express contempt for the Philistines of his own country; but the class he hated so much exists also in France, as Flaubert's letter demonstrates.

¹ *Letters of Matthew Arnold* (1848-1888). Collected and arranged by George W. E. Russell. London: Macmillan & Co.

However, it was not merely by his crusade on Philistinism that he helped the cause of social progress. He also pointed out the true path for politicians and philanthropists to pursue—not to be the mere slaves of party or sect, but the broad-minded friends of humanity. So far back as the year 1855 he dwelt in one of his letters on “the want of independence of mind, the shutting their eyes, and professing to believe what they do not, the running blindly together in herds, for fear of some obscure danger and horror if they go alone,” which is “so eminently a vice of the English of the last hundred years.”

Again, in a letter to Mrs. Forster, dated January 28, 1861, he says: “Imagine an English Europe! How frightfully *borné* and dull!”

In his judgments on some of the most celebrated English poets and novelists he is scarcely just. For instance, we find him in 1864 giving expression to this opinion on Tennyson, who was certainly the most representative English poet of his time: “I do not think Tennyson a great and powerful spirit in any line—as Goethe was in the line of modern thought, Wordsworth in that of contemplation, Byron even in that of passion.” The exaggeration of this statement renders almost ineffectual the manifest element of comparative truth which it contains. More forcible, though not entirely fair either, is the allusion to Mr. Swinburne’s “fatal habit of using a hundred words where one would suffice,” and the description of this poet as “a pseudo-Shelley.”

Again, referring to Thackeray’s death in December 1863, Matthew Arnold writes to his mother: “He is not, to my thinking, a great writer.” If this could be said of Thackeray, then no English novelist of the present century would be entitled to the rank of “a great writer.”

The author of *Esmond* had his shortcomings, but he was a greater artist than Scott, and surely he is immeasurably superior to Dickens! Decidedly he was not a Fielding; but how many Fieldings has England produced?

His visit to the United States in 1883–1884 must have opened Matthew Arnold’s eyes to some of the faults of the American people; but his critical acumen appears to have been dimmed by the enthusiastic reception which he received. Certainly he had nothing but praise for America and the Americans. He, however, casually acknowledges their restlessness and love of notoriety.

It was in ascertaining the trend of modern thought that Matthew Arnold’s penetrative intelligence exhibited its powers most emphatically. Thus, in a remarkable letter to a French Protestant clergyman, M. Fontanès, dated March 25, 1881, he writes:

“Man feels himself to be a more various and richly endowed animal than the old religious theory of human life allowed, and he

is endeavouring to give satisfaction to the long suppressed and still imperfectly understood instincts of this varied nature. I think this revolution is happening everywhere. It is certainly happening in England, where the sombreness and narrowness of the religious world, and the rigid hold it long had upon us, have done so much to provoke it. I think it is, like all inevitable revolutions, a salutary one, but it greatly requires watching and guiding. The growing desire throughout the community for amusement and pleasure; the wonderful relaxation in the middle class of the old strictures as to theatres, dancing, and such things, are features which alarm many people; but they have their good side. They belong to this revolution of which I speak. The awakening demand for beauty, a demand so little made in this country for the last century and more, is another sign of the revolution, and a clearly favourable sign of it. Religious disputes have for so long a time touched the inmost fibre of our nation's being that they still attract great attention, and create passions and parties; but certainly they have not the significance which they once had. The moral is, that whoever treats religion, religious discussions, questions of churches and sects as absorbing, is not in vital sympathy with the movement of men's minds at present. . . . The great centre-current of our time is a *luxury*-current."

How true this is, and how admirably expressed! Matthew Arnold, classical as his poetry is in form and in its ideals, is, as a critic, the most modern of moderns. He was rather an interpreter of the spirit of the age than a prophet or a leader. If he lacked Carlyle's colossal force, he was free from that great writer's gloomy pessimism and love of vituperation. As a poet he may take rank after Tennyson and Browning, and in some respects his poetry is more inspiring than that of his two illustrious contemporaries. Misunderstood and censured by the champions of orthodox literality, he was really one of the most religious-minded of men. He taught his fellow-countrymen to associate happiness, and not misery, with righteousness. It was a lesson which England had need to learn.

D. F. HANNIGAN.

MONEY MATTERS.

THE progress and prosperity of our country depends very much, as every business man knows, upon having a good and sufficient monetary system to carry on the trade, commerce, and industries with, also, the best possible financial facilities. There is abundance of wealth and capital in Great Britain for any kind of business enterprise, but what is the use of it, locked up in misers' chests or kept in bank cellars? Wealth, at least money-wealth, is useless lying idle. The use of money is to circulate it, so that it may facilitate the selling and buying of the products of industry as soon as they are fit for the markets. Therefore there are no more important questions for the public consideration than those questions connected with money matters or banking and currency. For many years past the commercial classes have complained of the severe restrictions that were imposed upon banking in England by the several Bank Acts which have been passed to hinder the spread of banks, and to give the whole and sole control of the banking business into the hands of the Bank of England monopolists. It has got the sole privilege of issuing bank-notes in the City of London, and within a circle of sixty-five miles thereof. No other bank is allowed to compete with it on equal conditions. Not only is the monopolising influence of the Bank of England felt in London, but the country bankers are also prevented from issuing any more bank-notes than what were issued *fifty years ago*. The circulation has been curtailed to a minimum amount. In that way the best means for carrying on banking and for spreading ready-money amongst the people, and thereby encouraging trade and industry of every kind, is taken away from the country bankers. They are prevented from issuing their own bank-notes, by which means they could give credit and ready-money to their customers. The Bank of England monopoly has been most injurious and depressing to trade. It has been most awfully injurious since it got the additional powers conferred upon it by the Bank Act of 1844. There is little doubt, at least amongst commercial men, that the banking policy of protection and restriction then introduced caused the monetary panics of 1847, 1857, 1866, 1875, and the following depression of trade.

It is impossible that there can be free trade and freedom of commerce here, unless there be a free and expansive system of banking and currency to carry on free trade with. In the words of

Sir Archibald Alison, the historian, "there cannot be free trade with a fettered currency." We have referred to this more particularly in previous articles on banking, particularly to our article in the number for December 1894. We there showed how much and how far the Bank Act had operated against commerce, trade, and industry, and how a far better monetary system was actually in existence in this country before ever Sir Robert Peel laid his hand on these laws. His first Act fixing the price of gold was an economical mistake, or worse, a sin against common-sense. Time after time, Chambers of Commerce and even Committees of the Houses of Parliament have condemned these Acts. But the power and influence of the established bankers and the large capitalists has been so strong that they have held the old fort of the Bank of England monopoly spitefully.

The great mistake Sir Robert Peel made was that he directly upset Mr. Pitt's system of free trade, freedom of banking, and the liberal use of bank-notes, and rushed to the opposite policy of protection, monopolist banking, contraction of the paper currency, and the adoption of a gold currency. He made "a piece of gold of a certain weight and fineness" the standard for "the legal pound" by the Statute of 1816; up till that time, from 1797, the "legal pound" was a Bank of England note, guaranteed by the Government. Nothing could be better fitted for the purpose, because these "legal notes" served all the purposes of the home currency, and were not liable to be affected in value nor curtailed in quantity by any export of gold, as a gold currency is. Peel's object was to force the English people to use gold coin, hence he got the sovereign made to be the standard of value, which in effect fixed the price of gold at the Bank of England to be always 77s. 9*d.* per ounce to buy it at, and 77s. 10½*d.* to sell it at. This fixing of the price of gold has been the cause of all our currency troubles. If Pitt's freer system of currency had been left alone it would have saved this country from many monetary crises. When the law was made that gold must always be bought and sold in Britain at a fixed price, whenever gold is worth more in any other country than the fixed price here, then gold will be exported, and when the fixed price in Britain is the best price to be had, then gold will come to London. That is a plain solution of this question!

At length the Bank of England stronghold has been undermined by the African gold mines. What could not be accomplished by direct attack has been gained by the fortunate finding of an immense quantity of gold at the very time when the Bank of England had run so short of that metal that it did not know what to do for want of it. It has been stated by experts and gold merchants that gold had appreciated about 25 per cent. in comparison with other commodities since 1874, while the gold sovereign had all along con-

tinned to circulate at its face value. This proved to be very perplexing, and caused the depression of the prices of agricultural produce and manufactured goods. Since gold was found in such abundance as it has been, the apprehension of a scarcity has gone by, and the commercial classes have now got confidence in trade progressing steadily and prosperously. This is having the pleasing effect of causing the banks to lend out their money more liberally and cheaper than ever. This has already given some trades and speculations a great start forward, and no doubt the boom which has begun will spread to all trades and industries in this country, now when the restrictions of the Bank Acts have become a dead letter. This proves that this country could do without so much gold, as it has plenty of other kinds of wealth which is as good as gold, if not better. The credit of the British Government stands so high that national notes issued by the Treasury would form as good money as can be; and by issuing such an amount of "legal notes" as might be required for the home currency, larger and better trade could be carried on. The real advantage of an abundant paper currency is not fully appreciated yet in England. If there were enough of notes in circulation, almost all the retail business could be done with *ready-money*; then there would be better and safer trade than at present. Therefore there should be a general demand for the establishment of far more banks in this country, and every bank should be allowed to issue its own notes on the security of consols lodged with the Treasury for the amount of their issue. There cannot be an over-issue of notes with a proper banking system.

Almost all the other great civilised countries and the British colonies have adopted an improved system of banking and an expansive paper currency except our own Government, which still adheres to the antiquated system of the Bank of England. The Government of France has given great powers to the Bank of France, and that bank takes credit to its directors for providing and giving great facilities for carrying on trade and encouraging all the industries of France. It pays particular attention to small customers, and discounts bills and gives advances in amounts under 100 francs or £1 to an amazing extent to encourage the small agriculturists. The Bank of France had a note circulation on November 8, 1895, of £110,000,000, with liberty to extend that to £160,000,000. That Bank has been hoarding up gold to the amount of eighty million pounds sterling, and silver to about fifty million pounds' value, which is surely a stupid sinking of capital, as with the high credit the French Government has, it could do without much of that gold and silver—sell it and pay off rentes with the proceeds, and let the Bank issue notes on the basis of the rentes. In Germany there is also a great accumulation of gold and silver bullion, which will probably some day come into the market and upset it. Much

of that metal is superfluous, seeing the German Government has established a good system of banking and paper currency, which can stand and expand on its own basis of credit. Austria has now got enough of gold to satisfy itself, and it is reported that the premium which was upon gold in Vienna has now passed off; so that is a sign that gold is falling in value. But for the irrational notion that is entertained by some nations at the present day that their greatness and strength depends upon holding a great amount of bullion in their war-chests or in their banks to sustain their standing armies in case of war, gold might then become a drug in the market and fallen in value. The greater portion of the immense stores of gold and silver is of little use in peace; so some day there will be a glut in the gold-market, as there has already been in the silver-market. Governments may soon see the folly of hoarding up such great stores of useless gold bullion, when it is found by actual experience that national notes of good and stable Governments serve all the purposes of a circulating medium at home.

The United States shows all other States lessons in banking and currency. I had an opportunity of seeing through the Treasury at Washington and getting explanations of the way of conducting the monetary business there. All the Government banking, the receipt and payment of moneys, is done in that Department. The Hon. Treasurer told me there were 1200 officials employed in these offices, and most of them were ladies. He told me they were the smartest tellers of notes, and there is a great deal to do in giving out new notes and taking back the soiled ones. The "greenbacks" are all manufactured there. I was told they go through fourteen different hands and processes before being perfect, so they cannot be forged. There are £70,000,000 of "greenbacks" or national notes always out. These notes are reckoned as "national debt not bearing interest." Besides these, there are large amounts of silver and gold certificates and other forms of notes in circulation, together with the national bank-notes, which make a large amount of paper money, but not too much, as the American people really highly appreciate their paper currency; and I saw many instances in business places and in banks where the people showed their preference for their paper money over their coin. I saw a great quantity of silver coin laid up in bags in the Treasury stores. I asked the storekeeper why they were laying up so much silver? He told me it really was not needed, but the "silver men" in the Congress had got the Government to buy so much that that storing of silver has been stopped. But what is to be done with the stock of silver? The Americans tried to get a lot of it palmed on Europe. They have failed in that scheme, and so silver is a very bad stock to the Americans. As for gold, it has been a scarce commodity in the States; gold rose to a very high premium during the war, and it did not fall back to its old price until 1878. In 1873 there was a

monetary panic in the States owing to the want of gold. In 1874 the Americans made a run upon Britain for gold; that demand came upon the Bank of England at a time when the trade of this country was "booming"; but the Bank soon brought trade here to a stand by doubling its rate of discount and putting it up to 8 per cent. Had the Bank of England had the liberty or the sense to raise the price of gold here to such a height as to make the price of our gold to be equivalent to the price of our goods that would have stopped the run and sold our goods.

The following letter addressed to the *Western Daily Press* by Mr. T. S. Smith, a retired banker, puts the whole subject of banking and currency in a nutshell, thus:

"If fools rush in where angels fear to tread, one may well hesitate to enter the arena of controversy on this question, especially when one dares to differ from such a high authority as the leader of the House. I have met one learned professor, and also a great American advocate of bimetallism—in Bristol, and failed to get from either an answer to the questions: Why should there be a 'standard' of value, and why should not the Government be the national bankers? Bimetallists appear to me to base their theory on two fundamental errors: First, that there can and must be a 'standard' of value, and that all paper money must be convertible into gold. The one I regard as impossible, and the other unnecessary. All our coinage should be tokens representing exchangeable values. Our currency is principally in bank cheques and bills, and we need little of any other. We measure values, and exchange goods thereby. We reckon in £ s. d., and it matters little to a trader what the currency consists of, if his credit is good with his banker. No one will deny that this nation's credit is good all over the world, and therefore its note issue, based on consols or real estate, together with its coinage, would pass current anywhere. It would then matter little what value gold or silver stood at in the market: all articles would have their values determined, as they must always be, by the law of supply and demand, and there would be no monopoly of gold or silver or a fictitious price of either by Act of Parliament. It is not the scarcity of gold or its abundance which should affect trade."

We are now come to a fresh starting-point. Peel's Bank Acts have hindered the adoption of universal free trade because these Acts made a fixed price for gold, and that gave foreigners the opportunity of getting gold from Britain oftentimes cheaper than the prices of our goods. This should never be so. There is fortunately little or no chance of this occurring again, as gold is now so plentiful, and likely to become very much cheaper than it has been hitherto. But there is the opposite danger. The Bank of England may be filled choke full of gold, or it may refuse to take in any more of that metal than it wishes or requires, then the *sovereign* may become, like the *shilling*, not worth its face value intrinsically. However, the sovereigns may still be kept in circulation as "legal pounds." But the handiest and best circulating medium for modern times is national notes or secured bank-notes, and these can be issued for *ten shillings, one pound, five pounds* or for any suitable denominations, with great advantage to the public and profit to the State.

Now that the Bank of England no longer sits upon trade and commerce to contract the currency, and raise the rate of discount, commercial men can breathe freely, and they can now get money or capital to borrow at a normal rate. *Cheap and good money* is the best thing they can have for their prosperity, and for the encouragement of every trade and industry in the country. This will give good employment to the industrious classes. The London bankers, and bankers' papers, have never ceased complaining of the low rates to which interest and the rate of discount has fallen since gold became so plentiful. That was rather a selfish view. They ought to know that the high rates the banks got before, when the Bank of England could put up the rate when it willed, was the result, to a great extent, of the monopoly it had got by the Bank Acts. There might have been as many banks in this country as there are in the United States. Instead of having only one bank of issue in London, and within sixty-five miles of the City, and no notes in England below £5, with a very limited note issue for the country, there might have been as many banks in Britain as there are in the States of America, with its 4000 national banks, and such an ample note currency as would have satisfied every want which trade can require, and that on the safest and most economical system.

It is surprising to see a shrewd nobleman like the Duke of Devonshire saying that, "the rate of interest is ridiculously low." His Grace might as well say bread is ridiculously cheap. Cheap bread and cheap money are both of them essential necessities to the consumers of bread and the users of money. Therefore, it was wrong to make bread and money artificially dear. It is amongst the best things the Government can do for the commercial and industrial classes to give them the benefit of *free trade in banking*, and an unfettered currency, such as we had in Scotland up till 1845, when Sir Robert Peel spoilt the excellent Scottish banking system and made the then existing banks nearly as close monopolists as the Bank of England. The Duke spoke of helping the agricultural interest. It would certainly help the farmers vastly, both large and small farmers, if there were a number of local banks (such as I have seen elsewhere) established all over this country for taking in the deposits and savings of country people and working people and lending that money out again amongst the same classes to work upon, at moderate rates of interest and reasonable terms. This would give small farmers a chance to get on.

As to Ireland, it would be a great boon to the Irish people if the Trustees' Savings Banks there were transformed into companies' banks, so that they might lend out money as well as take in savings. There are about five millions of money in the savings banks of Ireland, which might all be utilised and employed in Irish industries. The writer pointed out this when he gave evidence before the Committee on Irish Industries in 1885. There are nearly 4000 People's

Banks in Germany; why not introduce similar banks into Ireland, which stands so much in need of them? The same system of popular banking could also be adopted in England and Scotland advantageously.

There has been a strong expression of opinion by several Members of Parliament and others in favour of adopting measures to ameliorate the condition of the working classes. If this wish is sincere, there should be no difficulty in getting the banking and monetary laws reformed, and suited to all the requirements of commerce, trade, and industry. No old notions should stand in the way of our adopting the best monetary system that is known at the present time, or has been known before. Our statesmen make a point of following precedents. Therefore, they should remember what the great Finance Minister said in the House of Commons on this subject in 1797, viz.:

"As so much has been said on the matter of a circulating medium, he thought it necessary to notice that he did not, for his own part, take it to be of that empirical kind which was generally described. It appeared to him to consist in anything that answered the great purposes of trade and commerce, whether in specie, paper, or any other terms (or forms) that might be used."

It is quite easy to establish banking companies under the Companies Act, 1862, &c. Table A of that Act is suited for the smaller class of banks. I was one of the originators of a bank of that kind in 1875, with a capital of £12,000, partly paid up, in a town of 20,000 inhabitants. It has done so well that it has now £80,000 deposits, and pays the shareholders 10 per cent. dividend. I have also aided in establishing other two banks of the same class in other places, and I am anxious to see popular banks of the same kind established all over the country, as I feel sure they would do so much good when well conducted. These banks would do far more good than the old fashioned Trustees' Banks. But it is an easy matter to engraft a bank of this kind upon any Trustees' Bank, as has been done in a bank I was connected with.

ROBERT EWEN.

P.S.—Since this article was written, President Cleveland's Message to Congress has come to hand referring to the Currency. His scheme is to issue interest-bearing bonds at long date and low interest, and to dispose of these bonds abroad, to sell them in London or elsewhere for gold wherewith to redeem greenbacks and notes in America. This proposal may do for the present time, but will not be a permanent remedy for their difficulty. The real remedy would be to adopt *free trade in gold* all round, then the exchanges would be squared by the export of produce instead of gold, and there would be fair and honest trade internationally. R. E.

BISKRA, THE DESERT QUEEN.

FAR from the blue Mediterranean, where Algeria merges into the Great Sahara, lies that beautiful oasis known as Biskra, "the Desert Queen." It is a region of charm and novelty, a region of camels and Arabs, of waving palms, and magical mirages, and sunsets which seem to give a hint of Heaven's inner splendours. One fine March morning we started from Algiers, and soon left the "white city," with its lovely bay, and the great ridge of the Atlas Mountains, behind. We passed by vineyards, and diversified if not very sublime scenery, till we reached the well-known Gorge of Palestro, with its wild rocks and foaming torrent—a fit entrance to the still wilder and more savage Kabylia, whose inhabitants proved such fierce enemies to France. The country now becomes entirely mountainous, is evidently of volcanic origin, and has been compared with the finest scenery of Switzerland. The railway is a marvel of engineering, and deep cuttings, tunnels, and iron bridges succeed each other rapidly. At intervals a cluster of Kabyle huts dot the landscape. Constructed of rough stones, without mortar or cement, these have no windows or chimneys, and the smoke escapes as it can through the doors. The easy-going Kabyles push democracy to extreme limits, living on familiar and equal terms with their cattle and their swine—all occupying the common dwelling. A fine, hardy race of great bravery and many noble traits, they yet resemble the Arabs in their want of honesty. A story is told of a chief of theirs, Mokrani, which makes us think the days of chivalry are not yet gone. When, worsted in the Franco-German War in 1871, the French had to withdraw their troops from Algeria, and thus a grand opening was left for insurrection, Mokrani would not rebel, as he had pledged his word to the Algerian Governor that there would be no rising against the French authority till the war was over. Even when a peace had been made, and he was thus released from his promise, he gave forty-eight hours' notice to the French of his intention to commence hostilities against them. Verily, he was a hero, and he died a hero's death in the thick of battle.

At Setif we broke the journey, and found at the Hotel de France sufficiently comfortable quarters. The little town need not long detain us. It is surrounded by a wall, has quite a pretty mosque, and at the market-place can be seen some very interesting Kabyle and Arab types. It is the chief wool-mart of the district. The

second day's trip to Biskra prepares us for the Sahara. A long plain extends for hours, with just enough vegetation to prevent its being the desert, and yet with sufficiently little to make it a picture of aridity and desolation, which is heightened by the barren Aurès Mountains. Batna is an important military station, and many travellers spend the night there in order to visit next day the Roman ruins of Timgad and Lambessa. At the latter place is the fine Prætorium and a triumphal arch, besides fallen columns, parts of aqueducts, and old gates. The celebrated Third Legion was established there in order to curb the Numidians, and to prevent their desolating Northern Africa. Timgad has also a triumphal arch, as well as a fine theatre and a forum. The visit to these ruins is made in carriage, occupies a whole day, and barely repays the trouble. After leaving Batna the weather, which had been gloomy, brightened up, and we had a true African sun. A good road ran beside the railway line, and a stream also accompanied us most of the day's journey. The country was much more interesting at Ain Touta: there were numerous trees, the mountains were more diversified, and we saw a great number of camels. There was one piece of superb scenery when we passed through the "mountain-gate" of the desert and the oasis of El Kantara burst upon us with its myriad palms, and the beautiful tints of its pomegranate blossoms stood out against the milk-white almonds. The tiny stream, our constant friend, widened out to quite a river, spanned by a noble old Roman bridge, which gives the district its name—El Kantara, signifying bridge.

More barren country succeeded, and the tints of evening had added their magic to the desert landscape when we got our first view of Biskra—a vast sea of palms, with the lamps, which were already lighted, gleaming here and there like fire-flies amid the sombre foliage. The Biskran oasis, with its 150,000 trees, is only about two miles long, and extends in half-a-dozen little villages by the Oued stream. The Arabs, in their poetic phraseology, style it variously, the "Desert Queen," the "Queen of the Oases," and the "Pearl of the Desert." Seen, after two days' journey through barren, treeless wastes, with its waving palms and brilliant verdure, it is a sight difficult to rival. Biskra has several fine buildings, of which the town-hall, built in the Oriental style, with gleaming cupola and a forest of dainty pillars, is the gem. It cost £6000, and is cheap at that figure, but, of course, labour here is had for a song.

The Oued Biskra flows through the oasis, and causes much of its prosperity. The chief industry is date-raising, and nearly all the inhabitants own a little plot of ground devoted to this purpose, and generally their only source of revenue. Biskra owes much to the *Compagnie de l'Oued el R'irh*, who bored artesian wells and laid out vast date-plantations. They also erected a fine Casino, and con-

structed a tramway to the celebrated Hammam Salahine, about six miles distant—springs well known to the Romans, whence Biskra was called *Ad Piscinam*. In consideration of all these benefits the company was granted various privileges. They are to enjoy for ninety-nine years the profits arising from the springs and from 300 acres of land, besides a large town-plot.

Biskra is practically the "key to the Sahara," and hence ever since the French entered in 1844 has been an important military station. The lover of Orientalism will find it here in a much purer form than in semi-Europeanised Algiers, and can also enjoy an almost perfect climate. The district, however, is not rainless, as is often supposed; on the contrary, in winter there is a fair share of rain, though not so much as in Algiers, where this is the weak point in the climate. Like Algiers, it is beautifully mild, there is no snow, and for the majority of the winter there is brilliant sunshine, and a very even temperature. In the summer, however, it is almost uninhabitable. No one dreams of staying there unless military or other duty compels them. The heat is intense, the water noxious, and snakes and scorpions abound, whose bite often proves deadly in an hour. The country at this period is subject to plagues of grasshoppers, the ruination of all verdure and produce. A very annoying malady called "*clou de Biskra*," Biskra pimple, prevails, which is said to resist most treatment except change of air.

The population of the oasis amounts to about 10,000 people, of whom not more than one-fifth are Europeans. The rest are Arabs, the Berber descendants of the Kabyles, the Coulouglis descendants of the Turks, Soudanese negroes, beside Rouares, and Mozabites, so called from the desert districts whence they come. The Mozabites are a kind of Oriental Jews; their whole aim is to acquire wealth and commercial importance; they are chiefly tobacco merchants and grocers, and, like the Jews, are cordially disliked. They are easily recognised by the rug of various colours they wear over the shoulders. The Touaregs, who inhabit the Central Sahara, wear their haiks up to their eyes, hence their name, which means "veiled."

The morning after our arrival we sauntered out to see the sights, and were soon accosted by a bright-looking negro boy, who spoke French very well, and proffered his services as guide. A few moments found us at the one-storied collection of mud-huts known as the "negro village," occupied by a Soudanese tribe, who were slaves until liberated by the French. They wore burnouses and turbans quite like the Arabs, and seemed to follow the Arabic cuisine, as we noticed several preparing the kouskous in their huts. This dish consists of semolina as basis, and the well-to-do add meat and vegetables. The negresses squatted before their doors, many of them wearing gold necklaces, sequins, and rich silver ornaments.

Their chief occupation seemed to be nursing their bright-eyed babes ; several wore leather charms around their necks, but as they were ready to sell them for a few sous, it is to be supposed they had small faith in their efficacy.

Conversing with our little negro guide, we found that his education had not been neglected. Besides being able to write Arabic and speak French, he was well versed in arithmetic and geography. We next went to the beautiful gardens of the Château Landon. Thousands of date-palms and caroub trees grow by the rippling streams let through the property for irrigating purposes. Scattered through the grounds are magnificently-furnished pavilions and kiosks. Conte Landon is a French gentleman who has devoted his life to agriculture, and certainly with success, as any one fortunate enough to see these gardens will acknowledge. In the afternoon we made the excursion to the baths of Hammam Salahin, so well known to the Romans. A tiny tram runs there several times a day and passes through the most deserted region imaginable ; not a tree nor a shrub relieves the landscape, but a barren waste stretches to the Aurès Mountains, which rival the plain in monotony. A small establishment has been constructed at the spring, which is sulphuric, yields about 2000 quarts a minute, and is considered very beneficial for consumption, bronchitis, and skin affections. The French call it Fontaine Chaude. The tram stops here for about three-quarters of an hour, sufficiently long for the visitor to have his plunge. For ourselves, who made this excursion for sight-seeing purposes, we thought the time would never pass, as the place is void of interest. A few most miserable Kabyles, under a tattered piece of canvas, called by courtesy a tent, were cooking some dreadful compound, the stench of which offended the breeze. Some children in scanty rags were feebly asking for alms.

On the whole, to get a complete picture of desolation and wretchedness one cannot do better than go to Hammam Salahin. An evening is spent very pleasantly in seeing the celebrated Ouled Naïls in the brilliantly illuminated streets, or dancing at the cafés. These Almées are a great institution of the Sahara, and from earliest childhood are taught the *danse du ventre* till their muscles acquire a flexibility little short of miraculous. There are very few Ouled Naïls in Biskra, but their ranks are supplemented by Spanish girls and negresses ; however, when a genuine one does appear she is eagerly sought out by the artist as a model. Clothed in gaudy colours, covered with one mass of silver ornaments, bracelets, anklets, and sequins, with the warm complexion of the south, and great raven tresses, their aspect is striking in the extreme. Their complexion they improve according to their notions by liberal use of tar and saffron, and they amplify their capillary attractions with horse hair. We noticed many points of resemblance between the Ouled Naïls

and the Japanese women; both wear their hair in a formidable pyramid and only arrange it at intervals of weeks or even months; both give themselves up to a life of licence for years, losing none of their status by so doing; both settle down and marry afterwards on the dot secured by their frailties. To do justice to the Japanese, they are cleanly in their habits, while the Ouled Naïls only damp the eyelids for toilet, and never dream of washing more than once in a few months. We first went to see the dancing in the Arab cafés, and were guided there by the deafening noise of the tom-tom and the nouba. Entering one of them, we found the *clientèle* entirely Oriental, and every seat occupied. With native courtesy several offered us their places, and finally we found ourselves next a tall, good-looking Arab, who possessed a slight stock of English, of which he seemed very proud. He informed us that he had been to America and had spent several months in Boston, and he seemed to have accepted the statement of its citizens that it was the "Hub" of the universe. Ordering coffee, we looked around the place to which chance had brought us, and saw that the room was originally white, but that smoke had blackened ceiling and rafter. The flickering light cast on dark face and snowy bournous, and on the gaudy Ouled Naïls, with their glittering ornaments, formed a most fantastic scene. These girls danced in a very languid fashion, and we had come to the conclusion that the whole performance was overpraised, and had said as much to our Arab-American acquaintance, when he recommended us to reserve judgment to the next evening, when we could see the dance properly at the Casino. We may say that the next night ten Ouled Naïls, the pick of the tribe for beauty and agility, and dressed in queenly splendour, by their clever and graceful dancing quite did away with our first false impressions. The market-place at Biskra is a sight one can never tire of; go there when you will, and there is always something new and interesting. There cross each other at every instant the various tribes of the desert, the veiled Touareg, the negro of the Soudan, the fiery Kabyle, and the cunning Mozabite. Camels stand around burdened with heavy packs of merchandise, ready to undertake long journeys that often cease only at far Timbuctoo. Arab artisans engage in their various trades: here is a shoemaker patching a yellow Turkish slipper; here is another stitching away for dear life and hemming perfectly straight without even casting a glance at his work; yon group of attentive Arabs listen with all their ears to the story-teller, who, perhaps, dresses up one of the *Thousand-and-One Nights*, and punctuates it with the boom of the tom-tom to still further increase his audience. In several stalls long Oriental gems, rich with ivory and chased silver, woollen carpets from the Ziban, and burnouses from Zouf are displayed in tempting profusion. In other stalls are seen stuffed lizards,

antelopes' and gazelles' horns, and gaudily decorated pocket-mirrors used by the negresses and Ouled Nails. Another curio is the nouba or Arabian flute, another a guitar made with the whole shell of the tortoise. We were shown tiny vases for holding the antimony with which the Oriental women darken their eyebrows. In the butchers' department camels' flesh was selling at 2*l.* per lb. Contrary to what our guide told us, we found that bargaining produced a reduction of fully 100 per cent. on the articles we had chosen, and even at that figure we had probably paid too much.

The excursion to Sidi-Okba is the most interesting in the environs of Biskra; besides giving us the opportunity of seeing a second oasis, there is a curious Arab village there, and the celebrated mosque of Okba, said to be the oldest in Africa, and the goal of annual pilgrimages. Okba was not only a great warrior but was a distinguished marabout, and "the first apostle of Mahomet," for it was he, who, sword in hand, carried the faith of the prophet from Egypt to Morocco, and when he had no other worlds to conquer, according to the well-known story, he rode his horse into the Atlantic, saying that only such an obstacle could prevent him from forcing the whole world either to embrace Islamism or die. We cannot help thinking that there was just a little "bluffing" in this action of the worthy apostle, for, when on dry land at Kef-Ed-Dor he gave up his march westward because the country looked so forlorn. Okba's tomb is in the mosque, and on one of the pillars in Cufic characters: "Here lies Okba, son of Nafé; may God receive him in His mercy."

The afternoon was superb, and as we drove away from the oasis it is impossible to describe how absolutely beautiful it looked under the tints of evening; as the long line of palms slowly faded away in the twilight we felt that Sidi-Okba was now only a memory. Before concluding this brief sketch, a few words of practical information for travellers. The three best hotels are the Royal, Sahara, and Victoria. There are a few good shops for photos and curios. The best place of rendezvous is the Casino, at which there is music every evening, besides an Arab or other *fêlé* once weekly. There is one salon devoted to baccarat, and another to a kind of roulette, at which only very small stakes are allowed. The finest general view of Biskra and the desert is obtained from the minaret of the mosque of Sidi-Youdi. When we went there it was sunset, and then we could understand why so many artists come to Biskra. The mountains merged into a tender blue beneath the evening light, afar a caravan trailed its slow way to the oasis, and the whole desert was one kaleidoscope of shifting colours, "the last still loveliest." It is in an hour like this one feels the full charm of the "gorgeous East."

ROBERT W. W. CRYAN.

THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago on the ninth of August, the Royal Assent was given to the Education Bill and an end put to the strife of tongues and jar of clashing creeds which preceded the passing of that measure. The religious question out of the way, the Boards called into existence by that Act quietly settled down to the consideration of a good all-round education, and a generation of men have grown up who have reason to bless their labours.

But now again the noise of denominational strife and sectarian clangour resounds in the air. The clerics of the Roman and Anglican Churches have arrayed their allied forces for a combined assault on the educational settlement of 1870, and are attacking it both in its religious and its financial aspects. The payment of education rates, which was agreed to by all parties in 1870, is now denounced as a cruel injustice; and the continuance of an un-denominational system of religious instruction in Board schools is declared an interference with religious liberty.

The cause of this is not far to seek. Face to face with the gradually expanding wants of national education, the voluntary system has been tried and found wanting; and the only sensible patriotic course left for denominational managers to pursue, is to hand their schools over to the nation on fair and reasonable terms. But this they refuse to do. The sweets of privilege once tasted are not readily foregone, and the managers of these schools are determined to cling to the advantages they have enjoyed so long. Unable to raise the comparatively small amount necessary to maintain their schools on a voluntary basis, they have set themselves to convince the nation that that basis is wrong, and that they ought to be allowed to retain all the advantages connected with the system, while contributing little or nothing in return. In short, they are determined to cling to the management of their schools at all costs except pecuniary ones. So far they have failed in agreeing on the details of a scheme for dipping their hands still deeper into the public purse; but the leaders of the Conservative party and the chief dignitaries of the Established Church are directing their attention to the question, and, if political omens count for anything, it is almost

certain that one of the first acts of the new Government will be an attempt to further endow an already privileged sect. But the clerical party seems determined not only to bolster up its own schools but to capture the Board schools and teach its creed in them as well. In view of these facts, a general survey of the whole position seems desirable, and I propose—

I. To review briefly the educational settlement of 1870 as it affects both Board and Voluntary schools;

II. To examine the grounds on which the clerical party is demanding a re-settlement of the question; and

III. To discuss the principles on which a permanent system of national education may be founded.

I.

Sub-section 2, clause 14, of the Education Act embodies the well-known Cowper-Temple compromise, and defines the limits within which religious instruction may be given in Board schools. The entire clause runs:

“Every school provided by a School Board shall be conducted under the control and management of such School Board in accordance with the following regulations: (1) The school shall be a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act; (2) No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school.”

To be a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act, the school had to adopt the well-known time-table conscience clause, which provides that all religious instruction shall be given in definitely specified times clearly indicated on the time-table, and secures for parents the right to withdraw their children from such instruction if they so desire. The financial principle underlying this settlement was that no public money should be devoted to teaching which had for its aim the furtherance of sectarian ends. Local rates might be expended in providing religious instruction of an undenominational character, but imperial funds were to be “disbursed solely and exclusively for secular results.”

But when the State determined to undertake the charge of education in 1870 it found a number of schools in the hands of the various religious denominations. Some of these had been built by private subscriptions; others with the aid of Government grants; while nearly all had for a considerable time been in receipt of maintenance grants from the Imperial Exchequer. The existence of these schools complicated the problem with which statesmen had to deal. The various religious bodies, looking each to its own particular interest, refused to give them up; and the Government of that

time, looking simply to the saving of the hour, agreed to recognise them as public schools and supply them with maintenance grants, on the understanding that in return for the privilege conceded them of being allowed to teach their creeds, the managers of each school should contribute a certain proportion of the cost. In the payment of certain subscriptions in return for certain denominational advantages lies the essence of the Voluntary System as recognised by the Act of 1870. If the managers contribute nothing, the schools lose their voluntary character. They become mere denominational nurseries, and in giving sectarian instruction at the expense of the State violate the principles of the Act of 1870.

Viewed either as an abstract principle or as a question of concrete finance, this arrangement was more than fair to the Established Church. According to last year's Educational Blue Book, the Church had 11,897 schools with 2,280,799 children on the books, and a staff of 38,623 adult teachers. The aggregate annual income of its schools amounted to £3,572,441, and towards this it contributed in the form of voluntary subscriptions the sum of £622,034. Thus in return for a little over one-sixth of the total cost of maintenance the Church had in its irresponsible control the education of over two and a quarter million children in nearly 12,000 schools, with absolute power over the appointment and dismissal of nearly 40,000 public servants engaged in public work.

Further, in 123 boroughs, 69 Urban Sanitary Districts, and 579 Unions in England and Wales, with a population of nearly 10,000,000, there were no Board schools; and in the great majority of cases Nonconformists in these districts were compelled by law to send their children to Church schools, and accept for them a religious education according to Church ideas, or no religious education at all. And yet clergymen and a few bigoted laymen complain that the operation of the Act presses unfairly on Churchmen. Imagine the positions reversed. Suppose the Baptists the State-supported dominant party in these districts, and Churchmen compelled by law to send their children to Baptist schools, and receive for them a religious education according to the Baptists' ideas, or no religious education at all, in public schools. Would they, in that case, assert that the balance of disadvantage lay with the Baptists?

II.

But even on such advantageous terms denominational managers are unable to maintain their schools. At the recent Church Congress at Norwich, Canon Daniel said that managers could not go on for ever "struggling against the competition of School Boards, against the ever increasing cost of school maintenance, and against the increasing unwillingness even of well-disposed Churchmen to pay for

education twice over, first, in the form of a School Board rate, and secondly, in the form of subscriptions."

Side by side with this statement I put another, by the Bishop of Hereford. The Bishop has drawn up one of the many schemes in existence for settling this question; and in urging the continuance of voluntary subscriptions states that "these subscriptions form the most conclusive proof that Churchmen are sincere in their professions of earnestness in this matter."

Viewed in the light of this sensible statement, what does this "increasing unwillingness of even well-disposed Churchmen" to go on supporting Church schools prove? It proves the utter hollowness of the plea that Churchmen as a body desire a distinctively Church education for their children in public day schools. Fancy a Nonconformist refusing to support his chapel because he happened to be compelled to pay tithes! On this question the Bishop of Hereford speaks with manly frankness: "The real truth of the matter," he says, "would seem to be that in so far as the parents have any ideas or wishes on the subject, they distinctly desire a religious education for their children, and are, as a rule, perfectly satisfied if the Bible is taught." Canon Daniel, too, in the address from which I have quoted, confesses the same thing, and adds that their first duty is "to convince parents of the value of definite religious instruction and let the demand (for it) come from them." The demand then, according to both these authorities on Church education, does not come from the parents. The desire "to retain the predominant influence in the management of the schools" exists, says the Bishop, among "the High-Church clergy and like-minded laymen of the upper and middle classes."

After giving away the whole case for a further continuance of the Denominational System by the admission just quoted, Canon Daniel, with a charming lack of logical acumen, goes on to say that, "For twenty-five years they (Churchmen) have in School Board districts been penalised for their religious convictions. They have been compelled to contribute to an educational fund from which they have not been able to derive any benefit except under conditions their consciences will not, in many cases, allow them to accept. A new religion," he adds, "has been established and endowed, and those who contribute the endowments left out in the cold."

Seeing that Church parents (according to the Canon's own confession) are satisfied if the Bible is read and explained, it is difficult to see how they are prevented by religious scruples from sending their children to Board schools; and the Canon does not explain. Assuming, however, in spite of the Canon's statement to the contrary, that this demand for definite instruction in the principles of the Church of England does come from parents, what of this alleged penalisation, and of the statement often made, that to compel a

Churchman to send his child to a Board school is to interfere with his religious liberty?

The Board schools Churchmen are compelled to support are as open to their children as they are to the children of Nonconformists, and their refusal to take advantage of them is a purely voluntary act on their part. So much for the first disability. The second has been cleverly manufactured by confusing that interference with personal liberty, which prevents unscrupulous and indifferent parents from neglecting their children's interests in the matter of secular education, with an interference which would compel a man to accept for his children religious instruction in doctrines in which he did not believe. The first interference is a recognised fact. The second has no existence. The Conscience Clause was expressly adopted to prevent such interference. Churchmen and Dissenters stand on exactly the same footing in this respect in School Board districts.

The clerical party have thrown so much dust into the public eye, and created so much confusion in the public mind with regard to this question of interference with religious liberty, that it is necessary to go right to the root of the matter, and point out in what religious freedom consists. The essence of religious freedom lies in every man being allowed to worship in his own way, and also, if he desires it, to propagate his creed, provided—and the proviso is important—that such propagation is at his own expense. Where absolute religious freedom exists no man is compelled either to accept or pay for the teaching of creeds in which he does not believe.

It has been already shown that no man is compelled to accept religious instruction for his children. Can the charge be brought against the School Board system that it compels men to pay for the teaching of doctrines in which they do not believe? Undoubtedly this charge can be brought against it, but not by Churchmen. Secularists have a real ground of complaint on this score; but no Churchman who professes to believe in the doctrines of his Church can honestly complain that, in paying rates which go to the support of an undenominational system of education, he is being compelled to pay for the teaching of doctrines in which he does not believe. The only charge he can bring against the system is, that it does not teach *all* he professes to believe—only part, and the same holds true of every Nonconformist.

In fact, those who are crying out so loudly about religious injustice are simply proclaiming their inability to distinguish between religious equality and denominational privilege. Accustomed so long to the latter, they are actually fancying that in being compelled to pay for acknowledged privileges they are being deprived of the former. Zeal for their own Church has rendered them incapable of appreciating aright the position taken up by the Free Churches.

They have talked about this "new School Board religion" so long that they are beginning to imagine that School Boards are propagating a new creed at the expense of the ratepayers. Undenominationalism in its very essence cannot be a new creed or religious belief. It is simply the common ground on which the great mass of the religious denominations agreed to stand in 1870. It is a compromise for the common good and is the outcome of,

I. A belief on the part of those who promote it, that religious instruction should form an essential part of a child's education.

II. A desire on their part to respect the religious convictions of all classes.

These ends can only be reached by a compromise so far as our public schools are concerned; and the ground taken up by Nonconformists (and many Churchmen too) is that the free and open Bible should be placed in the hands of our day-school teachers, and that they should be requested to teach various historic portions of the Old and New Testaments with special reference to the life and teaching of Christ, together with numerous other selected portions of a strictly ethical nature, and that in a "spirit of love and reverence," with exceeding care not to inculcate any view which is distinctive of any particular denomination or sect. No Protestant to whom the Bible is the bed-rock of his religious belief can object to this; and no one who respects religious freedom and individual conscience can demand more in our public schools, be they primary or secondary.

The Free Churches have accepted this as a common basis and are quite willing to superimpose on the foundations thus laid in our primary schools all those *definite beliefs* which are distinctive of their various denominations, and that in their own Sunday Schools at their own expense. It should be clearly understood that those who are clamouring so noisily for definite religious instruction in public day-schools are not the only people who believe in and desire definite religious instruction for their children. Nonconformists believe in and desire this as much as Churchmen, but, as I have said, they are quite content to provide this outside the common schools at their own expense. But this is exactly what the Clerical party refuse to do. They claim privileged ground. As in their Church, so in their day-schools, they wish to be allowed to teach their creed at the public expense, and because so far they have been asked to contribute a *quid pro quo* in the shape of voluntary subscriptions, they declare they are being unjustly treated and that their liberty is interfered with.

III.

The recurrent opening of this education question is much to be deplored. It is alike hostile to the interests of religious peace and of true education itself. It emphasises and magnifies those petty distinctions that exist among what is, after all, only different branches of the same great religious family, and amid the cries of partisans, the wail of the child is apt to pass unheard. Permanence then is what we must aim at in any new settlement, and permanence can only be founded on justice. Might may for a considerable time prevail, but in the long run the extent and influence of any institution will be exactly measured by the amount of right and justice it has in it. An institution or system founded on injustice is like the proverbial house built on sand. No system of national education can ever be permanent which is not religiously just and educationally efficient.

There are three ways in which the State may deal with this question of religious instruction :

I. It may endeavour to provide a sound general education, and leave with parents and religious denominations the responsibility of providing religious instruction.

II. It may endeavour to provide a sound general education, accompanied by religious instruction in the particular creed to which the child's parent professes adherence.

III. It may endeavour to provide a sound general education, accompanied by instruction in those great religious principles on which every well-regulated life is based, and which are common to all branches of our great Christian brotherhood.

Viewed from the standpoint of religious freedom and equality, the first of these is the most just, and if parents and religious bodies could be relied on to provide the religious instruction, it would also be the best from an ideal point of view. It is the only one which would create no religious disability, and there is no doubt that if any Government were strong enough to draw out and put into effect a complete system of compulsory secular education, and allow no religious instruction in our public schools, it would be a direct and substantial gain for purely secular education. Apart from the time gained, which in itself would be an important matter, especially as it is almost invariably the best part of the day that is set apart for religious instruction, such a system would allow a concentration and effective utilisation of our teaching forces impossible under a dual system. But the defects of the system become apparent the

moment we ask ourselves : Can parents and religious bodies be relied upon to provide this purely religious instruction ? I believe there is not the smallest doubt that, but for the evangelising agency of our primary schools, there are hundreds and thousands of children who would never be taught to lisp the name of our Heavenly Father. But the preponderance of public opinion in favour of religious education in our primary schools is such that it puts the question beyond the pale of practical politics and renders any enumeration of the defects of the system entirely unnecessary.

There are two methods by which it is proposed to give children in our public schools a religious education according to the beliefs of their parents.

(1) By grouping the children of one particular denomination in one school, appointing teachers of that particular belief, and giving the children an education entirely on the lines desired by such denomination.

(2) By allowing teachers of the various denominations to go into our ordinary public schools at certain specified times, and give religious instruction according to their particular beliefs to the children of their particular denominations attending those schools.

The first of these is already in operation in Voluntary schools ; the second was advocated by the deputation of Churchmen that recently waited on the Prime Minister. I propose to consider these in order, looking solely to educational efficiency and religious equality. Were it possible to provide in every district, within reasonable distance of every child, a denominational school giving religious instruction according to the wishes of parents of all sects and beliefs, it would be a system of absolute religious equality ; and such instruction might be provided at the expense of the State without causing the slightest religious inequality or disability. But the mere setting out of such a proposal is sufficient to show its inherent absurdity. The most that can be done is to group together the children of a few of the more powerful sects, and allow these to give them an education according to their particular beliefs. And what is the result ? The infliction of a serious religious disability on all the smaller sects. What is the position in which parents belonging to the smaller sects are placed by such a system ? They are compelled, as I have already shown, to accept a religious education for their children according to the belief of the particular sect that happens to be dominant in their particular district, or receive for them no religious education at all in our public schools. In other words, the strong dominant sects that are best able to provide a religious education for their children would have such education provided for them ; while the small struggling sects that are least able to provide it would be compelled

to do so. Is not this the very tyranny of power? Is there—can there be—in such a system as this that religious freedom and equality essential to permanence? Yet this is the system the clerics of the Anglican Church have banded themselves together to perpetuate and promote. In the assertion of what they claim as their own rights they are prepared to ride rough-shod over the rights of others. In the sacred names of justice and religious equality they are seeking to inflict the grossest injustice on their fellow-men, and to perpetuate a system of privileged ecclesiasticism.

But, except in fair-sized towns, even this grouping of the children of the larger sects cannot be carried out without the multiplication of a number of small schools; and I should like to direct the most careful attention to the educational effect of the multiplication of small schools, especially as I note that the deputation of Churchmen to which I have referred, points to this as a means by which the religious difficulty may be minimised.

The school in which the most efficient education can be given is the school in which you can afford to have a capable adult teacher for each class or standard, working in a separate class-room, under the direction of an experienced head teacher. Such a school admits adequate division of labour and undivided attention to the children, provided the classes are not too large. Below this point the smaller the school the less efficient it becomes. So much has this difficulty been felt that the Education Department has been compelled to draw up less exacting schemes of instruction for children in small schools. I have no hesitation in saying that the limited amount of education given in many of our rural schools is a disgrace to our boasted civilisation, and that a blot remains on our statesmanship so long as our village lads are compelled, by the limited educational facilities within their reach, to enter life grossly handicapped. Scarcity of population makes small schools an absolute necessity in rural districts and small villages, but this evil has been greatly intensified by the existence of our dual system, which permits two comparatively inefficient small schools to exist side by side, where one fairly large school could be made capable of giving a much more efficient education at a much smaller cost. The multiplication of small schools to meet the religious beliefs of parents would intensify this evil, and largely increase the cost of education.

It is clear, therefore, that the continuance of a system by which the children of the larger sects are grouped together in separate schools for purposes of religious instruction means perpetuated religious disability, minimised educational efficiency, and, whatever the immediate saving may be, in the long run, financial waste.

The second plan—viz., that of allowing teachers representing the various sects to go into the schools and give the religious instruction—would obviate the necessity for the multiplication of small

inefficient schools, and, if adopted, would interfere less with the efficiency of the secular instruction. But it is open to the same objection as the other. It could only be taken advantage of by the larger sects, and would entail the same disabilities on smaller denominations. One has only to imagine it actually in operation to see its impracticability. Just fancy the pastors of two or three denominations entering a small village school, consisting of only one fair-sized room, to give religious instruction according to their various beliefs, each within sound of the others' voices, and you can at once realise the possibilities of the system. And this would be no unusual combination.

But suppose it carried out under the most favourable conditions. Imagine you have a large school with six separate class-rooms, and that six of the various denominations express a desire to give religious instruction. Here you have a separate class-room for each. More favourable conditions you could hardly expect. What is the result? Your first step has been a false one. You have classified your children, not on educational, but on religious grounds. You have classified them, not according to capacity and attainment, but according to the religious beliefs of their parents. Proper gradation of work is no longer possible. Instead of having a teacher in one class-room face to face with the youngest children and telling them, in simple childlike language, the story of the child Jesus, and other teachers, in other rooms, each giving more advanced instruction, till in the highest class, they are tracing the hand of God in the history of the world, and following His dealings with the nations you have one man, and that not a trained teacher, vainly trying to adapt his lessons to the capacity of children of all ages. Assuming every claim made by the clerics on behalf of definite dogmatic instruction to be fully substantiated, would the little bit of sectarian instruction which such men so circumstanced would be able to impart form anything like adequate compensation for the loss entailed by such uneducational methods? Would they not be throwing away the bone in catching at the shadow?

But the worst and most objectionable feature of this system is that it would divide the school into sects, and emphasise differences that are far too acute already. Does there exist among us such a superabundance of sweet reasonableness and charitable forbearance that we can thus afford to violate the sanctuary of youth, and, like old border chiefs instilling into their sons' minds the memory of some hereditary blood-feud, warn our children against the subtlety and error of the teaching given by a misguided brother to the unfortunate little lads in the next room? Alike on the ground of religious equality and of educational efficiency, the two plans proposed for giving religious instruction according to the beliefs of parents stand condemned.

The only scheme which remains is that for giving a sound general education accompanied by religious instruction on undenominational lines, such as is at present given in our Board schools. This plan is, as I have said, the result of a compromise, and as a consequence cannot be ideally perfect. On the one hand it retains an element of religious disability for those who are unable to accept instruction for their children in the great truths taught by the Founder of Christianity; and on the other hand it does not attempt to give *all* the religious instruction desired by any of the Christian Churches. But the teaching it does give is such as all "orthodox theologians would endorse," and it forms a broad and sound foundation on which any Christian sect may rear a superstructure of denominational teaching. Practically all our Free Churches have accepted this as a common basis, and are quite content to rear this superstructure of denominational teaching *in their own Sunday-schools at their own expense*. But the State-buttressed Church of England, with its great and powerful religious organisation, shrinks from undertaking a burden that is ungrudgingly and uncomplainingly sustained by the smallest and poorest of our Nonconformist bodies, and plaintively appeals for State assistance in teaching its creeds.

NONCONFORMIST.

THE PROBLEMS OF PAUPERISM AND OLD AGE PENSIONS.

No one could read the article of Mr. J. W. Williams on "Old Age Pensions" in the August number of this REVIEW without feeling how pressing and how difficult is the question with which he so ably deals.

It is impossible, however, having regard to Mr. Williams' second paragraph, to resist serious doubts, not only as to the appropriateness of his scheme to gain the end there indicated, but as to whether it does not to a great extent miss the vital points at issue.

Mr. Williams there says: "The whole question appears to be 'Old Age Pensions *versus* Workhouse.' This proposal is to substitute the one for the other. Which is the better? to provide an old and poor man with a pension, or send him to the workhouse? He can go to the workhouse now."

This statement of the question, perhaps, demands a little modification. A perfectly justifiable prejudice, which, however, has nothing really to do with the subject of the article, is raised by the use of the word "Workhouse." The system that offers no refuge to those who are acknowledged to be past work, but a place whose name is a standing mockery of their feebleness cannot be defended. What is really meant is, "Outdoor Pensions *versus* Relief in Institutions."

Accepting, then, the abolition of institutional treatment of the aged poor as the aim of Mr. Williams' scheme, its success must obviously depend on the extent to which its proposals are applicable to the actual conditions of pauper life.

There is too much reason to fear that these are such as must render the hope of a serious reduction in mere numbers even by any plan based on supplementing savings futile, and the abolition of institutional treatment, in any case, impossible.

Circumstances that render saving impossible, misfortunes that no human foresight could guard against, conditions of mental character, of health, of training imposed by nature or surroundings, play a far larger part than improvidence or wrong-doing in bringing men, especially such as those whose hard lots have most to do with the dissatisfaction out of which the cry for State Pensions has arisen, to the workhouse door in their latter days. It is no exaggeration to say that the vast majority of aged paupers are actually drawn from

a class among whom the ruling rate of wage is so low that it is sometimes doubtful whether saving for the future may not almost assume the character of a vice, since it must mean the reduction of sources of support already insufficient for the healthy maintenance of themselves and their families.

That all these would be untouched by Mr. Williams' proposal is obvious. Nothing short of a free pension grant could reach them. Mr. Williams, indeed, seems to recognise the inadequacy of his proposals, for further on in his article he alludes to the difficulty men out of work would have in keeping up their savings, and says that provision must be made that they shall not suffer from this cause. But surely if such an exception be once admitted, so many others must necessarily follow that the question of Pensions based on savings practically becomes one of quite subordinate importance. Want of work is only one among many causes that produce inability to save, it is not even one of the chief; with what justice can a free pension be given to a man who has not been able to save through slackness in a trade which he has himself chosen to follow, and be refused to a man who has been handicapped all his life by a weak constitution, or sick relations, or a numerous family?

But even if we consider Mr. Williams' scheme as practically amounting to one for free Pensions, it could hardly bring us very much nearer to the abolition of institutions for the care of the aged poor. In fact the very provision by the State of means of support would impose upon it the duty of a supervision at least as stringent as that which now prevails in many of the existing workhouses. It would be impossible for the State to allow the funds it supplied to become a source of misery to the pensioner himself, and of possible disease to those around him, when the weekly sum, quite sufficient for his support whilst active and able to care for himself, became unequal to supply the needs which could not fail to increase as infirmities multiplied with years; or to become an accessory to under-selling and low wages by allowing the pensioner to remain among needy or greedy relations with whom it would be impossible for him to refuse to share the little he possessed. Either of these familiar cases would call for precisely the same methods of treatment as now exist, whilst, as Nature knows no sharp line at which incapacity for self-support from age begins, there must always be many on the borderland of any Pension limit, for whom, if they are not to be left to starve, there must be some kind of provision made.

Enough has now, perhaps, been said to show that State Pensions as a substitute for the institutional treatment of the aged pauper is an impossible dream, and the wider question remains to be considered, whether the State can at all properly undertake the provision of pensions out of public funds consistently with the fundamental laws which lie at the base of the healthy existence of every society,

and which, however sentiment may urge us on, no State can afford to neglect.

The position of the pauper is, indeed, defined by social laws about which there is not likely to be any serious difference of opinion. There is no arrangement of society conceivable in which it would not be held to be the duty of every individual member of it to labour to the best of his power in the way that is most needed by the society to which he belongs. It is true that there is no necessary contradiction between pleasure and duty, but, should a choice become imperative, the individual must clearly try to obtain voluntary employment before he can justly throw himself on public resources. It is, in fact, *inability* to offer services whose value will be immediately recognised that constitutes the pauper. The man who could by any efforts of his own supply his needs, but who will not do so, is not a pauper, but a criminal.

A claim thus founded on *inability* obviously justifies no moral reproach, since its existence may quite as possibly be owing to social circumstances as to personal fault; but it also equally obviously implies no moral merit. It is simply a claim deriving its force from *need*, and the pauper can have, as a pauper, no other rights than such as rise directly from his necessities. It is surprising how constantly, in discussions on the questions of pauperism, the false idea crops up that, on the one hand, want implies some degree of degradation, or, on the other, that age and sickness connote some degree of worth. Nowhere can this be better observed than in the tone which is so often assumed by popular advocates when alluding to the vexed questions of the disabilities that should attach to the acceptance of poor relief, and the relative merits of indoor and outdoor relief. Yet, if *inability* and *need* are really the only grounds on which the pauper claim rests, there can clearly be nothing in the claim itself that can be said justly to interfere with the right of the State to accompany its help with such restrictions as the public welfare dictates; whilst, if it is the duty of every man to find the work most needed by his fellow-men, the severity of these must clearly be fixed by general social conditions rather than by benevolence or sympathy.

The fact is that the admission of a claim founded on *inability*, and measured by *need*, involves the acknowledgment that, in any class of men, want of employment, sickness, and age give no security as to the existence of any special standard of habitual thrift, self-control, or cleanliness. Under such circumstances it is impossible to see how effectual securities could be taken that the resources the State takes from its acknowledged useful workers should neither be wasted nor used injuriously, except by means of attaching the condition of residence in an institution whilst in receipt of poor relief. It must be remembered that in the case of Old Age Pensions it is

not merely a discretionary power to give help from public funds that is advocated, but a *legal right* to the grant of money to be used well or ill according to individual caprice, and that in this case the ordinary inducements to carefulness—hope or fear for the future, and the sense of useful service—must be, if not entirely absent, at least very much weakened.

Would it then be contended that there are no cases of *need*, where intolerable hardship may result from the restrictions, and the system of indoor relief, which it has been attempted here to argue are inseparable from a just administration of public funds? Not at all! Where human suffering is in question, it is impossible that many cases of hardship should not arise under any system of treatment arranged on a basis of averages, and it is only desired to show that as all public arrangements *must* be founded on generalisations, and, in this case, the highest social interests impose peculiarly narrow limits on the power of the State to allow for individual differences, proposals that neglect to recognise the truths that belong to the problem must necessarily be futile, or worse than futile.

It is, in fact, not in any public scheme, but in a greater realisation of private duty, that the best hope of real progress to a better treatment of our poor must lie. As in the administration of justice, the function of the Home Secretary is to rectify the harshness of public law in individual cases, so the function of the private citizen is to rectify, by personal sympathy and knowledge, the unavoidable injustices of the official Poor Law administration.

This is an age when, whilst we hear almost to weariness of the value and importance of public duties, we, perhaps, hear much less than would be justified by their equal importance of our private obligations to our fellow-men. In former days, the Church and the State stood side by side, and, however imperfectly the duty may have been performed, the power wielded by the former ensured that there should be a certain remembrance of the fact that the citizen's moral duties do not end with the faithful discharge of public offices with their rewards so flattering to self-esteem, but that there is also a field in which all men are called to serve where personal sympathy and kindly self-sacrifice are the qualities most needed. It ensured also a more general recognition of the principle, now perhaps a little in danger of being neglected, that charity and good feeling are universal duties, not merely to be exercised by the rich towards the poor, but by the poor to one another, and even by the poor towards the rich. The Church that preached to all its members, as its great commandment, the duty of love to the neighbour, could not fail to exercise an influence that would tend to keep alive the truth that, though to the poor many of the privileges of public citizenship must necessarily be closed, the privileges that belong to

the private life of the citizen are always open to rich and poor alike.

In past times, also, every parish was a centre of local knowledge, where the machinery at least was present by which merit, however poor, stood some chance of recognition, whilst ecclesiastical training ensured a certain unity in the principles and methods by which the problems of poverty were dealt with.

Many may probably still think that religion alone can supply the impulse required to keep the duties of private citizenship in their proper prominence, but the restoration of any general ecclesiastical system is beyond the region of practical discussion, and the utmost that can be said is, that in the advantages the cause of the poor derived from the existence of a united Church may be found some guide as to the direction our efforts should now take.

Can it be doubted, then, that the best, perhaps the only, hope of the injustices, which now belong to the lot of the poor, being effectually lightened, lies in a wider realisation of the duties of private charity, and the more general formation of local centres, which would render it no longer possible that genuine cases of distress should remain unknown?

The Charity Organisation Society, with its undenominational committees, is endeavouring to supply something of the kind, but it can hardly be said, yet, either to have succeeded in extending its operations so as in any way to equal the universality of the old ecclesiastical organisation, or to have obtained the co-operation of the poor in anything like the same sense that it was formerly at the disposal of the parish priest.

It is, indeed, the difficulty of securing this co-operation, when the peculiar influence provided by definite religious principles is absent, that presents the most formidable obstacle. It is impossible that moral merit, under the conditions that surround poverty, can be justly gauged by those who have never had any practical experience of its trials and temptations.

The difficulty mainly centres round the fact that help given to the poor must generally take some material form, and it may well seem almost hopeless to think of granting an equal share in the control of property, mainly contributed by one of them, to two classes so likely to disagree on radical points as are the rich and poor. This is a difficulty that must always be present, whether by ownership is understood the possession of property according to our existing social arrangements, or the possession of different degrees of producing power or social influence, which no system of socialism, however elaborately contrived to place men on equality, can altogether obliterate, and it would be idle to disregard the certainty that, given any definite number of people habitually accustomed to a certain

amount of control over the disposal of property and to the influences flowing from practical experience of the evils of its misapplication, and an equal number of persons whose chances have been less of learning in the same school, tendencies and prejudices are sure to receive undue prominence in guiding the action of the latter that may not always be just to the rights of the former. At any rate, it is certain that no voluntary system based on a neglect of this fact would have a chance of any long continuance.

Fortunately, however forbidding may seem the aspect of the question when regarded from the light of general pauperism, there are circumstances surrounding the particular part of it that refers to the treatment of the old, that tend very much to reduce the causes generally producing class friction. There is, for instance, a peculiarly general sympathy for the old people, whose character and misfortunes would render their subjection to the restrictions of a public institution specially irksome and unnecessary, and not only is there less danger of selfish interests, and labour problems that nearly touch the poorer classes being involved, but the cases of exception to the applicability of general rules are more numerous, and the helplessness of the more leisured classes to judge justly without the help of the poor themselves more complete, than in any other work where charitable interest is demanded.

How this is will perhaps appear more clearly if we glance at the divisions that make up the pauper class separately. There are first, those who are able to work, but cannot find any. These are brought, with very few exceptions, within the bounds that limit State action, by the universal duty that lies upon all men of doing useful work. In few cases can the rights of such men extend beyond shelter and food, and, perhaps, help to lands where the chances of self-support are greater than in our own country. Next, there is the division of those unable to work through curable sickness. For these, the needs dictated by medical exigencies are generally sufficiently similar to fix public treatment on a scale leaving little room for just complaint, whilst restrictions to act as deterrents are clearly not required. It is only when the stage of convalescence is reached that public means become seriously inadequate to deal with individual differences, and then the whole circumstances of each case are generally so fully known, that there is little danger of error in judging of the proper course to be pursued. Lastly, there are those from whom incurable sickness or advancing years remove the possibility of self-support beyond the region of practical hope. Here, ever-changing degrees of ability combine with variations in past conditions of life to alter continually the significance of the grounds upon which sympathy is due, and to render the fixed tests by which we are accustomed to guide our judgment almost valueless. And whilst the difficulties in the way of forming just decisions are thus so much increased, the

oppressiveness of public restrictions cannot be softened by any hope of future independence resulting from patient submission. It is true that, in many cases, cheerful submission to regulations for the public welfare may be fairly demanded, as the only means by which members of this unfortunate division can still prove their willingness to bear their share in the duties of citizenship; but allowing the widest limits for this, there must still be cases where common humanity demands the intervention of private interest.

There is thus, therefore, a quite sufficient basis for regarding the formation of committees for pensioning the specially deserving aged poor as quite practicable, and, this being so, the experience which the Charity Organisation Society has gained in practical pension work cannot be unworthy of attention. In this society, it seems, unless the circumstances are very exceptional, the applicant for a pension must be not less than sixty-five years of age, and practically disabled from work. The fact, however, of being able to earn a trifle is not held as a fatal bar to a grant. In fact, in forming an estimate of the sources of income, the earnings of the applicant himself may often be taken into account. Full information is asked as to former life, especially as to what attempts have been made to provide for old age. If no obvious evidence of thrift can be brought forward, such as subscription to a superannuation club would afford, or the existence of savings bearing some proportion to the wages which appear to have been received, then inquiries are made as to whether there is any exceptional circumstance showing why more foresight should not have been exhibited. In many cases, ill-health, the education of children, or the support of relatives afford an explanation. Other items of information, to which attention is directed, refer to the position of living members of the family, the names of old employers, and any friends who might be in a position to help. As far as possible, the statements are verified by independent inquiry, and at the first opportunity the case is brought before the committee for the district. If it then appears that unpreventable misfortune, good personal character, and reasonable effort to provide for the future, render the assistance of the case a fair matter of public interest, the decision is come to to endeavour to raise sufficient money to cover a weekly grant for six months. The reason for this limit will be explained later on.

A sufficient sum having been raised, a suitable person is then found to take the appointed amount weekly to the pensioner. This visitor is asked to make frequent reports as to the condition of the pensioner, and the adequacy of the grant to his changing needs, and it is by the kindly personal interest which is thus assured, and which official methods of appointment could never secure, that there is alone any possibility of the gradations being provided for by which money grants pass so easily from being sources of happiness into the means

of prolonging misery. It is here that may be seen the chief reason for the six months' limit placed on every grant. Six months is a period sufficiently long to give a reasonable feeling of security to the pensioner, whilst it preserves to the Society the power of acting according to the changing necessities of each case.

J. TYRRELL BAYLEE.

POVERTY AND CRIME.

THE time has now come when the vital questions of poverty and its analogue crime must be dealt with by practical legislation.

There is too much theory in the present-day sociology.

Poverty in our great cities increases to such an extent that the governing bodies are continually at a loss to know how to deal with it.

As poverty increases so does crime.

Although it does not necessarily follow that crime should be the result of poverty, yet the social atmosphere of the slums is so affected with an inherited indifference to the duties and responsibilities of life that nothing higher than the lowest type of humanity can be expected.

Is it any wonder, under such circumstances, that self-respect and morality are superseded by indolence and depravity?

To what extent the heredity of character is shown depends on its surroundings.

A child brought up under the influence of cleanly and intelligent parents or guardians has an immeasurable advantage over one surrounded by uncleanness and discord. The obligation of character to surroundings is shown in the results of "destitute homes," where children have been trained from deplorable physical and mental destitution to be citizens of which no city need be ashamed.

The houses of our slums are a disgrace to a civilised nation.

It is a common occurrence to find large mixed families *huddled* together utterly devoid of self-respect.

The effects of such home influences on both sexes are better imagined than described. Poverty must be dealt with because its surroundings are the causes of so much crime. The present system of poor relief simply encourages vagrancy.

It is abused, and to those deserving of help its methods are distasteful.

Here is a testimony of experience taken from the *Birmingham Daily Mail*, October 2, 1895:

"A PAUPER'S FAREWELL LETTER.

"'THE POOR LAW A DISGRACE.'

"Thomas Battison, aged 55, a shoe hand, who has for some time been an inmate of the workhouse at Northampton, was found yesterday after-

noon in an apparently dying state from the effects of poison, and was removed to the infirmary. During the morning he had visited several public-houses with a companion, to whom he gave on leaving the following letter : ' I wish to write a few lines before I die on some of the evils that confront one in his passage through life. From bad example set me in youth, and since from weak resolves, I have been led away by some of the temptations that continually present themselves to us. In my experience I have suffered terribly from hellish concoctions, always brewing, to poison the minds and ruin the bodies of its victims. I have suffered the penalties of the drunkard which the law provides; but worst for a fallen man is to become the inmate of the workhouse—a foretaste of the infernal regions. Poor laws are a disgrace to those who made them. Then come the tyrannic administrators of bad laws, overstepping law in word and deed, and robbing inmates of rights that even bad laws allow. I have made up my mind to be no longer a victim to them; if they are the rewards for toiling people in old age, let me go where man's injustice is unknown, where the weak and helpless are on a level with the strong and mighty. Let no jury return a verdict of insanity. I have studied the situation with good sound sense, and come to the conclusion that life is not worth living. I should have wished to die a natural death, but see no hope of friendly aid to prevent my doom. I leave my love to all that are living to whoever has used me kind, and bid them a final farewell."

What an outlook for the rising generation ! I have known men who have worked in the same situation for thirty years have one dread, and that was old age and its consequents. The consequent of old age and poverty is the workhouse or private charity.

The question of "poor relief" and "age relief" must be considered from two standpoints : the undeserving and deserving.

While we have men slaves to their own passions, so shall we have the evil effects produced from such causes :

The habitual drunkard, the thief, the vagrant, and other types of character which we can put under the heading of the "undeserving."

What shall we do with them ?

Indiscriminate relief is no remedy.

The majority of criminals are slaves to their surroundings, therefore the first thing to be done is to reform those environments.

All houses below a stated rent should be under Government control not private ownership.

They should be built on a plan of sanitary comfort and let at rents within the reach of even the poorest.

Every house should be regularly inspected and rents collected from all who can afford to pay.

The cases of defaulters must be thrashed out, and if through shortness of work or lack of employment they cannot pay, then they must be assisted.

Under those circumstances we should soon be able to define the habitual criminal. A working-man told me that his wife through drink had pawned, during his absence at work, two homes.

The man himself is thoroughly honest, steady, and a total abstainer.

He said, I asked my wife why she could not pull with me and try to save what she spent in drink, for the sake of the children, and she said she was helpless because of her surroundings.

I have another case in my mind, in which a man gave way to drink because his wife was habitually drunk; consequently, instead of going to a comfortless home, he went to the public-house. He also said it was due to his wife's surrounding influences.

There is nothing elevating in the air of the courts and alleys of our slums, and they *must* be reformed. Another question is the one of "common lodging-houses." If institutions were built by and under Government, where single males and females could procure clean and well-conducted lodgings, it would be an inestimable boon to thousands, and, what is more, would reduce prostitution. It cannot be denied that the surroundings of poverty in the past have been neglected; also that the Poor Law does not *diminish* poverty.

How do we know what characters which, if they had the chance, would rise on a level with such lives as Stephenson, Pitt, Livingstone, and others.

The country, losing by its own negligence the help and guidance of those who, given the chance, would add to its record names of which posterity would be proud.

However weak my suggestions for the foundations upon which to act for the diminishing of poverty and crime may be, the motive is good, and I trust and hope that something *definite* will be done, and that at once.

There are many side issues, and it will be time for Mr. Chamberlain's scheme—worthy, though premature—for assisting the working man to become his own landlord, when we have legislated for the slums and its inhabitants.

When individual ownership of household property *below a stated rent* has been abolished, can we hope under the great system upon which other great institutions are successfully worked by Government, to see the present social existence out of which are so many evils consequent, superseded by a higher and far more worthy type of society.

Patriotism, which is now latent, would glow with a new life, and one more emblem would be added to the laurels which already deck the century of centuries.

HAROLD THOMAS.

MY FIRST BATTLE IN THE INDIAN MUTINY.

IN this article it is my intention to endeavour to give a graphic description of my first fight in the great Sepoy revolt, an awful catastrophe occasioned by a widespread and firm belief of our Hindoo soldiers in the Bengal Presidency that the British Government were going cunningly to entrap them to become Christians by making them lose their adored religious caste through the compulsory use of the new rifle cartridge, believed to be greased with the fat of their sacred cow, a most sacrilegious thing according to Hindoo notions, as the end of the dreaded article had to be bitten off. There is good reason to believe that the Bengal army would not have thrown their loyalty to the winds under a panic fear of their religion being imperilled by having Christianity forced upon them, if our Government had not, from a selfish and disgraceful policy, most carefully withheld wholesome information from the Sepoys, whom they kept hermetically sealed from all knowledge of Christianity, under the craven apprehension that in the event of our native soldiers becoming Christians such a religious change would paralyse our rule in India; whereas, on the contrary, if those seventy or eighty thousand Hindoo soldiers (who nearly all perished during the two years' struggle) had but become acquainted with the A B C of the Gospel, they would have perceived the utter absurdity of the crude notion of their being coerced into a religion that could only be embraced by the personal exercise of faith and love, and they might also have been disabused of their mistaken idea of its being a great disgrace to become a Christian.

Retributive judgment followed the irreligious policy of the British Government, which was ushered in by the appalling massacres at Meerut and Delhi, and culminated with the horrible Cawnpore massacres. I was at this period stationed with my regiment, the 3rd Europeans, at Agra, then the seat of Government of the North-West Provinces. The two native regiments there, the 44th and 67th, were scheming our destruction whilst professing to be very loyal. Happily they were disarmed on May 31, thus nipping in the bud their concocted design of perpetrating a general massacre at

Agra on that day—a diabolical plan, which was by Divine Providence completely disarranged. And I and another officer, with a party of soldiers, had the satisfaction of safely conveying their arms, placed in carts, to Agra Fort. Next month (June) the ladies and children had retired for protection within the walls of that fortress. The trusted Kotah contingent mutinied at Agra on July 4, and shot dead their Sergeant Major. Next day, Sunday, July 5, instead of going to church and chapel we fought the sanguinary battle of Shahgunj or Sussiah, about three miles from cantonments. The enemy's force consisted of the 72nd Regiment Native Infantry; the 7th regiment Gwalior Contingent, the Kotah Contingent, two troops of the 1st Light Cavalry, four troops of the Mehidpore Horse, and one troop of horse artillery. Their guns were placed half on one flank, and half upon the other, and were screened by rising ground, and trees. Their infantry were posted inside the village as well as behind it, and their cavalry were massed in rear of both flanks. The miniature little army, led out to the attack by Brigadier Polwhele, was composed of about five hundred men of my regiment, with Captain D'Oyley's troop of Artillery, and nearly sixty mounted militia, amounting altogether to about seven hundred men, who were in good spirits and eager for the combat. The mutineers outnumbered us by quite seven to one. I should have been left behind with the detachment of my regiment detained in the fort; but, in order to witness the maiden fight of my recently raised regiment, I got myself transferred to one of the companies going out; and having had some previous experience of war in our first war with the Sikhs (1845-6) through which campaign I had served, I was now put in command of a company, though my ordinary position on parade at this period as a lieutenant was as senior subaltern in rear of the company commanded by my Captain.

We commenced operations against the abhorred foe by an advance in line, with one half battery under Captain D'Oyley on our right, and the other, under Lieutenant Pearson, on our left. We ought to have endeavoured, by manœuvring, to have drawn them out of their strong position, and, by a *ruse de guerre*, to have induced them to fight a fair battle with their vastly superior numbers of disciplined soldiers in the open field. Such cautious tactics were, however, unhappily ignored. The battle commenced by the mutineers opening fire upon our troops as they were advancing to the assault. Brigadier Polwhele ordered us to lie down whilst our guns opened fire upon those of the enemy, which, however, were too much under cover for us to do them any serious injury. I took particular notice of the effect produced by the fire of our six and nine pounders, as the balls in quick succession struck the mud walls of the village, which appeared to me as harmless as beating carpets, which was just what it reminded me of; and I believe that the only gun of ours that did

the enemy any harm was the howitzer that sent shell inside the village. This bungling and waste of precious time gave the enemy the victory. Polwhele's attempt to silence the enemy's artillery failed, and the mutineer gunners, having got our range, exploded two of our ammunition waggons, blowing up our poor artillerymen, and dismounted one of the guns. Captain D'Oyley, mortally wounded by a grape shot, exclaimed, "I am done for. Put a stone upon my grave, and write that I died fighting my guns." One of his sub-alterns, Lieutenant Lamb, was also mortally wounded by a grape shot. Finally, when the artillery ammunition was all expended, then a too late advance of my regiment was ordered. I use the words "too late" advisedly, as this ought to have been done at first, instead of losing our opportunity of success with the disastrous artillery duel. However, two columns of the 3rd Europeans were then thrown forward, one commanded by Major G. P. Thomas, and the other, which included my Company, was commanded by Colonel Fraser, of the Engineers. The village was carried after an obstinate defence; but we suffered a very severe loss from the enemy's guns and the fire of marksmen from the house-tops, as well as from the obstinate resistance made inside the village. Much harm was done by a rifle company of the 72nd Regiment Native Infantry. I passed by poor Major Thomas, lying mortally wounded in one of the lanes, who died afterwards in hospital. The enemy, driven out of the village, took up a covered position outside. This was indeed a critical moment, and I believe that if we had improved our success by a determined charge upon the mutineers, they would have given way, and we should have gained the victory. For it is said that their artillery were limbered up for flight, and Sepoys don't relish crossing bayonets with the British soldier. Of course the risk would have been weighty, since the failure of such an onward move would have involved the loss of all our guns, and of every unmounted man besides. Anyhow a retreat, whether wise or unwise, was ordered in consequence of the lack of artillery ammunition. But I must not forget here to mention that a gallant charge was made by our sixty mounted Militia, composed of members of the Civil Service, officers of mutinied and disarmed native regiments, clerks, and some equestrians of a wandering circus from France. This mere handful of men had the boldness to charge the mutineer cavalry. Of course they were far too few to make any impression, except this, that Englishmen, when once their blood is up, are too plucky to count the numbers of their foe! They returned with the loss of their headman of the circus, Monsieur Jordan, who was killed; and six others were mortally wounded in the hand-to-hand combat. The enemy, as might have been expected, pertinaciously harassed our retreat, which was conducted in good order towards the Fort, instead of to cantonments whence we had started. Their

artillery galloped ahead, and pitched into us repeatedly, which was extremely annoying. Their cavalry raised a ringing cheer, indicating their purpose of charging right down upon us. The thought that then took possession of me was, that it would be all up with us if they did so, because I knew that our men could not have formed square to resist cavalry. Happily the stalwart mutineer troopers had not the courage to close with us, being checked by a volley which we delivered with the old muskets then in use, which made many a horse riderless, and deterred the rest from coming to close quarters. But, notwithstanding this repulse, the rebel cavalry rode after us to within a mile of the Fort; and they once more charged, and were repelled as before. If the six troops of well-disciplined cavalry had not lacked courage, they would have charged right through the retreating soldiers incapable of forming square, and then they would have had us at their mercy, and not a man of my regiment would have escaped. Agra would then have fallen into the hands of the mutineers; the pseudo siege of Delhi would have been raised, and India would have passed away from our rule.

Finally, at the close of the day the beaten army reached the Fort. We were now safe, just as the manslayer was safe on reaching one of the appointed cities of refuge. Yes, on entering Agra Fort, we were quite safe, having escaped an appalling danger, even as the poor sinner, fleeing from "the wrath to come" and taking refuge in Christ, the world's Saviour, is safe. Heartrending was the scene as we entered the gate, where wives were anxiously waiting to ask for their husbands, many of whom they met carried in doolies, dead or mortally wounded. I felt myself quite exhausted, having had nothing to eat or drink since breakfast, and this after marching so many miles under a broiling sun. Our loss was very severe, my regiment having lost a hundred men in killed and wounded, and the total loss of the whole force under that heading amounted to about a hundred and fifty. Besides Major Thomas, of my regiment, already mentioned as being mortally wounded, two other officers of the 3rd Europeans, Lieutenants Pond and Fellows, were also wounded. Several other officers of the force were wounded, some mortally. Great was the dismay of our people inside the Fort when the terrible reality of our defeat became known to them; their hearts indeed failed them. Our compulsory retirement into the Fort was particularly dreaded by Mr. Colvin, our Lieutenant-Governor. He had exclaimed, "The wrath of God is upon us if we retire into the Fort." The same evening, after our defeat, our houses in cantonments and the civil lines were set on fire by the budmashes (the scum of the city), who thus perpetrated the crime of arson on a large scale without let or hindrance. This vast conflagration, which raged over a space of five or six miles, presented to the beholder a most melancholy and never-to-be-forgotten spectacle. The whole

sky for miles around was thereby illuminated. There was also a great uproar in the city, and a horrible massacre outside the Fort of Mr. Hubbard, Professor of Literature, Agra College, Major Jacobs, and thirty other men, women, and children (principally Eurasians) who had declined to avail themselves of the Fort's protection, relying doubtless on the expectation of our defeating the mutineers. One of those inhumanly murdered, Major Jacobs, defended himself with desperate valour, till at last he fell overpowered by numbers.

About this period, after hearing of the dreadful Cawnpore massacre and the disheartening news of the condition of our troops before Delhi, who, instead of besieging that stronghold of the rebels, were in fact besieged themselves, I had very gloomy forebodings as to the future, fearing that our rule in India was coming to an end. And more competent men to judge than myself thought the same. Sir John Lawrence, Commissioner of the Punjaub, after the crisis had passed, wrote thus, in October 1857, to Sir Colin Campbell: "I am persuaded, only by the mercy of God that a single European is alive on this side of India. At one time I began to think that all must be lost." And six days afterwards he wrote: "I assure you, when I look back on the last four months, I am lost in astonishment that any of us are alive. But for the mercy of God we must have been ruined." Well, by the special mercy of the Almighty we did at last weather this terrific storm. India was indeed saved by a succession of divine interpositions, commencing from the providential disarrangement of the diabolical scheme of the mutineers for a simultaneous rise and massacre of the Europeans all over the Bengal Presidency, on Sunday, May 31, which was thwarted by the premature mutinies at Meerut and Delhi, which put us all on our guard in time.

I don't think we shall have another Sepoy mutiny; nor do I think that Russia will ever wrest India from us. But this I do believe, that if we ever lose our great Eastern Empire, it will be from the reckless over-taxation of the people that has been going on for a number of years, and which I apprehend will cause the Hindoos and Mahomedans to rise some day *en masse* in sheer despair to cast off our yoke, especially as they have been wrongly taxed for a number of things wherein they have no interest or concern, and which ought properly to have been defrayed from the Home Exchequer—such, for instance, as trans-Indian wars, the extravagant War Office charges, and other unfair payments enforced for the sole benefit of the British taxpayer; considering also that our poverty-stricken Indian subjects (visited periodically with awful famines) have to pay the interest of an enormous National Debt—six times the amount of what it was forty-five years ago under the economical *régime* of the Honourable East India Company—and this at the present fearful and most embarrassing depreciation of the rupee that

bewilders all calculations as to how the great debt in England is to be met from India, unless our Government recurs to the practice of the late East India Company, before the extinction of their trade with India and China in 1833, up to which time those Eastern princes held a mart for the sale of Asiatic commodities in their great mansion in Leadenhall Street, Such an imperial trading company would, I suppose, confound the avaricious designs of those interested in the depression of the standard coin of India.

S. DEWE WHITE,
Colonel, late Bengal Staff Corps.

SLOAN-DUPLOYAN AND PITMAN PHONOGRAPHY :

THE GREAT STENOGRAPHIC STRUGGLE.

READERS of these notes will be doubtless of opinion that the writer is animated by the customary stenographic hostility towards Messrs. Pitman & Sons. This is not the case. Sir Isaac Pitman has few more warm admirers than myself. I have listened with rapt interest and attention to addresses given by him at various times and places ; became almost a convert to the expediency of adopting his unsightly reformed spelling ; spent many weary months over the attempt to master his system of Shorthand, like unto many thousands of others, unsuccessfully. I am one of the innumerable crowd of phonographic failures, and for the benefit of the crowd of fellow victims I pen this article.

On the advantages of a knowledge of Shorthand I need not enter—suffice it to say that few active minded people have not at one time or another attempted its mastery. How few, how very few have succeeded ! For what reason ? Because it was so intricate, so difficult of acquirement.

Since the days of Timothy Bright, the Father of English Shorthand, A.D., 1587, a system has been looked for “acquirable” by the masses. In 1837, Sir Isaac Pitman brought out his stenographic Sound-hand which a few years later developed into his celebrated “Phonography.” Since that time the names of Pitman and Shorthand have been synonymous ; the great majority of people are unaware that there was any other system in existence, and Shorthand became practically a monopoly in the hands of Messrs. Pitman & Sons. Hundreds of other competitors arose both in England and America. I need not mention the Teutonic Script systems ; these have never met with any degree of favour in Great Britain—but none of them were able to lessen the Pitman supremacy, and though the desire to acquire the winged art increased as the century grew older, the complexities of the system proved too many for the masses, and the number of those who pursued their studies to a successful issue remained infinitesimally small. As this statement will be challenged I may be allowed to inquire what

the percentage is of those who get beyond the first stage to the second, and finally to the third or reporting stage. I am informed on good authority that forty *Manuals* and ten *Reporters' Companions* only are sold for every 100 of the *Teachers* or first book.

In 1882 the long felt demand for a simple, practical, and easily acquired Shorthand was supplied by Mr. J. M. Sloan, who, during a residence in France, became so impressed with a system invented by the Abbé Duployé, that he adapted it to the English language and brought it under the notice of the British public, amongst whom it immediately caught on, spreading like magic throughout the length and breadth of the land. Nor was this to be wondered at, for the system is so "barbarously simple," as Messrs. Pitman and Sons were kind enough to term it,¹ the alphabet being arranged so that the vowels and consonants follow in their natural order, and are written without lifting the pen, the vowels being represented by circles, loops, and hooks, which are joined in such a manner that their insertion rather tends to increase than to diminish speed, while imparting great legibility to the writing. The characters are thickened to add "r"; of arbitrary characters pure and simple there are not more than a dozen; of bewildering position rules none; and practically the student has little more to do than master the alphabet and string the characters together. Sir Isaac Pitman himself says of the system, in his *History of Shorthand*,² "the great and special merit that is claimed for the Duployan alphabet is its *simplicity*, and I do not deny that it possesses that characteristic. The true test of a system is its brevity and legibility; and if these are increased by a little *complication* in structure the advantage is cheaply purchased, and no sensible man will begrudge the price." Legibility, indeed! Taking a few pages haphazard in Pitman's *Photographic Reporter*, we find, among hundreds of other examples, the following:

ptt, in geometrical characters, mark you, represents: patted, potted, appetite, petted, pitied, potato;

psu, passion, compassion, potion, option;

m, pan, pawn, pine, opine,

pen, pain, pun, open, penny, pony,

pin, company, piano, peony, puny;

and so on, *ad infinitum*, according as these very suggestive letters are written on, above, or through the line, to say nothing of—

pll, application;

nksp, unexpected;

nshl, influential;

mp, important, improvement.

"C'est magnifique, Messieurs, mais ce n'est pas la . . . Légibilité."

Well! The horizon began to look decidedly gloomy for the

¹ Letter to the *Eastern Province Herald*, Port Elizabeth, S.A., September 19, 1894.

² Bath: Pitman & Sons. 1891.

phonographers. A pamphlet was immediately issued at Amen Corner, saying, let Mr. Sloan and his followers be *anathema marnatha*, and showing by arguments *in barbara* that they were a blinded, deluded lot, which was promptly replied to by the London Sloan-Duployan Association; but these pamphlets, bristling with technicalities, were little noticed by the general public, who are given—unwisely, perhaps—to be guided by the test of results, and this became more especially manifest when the Sloan-Duployan Shorthand was, against the most strenuous opposition, introduced into Board and lower middle-class schools, at the public examinations of which, *all* who had been taught Shorthand were examined, and *all* passed.¹

One attack I should not have noticed, but that I find the misleading pamphlet still in print, is the *Condemnation* of the system by the Shorthand Society.

This Society was formed for the discussion of all matters relating to Shorthand, and for the improvement of the art in general. It was largely composed of phonographers, and these being nothing if not aggressive, resolved to dominate the Society, and suppress anything likely to prove a rival to their special *protégé*. New systems unlikely to compete for public favour were graciously tolerated and amicably discussed, but, let any simple practical system be laid before them, and they were down on it like wolves. It may be further stated that the leading members were inventors, having pet systems of their own, though few of them turned them to practical account, and when Mr. Sloan submitted his paper the attack on him was opened by his sworn enemy, Mr. J. A. Reed, whose speech (as far as I could make it out) consisted of a series of questions as to how many reporters were numbered amongst his adherents, and an elaborate disquisition, illustrated by examples on the blackboard, that if there were any reporters among the writers of the system there ought not to be. Mr. Guest, inventor of the perfect, though very complicated, system of Parsigraphic Shorthand, which, however, he does not write himself, covered the blackboard with a lot of bewildering figures, and wound up his speech with, "No, no! It must be condemned." The other speakers on the opposition side were men little acquainted with Shorthand in any shape or form. The *Phonetic Journal* made merry over the fact that there was a special Sloan-Duployan pencil, and laid special stress on that portion of the discussion. It seemed to me rather unimportant, the crucial question being that of Mr. Reed as to whether there were any professional reporters of our system. Messrs. Pitman, in a recent letter to that popular periodical, *Spare Moments*, allow that we have two dozen. An admission surely, when they maintain that simplicity is incom-

¹ At the last examination held at the Shepperton Road Board school, the number examined amounted to eighty-two. All of them passed.

patible with speed. They affect to ignore the fact that Sloan-Duployan writers are to be found among the number of Law Court reporters, people who are of necessity compelled to be able to write at a speed of 200 words a minute. Let them examine the official list of American Law Court Reporters. Mr. Rutherford and Miss Gertrude Murphy, of Illinois, both hold records of from 220 to 240 words a minute. When challenged, the friends of the latter offered to bring her forward, guaranteeing she would write at the rate of 220 words a minute, and they agreed to forfeit £100 if she failed, provided the challenger consented to the same penalty in the event of her success. The challenge was not accepted. Other Law Court reporters are to be found on the official list. Again, at the Great Stenographic Tournament (open to all the world) held at St. Louis, U.S.A., on December 16, 1892, the trophy was carried off by Mr. Edward J. King, a gentleman nineteen years of age, who wrote 1075 words in five consecutive minutes, and transcribed his notes accurately.

The phonographic cause was, as before stated, seriously jeopardised by the Sloan-Duployan invasion. Fortunately, however, the Sloan-Duployan camp split up into factions, a mania having seized the leading teachers to go off starting systems of their own, chiefly close imitations of their prototype, "on the slope of longhand." Feasible, doubtless, but for the fact that "the slope of longhand" is now universally condemned by the leading medical and educational authorities, as being productive of myopia, round shoulders and pulmonic complaints, and writer's cramp. So numerous and diversified became these systems that the various leading institutes, bewildered by the systems submitted, each better than all the others, went back to the "old love," induced thereto more especially as competent teachers were numerous, the bibliography of the Pitman system voluminous and complete, the price of its text books very low; and inasmuch as immediate practical results are neither demanded nor expected, the system which has held the field for the last sixty years has fairly well recovered its ground. "And what for no?" The Pitman literature is very extensive, daily increasing, and its price moderate, while Sloan-Duployan literature is somewhat scanty. Competent Pitman teachers are numerous; the fees for classes are very low, whilst the reverse obtains with the Sloan-Duployan; consequently the mass of the people find it more expedient to pay eight or twelve quarterly instalments of 3s. 6d. than two of 15s., the minimum fees of Sloan-Duployan classes, where the student is fully equipped in from three to six months.

Controversies have been many on this subject, and I was the first to draw attention to the fact that ease of acquirement was, other things being equal, the first requisite of a system of Shorthand. I did not notice the irrelevant remarks of other disputants that phono-

graphy was "illogical," "out of date," &c. &c. I merely said that it was difficult and beyond the reach of the average citizen, spite of the widely advertised statement that "Phonography is so simple as to be readily acquired by any one of ordinary capacity." What is the meaning of this remark. "Ordinary" or "average" capacity varies. My contention has been noted by Messrs. Pitman, and phenomenal beings have been trotted out (I have not had the pleasure of meeting them) who mastered phonography in six months. Twelve is, I understand, the earliest period at their celebrated establishment in Chancery Lane, and one of their best known teachers informed me that three years was the average. If phonography is simple and easy of acquirement, the following from *The Queen*, July 30, 1887, must be a mistake: "Those who take up the study must be prepared for a long and wearisome struggle before success can be obtained. . . . In all cases proficiency is but a matter of time and patience. The learner must be industrious and steady in her work and stedfastly minded to succeed in spite of discouragements and of *difficulties*, otherwise she will relinquish a task which is to the majority of people a most *arduous* one."

Or, again. "*A Year's Progress in Phonography*.—The number of pupils taking Shorthand at Gordon's College last winter was 431, and the percentage of failures was then a little over 98 per cent. Last year the percentage of failures was 99 per cent."—*Daily Free Press*, Aberdeen, October 11, 1893.

So unsatisfactory were the reports of the Public School Inspectors in New South Wales that after a two years' experiment Shorthand—Pitman's was the one exclusively taught—was withdrawn from the code altogether.¹

Now the question not unnaturally arises, If phonography be so difficult and Sloan-Duployan so easy, the latter being possessed of the same ability to produce the highest speed, how is it that phonography is increasing in the lower class schools, and that others have abandoned Sloan-Duployan for phonography? Easily answered. A mere question of expediency, of *£ s. d.* The Pitman *Tracer* costs sixpence, the Sloan-Duployan *Instructor* two shillings. Competent, able, and experienced Pitman teachers are many; competent Sloan-Duployan teachers few and far between. Practical results in a school of phonography are a matter of secondary consideration. The very important question of superiority might be readily settled by a certain number of schools being taken, lower class for preference, the different systems taught in each, and a speed examination held say in six months. Mr. Sloan has already more than once made this suggestion, but *very* wisely have the phonographers declined any such test. Again, since

¹ I am informed that a similar state of affairs obtains in the English Board schools, so much so that Messrs. Pitman urged upon Mr. Acland the expediency of abolishing public examinations in shorthand. Is this correct?

the beginning of the great Shorthand controversy, phonographers have strongly urged monopoly in place of free trade in Shorthand—*i.e.*, that their system only should be taught to the exclusion of all others—on the ground that every Shorthand writer would be able to read another's notes. Feasible enough for the public, but an amusing enough reason for the stenographer, who has all his work cut out to read his own notes, and knows full well that no one Shorthand-writer can read another's notes, when rapidly written. Where, except in the *Hansard* office, in which a seven years' apprenticeship is necessary, does any Shorthand-writer hand his notes over for transcription? Ridiculous! Does not every one know that press reporters only do ten minutes' turns, and then transcribe their own notes. A full and close monopoly I should, however, speaking personally, be glad to see—phonography, of course—inasmuch as the competition for places in commercial houses is now far too keen, and the wages too low. Were phonography to be a *sine quâ non* for an appointment in a merchant's office, the competition would immediately be lessened, and Board schools at once and for ever placed out of the running. Therefore, let schools by all means obtain a monopoly of phonography, but let the phonographers be generous enough to admit that Sloan-Duployan will do the same work in a quarter of the time, and leave their rival to adults and people who have only a limited time to devote to the study. Let phonography by all means be introduced into public schools. Like Latin, Greek, and Euclid, the majority will pay little attention to it after they have left school, but it will prove an admirable mental training, if otherwise of no practical value. Recent letters to periodicals describe the great increase in the number of Pitman students: in 1894 to number 91,000, 20,000 being in London alone. Sceptics would be greatly interested to know the number of these students able to write forty words per minute after twelve months' practice, and at the same time be able to read what they have written.

Shorthand discussions have been many, lengthy, and various, but are, as a rule, unproductive. An excellent "copy" producer, but nothing else. "Which is the best system of Shorthand?"—truly words to conjure with. The various "inventors" one by one exhibit their wares, and expatiate thereon, each and all of them proving to their own satisfaction that six-year-old children could, under their guidance, write a hundred words or so per minute after a week's study. They then, after falling foul of each other, start for Messrs. Pitman & Son, and vilify them for calling themselves inventors of phonography, as if it mattered a brass farthing whether it was invented by them or by Prester John. The astute editor of the paper wherein the discussion takes place rubs his hands and chortles. He has had reams of gratis copy, and ever after writes, "We have had the subject thoroughly discussed, and Pitman is the best." A

genuine attempt to arrive at a definite conclusion was carried on in the *Exchange and Mart* in 1884, resulting in a bulky volume of stenographic "shop." He who wades through "Shorthand systems" had better previously engage apartments in Hanwell. An arbitrator was appointed, and he pronounced in favour of the system used by Charles Dickens when he was a Parliamentary reporter—one described as easier than Pitman's, and almost exclusively used for the official work of the House of Commons. Let me quote his own description of the ease and readiness with which he mastered the art:

"I was informed that the mere *mechanical* acquisition necessary, except in rare cases, for a perfect command of the mystery of shorthand-writing and reading was about equal in difficulty to the mastery of six languages, and that it might perhaps be attained, by dint of perseverance, in the course of a few years.

". . . . I bought an approved scheme of the noble art and mystery of stenography (which cost me ten-and-sixpence) and plunged into a sea of perplexity, which brought me in a few weeks to the confines of distraction.

"The changes which were rung upon dots, which in such a position meant such a thing, and in such another position something else entirely different; the wonderful vagaries that were played by circles; the unaccountable consequences that resulted from marks like flies' legs; the tremendous effects of a curve in a wrong place, not only troubled my waking hours, but reappeared before me in my sleep.

"When I had groped my way blindly through these difficulties and had mastered the alphabet, which was an Egyptian temple in itself, there then appeared a procession of new horrors called grammalogues, or arbitrary characters, the most despotic I have ever known, who insisted, for instance, that a thing like the beginning of a cobweb meant expectation, and that a pen-and-ink sky-rocket stood for disadvantageous. When I had fixed these wretches in my mind I found that they had driven everything else out of it; then beginning again I forgot them; while I was picking them up I forgot the other fragments of the system; in short, it was heart-breaking.

"Every scratch in the scheme was a gnarled oak in the forest of difficulty, and I went on cutting them down one after another with such vigour that in three or four months I was in a position to make an experiment on one of our crack speakers in the House of Commons. Shall I ever forget how the crack speaker walked away from me before I began, and left my imbecile pencil staggering about the paper as if it were in a fit?

"This would not do it was quite clear. I was flying too high, and should never get on in this way, so T. undertook to dictate to me, with occasional stoppages, at a pace suited to my weakness. Grateful for this friendly aid, I accepted the proposal, and night after night for a long time, the séance frequently lasting till midnight, we pursued these studies, the result of so much good practice being that by-and-by I began to keep pace pretty well, and should have been quite triumphant if I had had the least idea what my notes were about; but as to reading them after I had got them, I might as well have copied the Chinese inscriptions on a collection of tea-chests, or the golden characters on all the great red and green bottles in the chemists' shops.

"There was nothing for it but to turn back and begin all over again. It was very hard, but I turned back, though with a heavy heart, and began.

laboriously and methodically to plod over the same tedious ground, though at a snail's pace, stopping to examine minutely every speck in the way, on all sides, and making the most desperate efforts to know these elusive characters wherever I should meet them, working like a cart-horse. Weeks, months, seasons pass along. At last I have tamed that savage stenographic mystery."

In conclusion, I may state that the Descriptive Pamphlet (price 1½d.) and every information concerning the Sloan-Duployan System may be obtained at the chief London office, City Institute, 30 and 32 Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.

M. C. JOHNSTONE.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonising with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

THE DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

THE question as to whether the belief in man's immortality is to be found in the Old Testament was a favourite topic of controversy between the theological disputants of the eighteenth century. The Deists maintained that the claims of the Bible to inspiration were imperilled by the fact that the doctrine was not taught in the earlier part of Old Testament Scripture; while the Orthodox, fearing that if they admitted the premises of their opponents they must admit their conclusion, strenuously affirmed that the belief in a future life was to be found in Scripture from beginning to end. Bishop Warburton, the theological "strong man" of the day, characteristically took a line of his own against both parties. He joyfully admitted the assertion that the doctrine of immortality was not known to the Jews, and from that very admission triumphantly demonstrated the Divine credentials of Moses, and consequently the Divine origin of the Pentateuch. Thus the inspiration of the Bible was vindicated, the Deists were destroyed by the magician they had invoked, and the Orthodox taught not to speak until Warburton had given judgment.

Without quite upholding Warburton in his conclusions, or the Deists in theirs, modern scholars have pronounced them both right on the point in which they were agreed. The re-arrangement of the books of the Old Testament, which results from the work of these scholars, has made it clear that the belief in man's immortality was not put forth by any Hebrew writer prior to the fourth century, B.C.

The silence of Jewish literature on the subject prior to this date is fully accounted for by the fact that the special work of the Jews was to formulate and preserve the truth of Monotheism, a task the difficulty of which is liable to be under-rated by modern thought. They had to attain to a pure or comparatively pure Theism before making any further advance in spiritual truth. As to their fitness for the special task with which they were entrusted, we may quote the testimony of Professor Huxley. The great Agnostic has left it on record that he admired "the Theism of the Jews as much as the art of Pheidias and the science of Aristotle."

Down to a late period, the general belief amongst the Jews as to the destiny of the soul was that it continued to exist though its state was quite unconscious; it was in a state of sleep, "perpetual sleep."¹ Consequently there was no difference in the condition of the departed.² Nor was any return contemplated.³

There are, however, several passages, notably Ezekiel ch. 32 and Isaiah ch. 14, which testify to a belief in the soul's continued existence, and perhaps to a temporary consciousness in Sheol. But this continuance or rather non-cessation of existence cannot be dignified with the title of immortality. In all probability it arose from nothing more than a natural repugnance to the thought of complete annihilation.

Now, as very many, perhaps most, of the Jews in our Lord's time and for some time previous had a firm grasp of the truth of a conscious immortality, it may be interesting to inquire whether we can trace the steps by which this truth was gradually revealed to the chosen people. Such an inquiry will necessitate an examination of some portions of the Old Testament in chronological order, and the question at once arises, what order shall we follow—the traditional order, or that adopted by most scholars of the present day? That the traditional order is largely untrustworthy is admitted by so responsible a publication as the *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*; so that the writer has very respectable authority, far from extreme, for abandoning the traditional order and following the more modern one.

It will here be convenient to remind the reader of the modern as contrasted with the ancient threefold division of the Canonical books. Instead of "the Law," the Prophets," and "the Writings," we now divide Jewish literature into pre-exilic, exilic, and post-exilic.

First in order of time are the Psalms ascribed to David and to his contemporaries. Four of these Psalms are often held to express a belief in a future life (16, 17, 49, 73). Psalms 16 and 17 are ascribed to David by tradition and are so taken by the latest commentator, Professor Kirkpatrick. He denies, however, that they

¹ Jeremiah c. 51, v. 57.

² Eccles. c. 6. v. 6.

³ Job c. 7, v. 9.

contain any hint of a life beyond the grave, and this denial may be taken as a practical admission that a knowledge of immortality cannot be looked for in the eleventh century B.C., a conclusion which will compel us to assign a much later date to Psalms 49 and 73.

Nor do we find the belief in the eighth or seventh centuries. The standpoint of Amos and Hosea, of Isaiah 1 and Jeremiah, with reference to retribution is purely temporal. The punishment threatened by Amos against the priest of Bethel, by Isaiah against those who "refuse and rebel" is confined to this life. In his pictures of a purified community and in his anticipations of a world-wide religion we see Isaiah's conviction that the chosen people have a glorious and beneficent future before them; but there are no intimations of immortality. Jeremiah's position is doubly clear from his threat against Jehoiakim—"He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David; his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat and in the night to the frost." He contemplates a punishment beyond death, but it concerns the body and not the soul of the offender.

The sixth century brings us to the exile, a period of great literary activity, during which were composed the books of Ezekiel, the Babylonian Isaiah, and Job.

Ezekiel prophesied the restoration of Israel as a nation, and corrects the despairing and faithless attitude of the Israelites, who said: "Our bones are dried and our hope is lost: we are cut off." They are reproved, and encouraged by the promise, "Oh my people, I will open your graves and cause you to come up out of your graves and bring you into the land of Israel." The graves thus represent the land of Israel's captivity: there is no reference to immortality. But Ezekiel materially contributed to the advance of Jewish belief in this direction, by his emphatic preaching of individual responsibility. Hitherto the sins and shortcomings of the nation had been the theme of Israel's religious teachers; the national destiny had dominated their thoughts; now that the sins of the individual and his responsibility were forced into prominence the question of the individual's destiny could not fail sooner or later to press for solution.

Towards the end of the exile were produced the noble and pathetic prophecies of the "Servant of Jehovah," which, together with some other prophecies, were bound up in the third century with the writings of Isaiah of Jerusalem as chapters 40-66. They contain two passages in chapters 53 and 65 which call for notice. The question whether the narrative in chapter 53 refers to the chosen nation as the Servant, or whether it refers to a personal Servant, an ideal individual figure of the prophet's creation, though deeply interesting, cannot be discussed here. It must suffice to say that as far as the present writer can see, the idea of the nation is

certainly prominent towards the end of the chapter, where the burial and resurrection of the Servant are spoken of. (Ezekiel, as we have seen, had already spoken of the nation as being buried). If this be the case, the prophet's belief is that the nation which had been buried "made its grave" in the rich and wicked city of Babylon, is to rise from its state of death and fulfil the task for which Jehovah called it into being—the task of preaching the true religion to all the nations of the earth.

In the 65th chapter we meet with the belief in an ideal earthly future. There is to be a restored and ideal Jerusalem, a rich and happy community, where life shall be as long as that recorded of the patriarchs. So long is the life of the restored Jews to be, that death at the age of a hundred is to be counted a premature and untimely death. As in Zechariah, a "multitude of days" is what the prophet looked forward to, an indication that the present conditions of life could not fulfil his hopes.

Up to the present we have met with no hint or hope of a future life, beyond a temporary consciousness in Sheol. But we are now past the turning point in the history of the Jews, which marks the cessation of their relapses into idolatry. Polytheism was completely abandoned. The Jews had fully grasped the truth of Monotheism. They were now ready to advance to that other truth which is the logical complement to Theism, viz., the immortality of the soul.

It is just possible that it is in Job where the first hint appears of a conscious future beyond the grave. It seems to be glanced at by the sufferer in the celebrated passage in chapter 19 and perhaps in chapter 14. But it is immediately abandoned. It is only as a hope almost too good to be true that Job speaks of a vindication after his death; and it is quite admissible to argue that he only hopes for a temporary consciousness like that of Pharaoh, who, as Ezekiel says, was "comforted in Sheol."¹

So far the literature of the exile. The post-exilic literature, in addition to the three minor prophets printed at the end of the English translation of the Old Testament, includes many of the Psalms, the prophecy known as chapters 21–27 Isaiah and the books of Ecclesiastes and Daniel. The three minor prophets call but for brief remark. Their silence, however, on the subject of immortality is significant of the fact that the Jews were not indebted for their belief in a future life either to the Babylonians or to the Persians. In Zechariah we again meet with the belief in the "multitude of days" already referred to. In Malachi (130 B.C.) the threats of punishment are confined to this life.

It is tempting to bring in here the 49th and 73rd Psalms. The hint had been dropped in Job; what is more natural than that the Psalmists should take it up? Can we not imagine the writer

¹ Ezek. c. 32, v. 31.

of the 49th Psalm, pondering the same problem as Job and rising to a stronger hope? The Psalmist contrasts his lot after this life with that of the wicked. They are appointed as a "flock for Sheol," "Death shall be their shepherd." "But God will redeem *my* soul from the power of Sheol, for He shall receive me." And in the 73rd Psalm the words "Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel and afterwards receive me with glory," may refer to the hope of a life beyond the grave.

We now come to the unknown author of chapters 24-27 Isaiah. His date is previous, but not very long previous, to Alexander's conquest of Persia, B.C. 332. It is in this prophecy that we obtain the first definite announcement of a resurrection. In chapter 25, v. 8, death is regarded as a veil or net spread over the nations. This is to be destroyed. Death is to be swallowed up for ever. Those who have already passed under his power are to be redeemed from the grave, and Israel is to be completely restored. "Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake, and cry for joy, ye dwellers in the dust, for the earth shall produce the shades" (chap. 26, v. 19). The resurrection, however, is confined to the Jews. The enemies of Israel are excluded. "They are dead, they shall not rise" (v. 14). Nor is anything said as to the fate of the unrighteous Israelites. Probably, they, too, were to share the glories of the risen nation. It took another 200 years of thought, and the example of the woeful apostacy under Antiochus Epiphanes, to develop the belief in future retribution which we find in Daniel.

But that many minds had not yet advanced as far as the author of chapters 24-27 Isaiah is seen from the attitude of the writer of Ecclesiastes, who lived in the third century B.C. He either does not know of a belief in a future life, as Canon Driver holds, or, as Kuenen affirms, mentions the belief only to reject it.

As to the Book of Daniel, the date of its composition is still a somewhat thorny subject. Yet Professor Sayce has recently told us that Daniel is not history in the modern sense of the term. Those who uphold the earlier date have to account for the remarkable circumstance that happiness and retribution in the future life are emphatically enunciated in Daniel, in 586 B.C., while Zechariah in 520 and Malachi in 430 view happiness and retribution in relation to the present life only. When the later—the Maccabaean—date is assumed (160-170 B.C.), the earlier verses of the 12th chapter are seen to indicate a great yet natural advance, in eschatological belief. "And many that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." The advance upon chapters 24-27 Isaiah is manifest. In Isaiah, chapters 24-27, the doctrine does not include the resurrection of the unrighteous. In Daniel the writer has taken a step forward. The unrighteous are now included in the resurrection as well

as the righteous, and a distinction is made between their lot. Yet in all probability the resurrection is still confined to the Jewish nation—a point to be noticed by the student of religious development. Nothing can show more clearly how gradual was the revelation of spiritual truth than this limitation of future life to the Jews, both in Daniel and chapters 24–27 Isaiah. In the Babylonian Isaiah, *i.e.*, chapters 40–66, which is much earlier than chapters 24–27, the calling of the Gentiles is clearly and repeatedly set forth; the true religion is to be preached to all the nations. The natural inference to us is, that if the Gentiles embraced the same religion as the Jews, they would share the same privileges, a future life amongst others; but what seems obvious to us did not seem so obvious to the Jews. Mankind had to wait for Christianity to learn that there was no difference between Jew and Gentile.

The second and first centuries B.C. saw great progress made in the belief in a future life. We can only here refer to the book of Wisdom, where we read that “man was made for immortality.”

To sum up. By adopting the order followed in this paper—the modern instead of the traditional order—we can see how gradual and yet how natural were the steps by which Israel was led to the belief in man's immortality. For centuries, when the nation was everything and the individual nothing, the work and destiny of the nation were sufficient to fill the hearts and satisfy the aspirations of the highest minds amongst the Jews. Their prophets and psalmists could and did sink themselves in their nation. The doctrine of retribution was taught, but it was temporal and largely national. Later, by the preaching of Ezekiel, the individual and his responsibility were brought into clear prominence, and in the book of Job the problem of undeserved suffering was probed to its depths. When the problem of undeserved suffering and the doctrine of individual responsibility were brought into juxtaposition in the minds of Jewish teachers, they were driven by the double problem to look for a solution of their difficulties beyond the present life. The future destiny of the individual sufferer, and—though later in order of development—of the individual wrong-doer also, became a continual and urgent question; a question to which an answer was sought, and not altogether sought in vain.

♣ SAMUEL HOLMES.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

SCIENCE.

FEW of those who are not themselves engaged in scientific research can realise what an enormous amount of detailed work has been, and still remains to be done in classification alone. When we consider that about 250,000 species of insects have been described and named, this being probably only one-tenth of the number that exist, it will be seen that the workers in this particular branch of morphology are none too numerous. What must now be regarded as the standard work on insects and their allies is now before us, forming vol. v. of the *Cambridge Natural History*.¹ The first section is devoted to that peculiar and beautiful organism, *Peripatus*. At first regarded as a mollusc, then as an annelid, and afterwards as a myriapod, it is now finally placed among the arthropoda. Mr. Sedgwick, who has made this group his special study, gives an excellent and well illustrated description of the creature and its habits.

The Myriapoda are well described by Mr. Sinclair, and many of the species are illustrated by excellent wood-cuts, most of which appear to have been taken from C. L. Koch's well-known monograph, *Die Myriapoden*.

Mr. Sharp's description of the structure of the Insecta is very clear, not unnecessarily technical, and, being well illustrated, gives a better idea of the subject than any other work we can remember. The morphological details are abundantly supplemented by practical notes relating to the habits of the various insects, and their influence upon agriculture. We are glad to see that that useful insect, the earwig, is depicted in its true insectivorous character. We have found, by experiment, that earwigs eat with avidity not only the various aphides, but also the minute insects that abound in many flowers, especially dahlias. That they sometimes nibble the petals of flowers cannot be denied, but this appears to be done more for the sake of the moisture contained in the juice than as an article of food. The usual speculations as to the origin of the name ear-wig are given, but we think the supposed resemblance of that insect's wing to a human ear is altogether too fanciful to have given rise to the name. It is true, as Mr. Sharp remarks, that the insect is sometimes called

¹ *The Cambridge Natural History*, vol. v. "Peripatus," by A. Sedgwick; "Myriapods," by F. G. Sinclair; "Insects," by D. Sharp. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Ohrenwurm in German, but it is also known as *Ochrling* in that language, a name which throws a very different light upon the subject. *Oehr* means a loop or an eye, and the resemblance of the closed forceps to a loop is so apparent that no further derivation need be sought. This seems to be one of those numerous cases where the phonetic resemblance of one word to another has resulted in a change in its etymology. Another much maligned insect is the cockroach. By many it is considered repulsive and unclean, but, as a matter of fact, it is extremely clean in its habits, and, as Mr. Sharp remarks, is an amusing pet. Its presence in a household is rather a sign of want of cleanliness on the part of the inhabitants, for, if particles of food were not left lying about, even cockroaches could not find a living. While some insects may be useful to man, the majority are no doubt injurious, and in warmer climates they may be serious competitors for the supply of vegetable food. We remember on one occasion riding through a district so utterly devastated by locusts that it was impossible to find any other food for the horses than the locusts themselves. After a day's abstention from food our steeds developed insectivorous qualities which had been altogether unsuspected, and some weeds fished from the bottom of a stream ultimately afforded them an unwonted, but, perhaps, more congenial diet. When we hear of one swarm of locusts 2000 square miles in extent, and of an estimated weight of 42,850,000,000 tons, we may well feel grateful that this fearful scourge is unknown in the British Isles. With regard to the anatomy of the Acridiidae we must dissent from the view that the air vesicles in any way assist the flight of these insects. A little consideration will show that filling these vesicles with air will impede, on account of their greater volume, the passage of the insect through the air. An india-rubber toy balloon, when not distended, can be thrown a certain distance, but, when filled with air, the same force will not project it one quarter the distance. Far from being more buoyant, it will, when full of air, weigh more than when empty, owing to the compression of its gaseous contents. The true use of these air vesicles has yet to be discovered. Some of the most curious forms of insect life are depicted in excellent illustrations, the most remarkable being, perhaps, in the family of the phasmidae, which includes the eccentric walking-stick insects. The word "bacillus" applied to these insects is liable to lead to some confusion, as the term is now much better known in connection with those minute organisms which play so important a part in some diseases. Space will not permit us to do more than refer to the excellent sections on termites, ants and bees, may-flies, fig-insects, gall-flies, and parasites. No naturalist can read this book without learning many interesting facts, or being brought face to face with problems still awaiting solution.

The British Lepidoptera have been dealt with fully in a volume

just published by Mr. E. Meyrick.¹ This is an elementary guide to the classification of the Lepidoptera, based chiefly upon the neurulation of the wings, of which illustrations are in many cases given. The work will be mainly useful to collectors for the identification of their specimens. A very useful feature is an appendix containing the scientific and English names of the chief food-plants referred to in the work. Entomologists are not always botanists as well, and we have known even experienced collectors puzzled by the Latin name of a food-plant. Even if we cannot entirely rely upon the neurulation of the wings as a means of identification, yet it is, undoubtedly, of great assistance in many cases, and the illustrations furnished by Mr. Meyrick will much facilitate classification.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

MR. D'ARCY'S *Short Study of Ethics*² is only relatively short, in the sense that the mass of thought which it contains and the number of subjects it deals with are treated in an extremely condensed but vigorous manner. The extent of the ground covered makes the author's description of it as a "little book" altogether inappropriate. The distinctive feature claimed by Mr. D'Arcy for this essay is that it endeavours to give, in a small space, an account of the metaphysical basis as well as of the ethical superstructure. The writer confesses that his ethical theory is substantially the same as has been set forth by Professor Dewey, Mr. Muirhead, and Mr. Mackenzie. The introduction of the metaphysical basis does not appear to us to add any special value to the work, and even if for metaphysical we read theological or theistic, it does not change our opinion, though in the main we are in sympathy with Mr. D'Arcy's metaphysics. "*The love of God*," he tells us, "is, then, the expression in terms of personal regard of that highest spring of conduct, which may be called *devotion to the good*. It is respect for the one supreme universal law expressed in the highest and most impressive manner." For the purposes of ethics, then, "devotion to the good" will generally be considered a sufficiently full definition; the other expression belongs more properly to the sphere of religion. The strong point in Mr. D'Arcy's system is the stress laid upon the ultimate results of conduct as the standard of morality. All philosophers, our author thinks, take the same view of the problem of ethics, but it is in their

¹ *A Handbook of British Lepidoptera*. By E. Meyrick. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

² *A Short Study of Ethics*. By Charles F. D'Arcy, B.D. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

answers that they differ. They all recognise that the end must be *the good*, but as to what is the good they are not agreed upon. The Hedonist, the Utilitarian (who is called a democratic Hedonist), and the Altruist differ only as to the means of realising the end ; and if we had to invent a name for D'Arcy's ethical theory we suppose we should have to call it Universal or Cosmic. It is Universal, because its end is the good of one's self and all others ; Cosmic, because of its metaphysical basis, which carries the end into infinity. This is the author's final definition : " Thus we reach the idea of a social universe, in which every person's capabilities shall receive their full realisation, and in which every person's realisation shall contribute to every other person's realisation. This is the Ultimate or *Ideal End*, the *summum bonum*, the correlative of the perfected self."

A few pages at the end of the book are devoted to criticism of other systems—Intuitionism, Hedonism, Utilitarianism, and Formal Ethics. The freshest part of this critique is a few remarks on Professor Green, in which the writer animadvertes upon Green's saying : " The only true good is to be good." Mr. D'Arcy prefers, " The true good is to *do good* "—the idea of being good, apart from activity, leads to an undue emphasis on the ascetic side of morality. A subjective perfection is not the true moral ideal. The book is a good and suggestive one, and deserves close study.

The Rev. Charles Voysey, the well-known theistic preacher, has followed up his little book on *Theism : or, the Religion of Common Sense*, with a more systematic work, though still a small one, on *Theism as a Science*.¹ It was not sufficient to present Theism as an accepted belief, as it comes into conflict with Atheism, Agnosticism, and many doctrines derived from so-called Revelation. Mr. Voysey therefore has attempted to offer some arguments in justification of it. The first, on the existence of God, is a repetition of the argument from design—which to some minds is conclusive and to others inconclusive. The difficulties arising from the presence of pain, death, and sin are considered ; and we are taught that pain, at least often, if not always, serves a good purpose ; in the sense in which we say that necessity is the mother of invention, pain is the mother of development ; this may be in accordance with science, and the readers of this book will learn how the writer reconciles it with Theism. Mr. Voysey's aim is a lofty one, and his treatment of a difficult subject does credit to his intelligence.

We have nothing but praise both for the spirit and execution of *The Brotherhood of Mankind*,² by the Rev. John Howard Crawford. The object of this book, the author tells us, is to show that the end

¹ *Theism as a Science of Natural Theology and Natural Religion*. By the Rev. Charles Voysey, B.A. London : Williams & Norgate 1895.

² *The Brotherhood of Mankind*. A Study towards a Christian Philosophy of History. By the Rev. John Howard Crawford, M.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1895.

towards which mankind are progressing is a united brotherhood. This is the idea kept before us throughout these eloquent pages ; but if this is, as Mr. Crawford says, the central idea of Christianity, it has often been lost sight of and has been contradicted by an excessive individualism. In reading some of the earlier pages of the book we felt inclined to suspect the influence of Comte, and further on we came across a very appreciative reference to the founder of Positivism. An instance of this is to be found in a remarkably sympathetic view of Mariolatry, rare amongst Protestants, such as we presume Mr. Crawford to be. The writer says : " While the rise of monasticism was one of the main causes of Mariolatry, in that the monk, shut out from sweet thoughts of earthly womanhood, fixed his soul on the motherhood of the Virgin, that worship maintained itself because of the longing to consecrate the family life by the holy influence of devotion." Whether this is strictly correct or not it shows an ability on the part of the writer to get beneath the surface which is unusual. The book is a refreshing one, the only drawback is that the spirit exhibited in it is so rare in the Christian Church.

In these days of anti-Semite agitation, in more countries than one, it is gratifying to find one of our own countrymen animated by a more fraternal spirit and making an attempt to break down the age-long barrier between Christian and Jew. With page after page of the *Crucifixion Mystery*¹ we find ourselves in full sympathy, but we find it difficult to accept the central idea of the book. The object of the writer is to clear the Jews from the charge of murdering an innocent man ; into the sacrificial theories of orthodox Christianity we need not enter. The difficulties in the way of literally accepting the Gospel story of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus are known to all candid students of history. The apparent absence of sufficient motive, the irregularities of the trial, the illegality of the alleged crucifixion are patent—but still such things have happened, and the difficulties are not insuperable. Mr. Vickers's theory is that Jesus was really crucified, but underwent a mock or dramatic trial at the hands of his own friends and apparently with his own connivance ; that he was chosen as a victim by a Nazarene or Messianic party, whose minds were affected by Apocalyptic literature and enthusiastic dreams. Of this party Joseph of Arimathea was the leader. For our own part, with all respect to Mr. Vickers, we should be more inclined to think the whole story a religious romance than to accept his view. Of course we recognise the difficulty he suggests in this case, of being able to account for the rise of Christianity ; but no view is without its difficulties, certainly not our author's. We prefer

¹ *The Crucifixion Mystery. A Review of the Great Charge against the Jews.* By John Vickers. London : Williams & Norgate. 1895.

Mr. Vickers when he is advocating the claims of reason, of humanity, and of liberal religion.

Dr. P. J. Gloag's *Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels*¹ brings the discussion of an important subject practically up to date, but throws no fresh light upon it. The author candidly considers most of the problems connected with the subject, but his conclusions on the whole are distinctly in favour of the orthodox tradition of the authenticity and integrity of the Gospels. A striking instance of this is his decision that the concluding verses of St. Mark's Gospel are genuine. The fact that the original terminates abruptly with the words "for they were afraid," undoubtedly suggests that the writer either added, or intended to add, something more; but this rather leads us to believe, than prevents us from supposing, that the succeeding paragraph was composed by a later writer, who felt the incompleteness of the Gospel as it stands. Both the internal and external evidence lead to this conclusion. The writer also holds to the literal truth of the birth stories in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, notwithstanding that they are irreconcilable with Luke's account, even down to the star in the east. We mention these points so that our readers may know what to expect.

The Rev. W. J. S. Simpson gives the title, *The Prophet of the Highest*,² to some addresses on the life and work of St. John the Baptist. They are written from a Church, or perhaps we ought to say, a Catholic point of view, and are good of their kind.

A somewhat similar book to the above is *The Truth and the Witness*.³ The author's theological position may be inferred from a single sentence in the chapter on the Witness of Scripture. Speaking of the Hebrew Scriptures, he says: "It is sufficient for our purpose to regard them as a collection of written records, a body of writings of various dates, bearing manifestly on the same general subjects. Even regarded simply as such, they bear witness to Christ, for their whole aspect is essentially predictive, and predictive of Jesus."

Another Church book is *The Songs of the Holy Nativity*,⁴ considered as recorded in Scripture and as in use in the Church. It contains some eloquent expositions of the beautiful canticles found in the early chapters of St. Luke's Gospel, which have had so much influence over Christian thought. But, while admiring them as poetry, we cannot, like Mr. Bernard, accept them as authentically related to historic events. Mr. Bernard considers the question of

¹ *Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels*. By Paton J. Gloag, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1895.

² *The Prophet of the Highest*. By W. J. Sparrow Simpson, M.A. London: Skeffington & Son. 1895.

³ *The Truth and the Witness*. By M. B. Williamson, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

⁴ *The Songs of the Holy Nativity*. By Thomas Delany Bernard, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

their origin, and assumes that Luke must have gathered them, during a sojourn in Galilee, from the mother of Jesus. Considering the almost certain late date of this Gospel, this appears to us improbable, without Mary lived to an unusually great age and had a wonderfully retentive memory. It is much easier to us to believe that they are free compositions inspired by the spirit of the early Church.

We have received from Mr. Nimmo a copy of his new and beautiful edition in six volumes of Count de Montalembert's well-known and interesting *Monks of the West*.¹ It is admirably printed on fine paper and handsomely bound, and should be a welcome addition to any library. There is no need in these days to discuss the services of the monks to Christendom, but as there was formerly a tendency to underrate them, so now, we think, there is a reverse tendency to overrate them. For a period, no doubt, they exercised a civilising influence, but degeneration was rapid, and we regard it as still a question whether the evil did not more than outweigh the good. Montalembert had for them—that is, it is only fair to say, in their best period—the most extravagant admiration ; but when due allowance is made for his partiality, it must be admitted he produced a delightful book, which it is a real pleasure to read. It is not a history, but a series of sketches drawn with a masterly hand, and will have a permanent place in the literature of Christendom. Dr. Gasquet supplies an Introduction of less interest, but of service to students, in which he deals with monastic constitutional history. In this introduction we have, therefore, a reliable sketch of the development of monastic government. We are much more ready to recognise the influence of the monks in the Church than on the world, and we differ from Dr. Gasquet when he says “that the monastery was a realisation of the ideal of Christianity.” We fail to see how the Christian ideal of the regeneration of the world is represented by the monkish ideal of perfect separation from the world. The impossibility of society being organised upon the monkish idea appears to us to prove that the system could never be a universal one, but only a temporary and partial and, indeed, in a wide sense, an anti-social organisation.

English readers will feel grateful to Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. for their English translation of Dr. Makower's learned and lucid treatise on the *Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England*.² Such an admirable piece of work would have done credit to any English historian ; it is nothing less than remarkable on the part of a foreigner. His familiarity with the subject is scarcely so striking as his extraordinary ability of appreciating the importance of details which we might have expected would have been

¹ *The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard.* By the Count de Montalembert. With an Introduction by the Rev. F. A. Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B. In Six Volumes. London : John C. Nimmo. 1896.

² *The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England.* Translated from the German of Felix Makower. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

confined to officials of the Church itself. The extent of the survey undertaken by the author is only equalled by the success of his research; and the mass of references to Church literature supplied will enable the student to follow more completely the investigation of any particular branch of the subject with which he may desire further acquaintance. The author deals with the constitution of the Church in various periods, and includes in his survey Scotland, Ireland, and the colonies. The relation of the English Church to other Churches—the various authorities of the Church, not overlooking such modern institutions as readers and deaconesses—the origin and powers of various ecclesiastical courts are explained; in fact, nothing of interest is left unnoticed. Dr. Makower shows his lively acquaintance with English movements by pointing out the effect of the last Local Government Act upon parochial institutions. This volume should have a place in every public library; it is invaluable as a book of reference.

The remarriage of divorced persons is one of the minor questions about which certain priests of the Church of England are agitating, and a pamphlet we have received, entitled *The Scene at a Wedding*,¹ discusses, *apropos* of this subject, the question, “Is marriage an ecclesiastical function or a Divine ordinance?” The writer has a timely and sensible word to say upon this subject, and we cordially recommend his tract.

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

THE present seems to Dr. Mayo-Smith, the author of *Statistics and Sociology*² “a favourable moment to present in scientific form those statistics of population which are of interest to the student of sociology and of economics, to the journalist and publicist, to those interested in social questions, and to intelligent men generally.” From the results of the various censuses of 1890 and 1891 taken in the United States, Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, France, Austria, and India, Dr. Mayo-Smith has endeavoured to present in a systematic form the statistics of population in such a way as to show their real significance.

The first three chapters deal respectively with the relation of

¹ *The Scene at a Wedding*. By F. H. Rochester, London: Blackwoods. 1895.

² *Statistics and Sociology*. By Richmond Mayo-Smith, Ph.D. Professor of Political Economy and Social Science in Columbia College. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

statistics to sociology, the criteria of statistics, and the method of study to be observed. Sociology is defined as "The science which treats of social organisation. It has for its object of research the laws which seem to underlie the relations of men in society." In order to arrive at these laws we must ascertain what are the social phenomena or the facts of social organisation.

But the range of these phenomena is so wide that we stand in danger in being overwhelmed by their multiplicity. Accordingly, we must make our choice by eliminating those statistics which are useless or at any rate useless for the particular purpose in hand and direct our attention solely to those which we think will serve our purpose.

This brings us to the third point, the method to be observed. This must comprise, says Dr. Mayo-Smith (1) the sociological purpose of the investigation; (2) the statistical data now accessible; (3) scientific tests of the trustworthiness of those data; and (4) a reflective analysis of the results obtained.

In dealing with his subject Dr. Mayo-Smith has rigidly adhered to this method.

Under the head of Demographic, he treats with the facts relating to sex, age, and conjugal conditions, births, marriages, and deaths, and sickness and mortality. Under the head of Social, fall the facts relating to families and dwellings, education, religious confession and occupations, the infirm and dependent, suicide and crime. Under the head of Ethnographic, statistics relating to race and nationality and migration are given, and finally, under the title of Environment, the results of the facts bearing upon the population and land, and upon the population and civilisation, are collected.

Valuable as this work will prove to the class mentioned above, it must be used with care. To take one chapter, which we have tested. The official figures relating to pauperism are accurately given; but when the author goes on to infer from these that pauperism in this country and others is decreasing, both actually and relatively, he forgets to take into consideration the well-known and indisputable fact that these official figures must be multiplied by two or two and a half in order to ascertain the actual number of persons in receipt of poor relief, and that to this total must be added the number of those in other public and private institutions, or who are otherwise dependent on private charity. With all Dr. Mayo-Smith's conclusions we cannot agree. For instance, he considers that because the doctrine of free-will is not disproved positively that it still holds good. We venture to think that the onus of proof lies upon those who assert its existence. But these, after all, are mere matters of opinion, and do not detract from the undoubted value of this eminently useful work, provided, however, that the reader bears in mind

the caution we have given, and does not accept all the statistics given as final.

The criticisms we ventured to make upon Mr. Laycock's views of the relations between wages and Trade Unions are curiously enough confirmed by Dr. Smart in his admirable work entitled *Studies in Economics*.¹ Mr. Laycock contended that wages must be controlled and settled by the iron law of supply and demand, and that if the Trade Unions succeeded in raising the wages in any particular trade, thus producing a rise in prices, the real wages of all working men would fall, not only *pro tanto*, but beyond that point. As an instance of this Mr. Laycock adduced the coal strike of 1893. Dr. Smart, whilst admitting that the question of wages and prices ultimately depends upon the law of supply and demand, contends that wages are governed in the first instance by the standard of living of the lowest paid workers. So far, then, those wages enter into the question of all prices; and difference between these wages and those demanded by the standard of living in the better paid trades will also enter into the question of price in those particular trades. Of course, if the total cost of production in any particular industry exceeds a certain figure such industry must stop. Beyond those wages and the interest on capital which capitalists are willing to take the price is governed by the demand. But this theory, says Dr. Smart, is subject to qualifications. What if the employers, through competition, or what not, get behind this operation, and instead of endeavouring to get the best price, tempt demand by offering the lowest price?

"It is an evidence on this side," says Dr. Smart, "that it is the great gas companies at home, usually paying large dividends, which have got coal at the lowest contract price."

But a *minimum* wage is not necessarily a *living* wage. A fixed *minimum* wage is possible, but in the interests of the workers is it expedient? asks Dr. Smart. "On the whole," he replies, "I am by no means sure that the employing classes would not have the better of the bargain, in being residuary rather than preference shareholders."

What, then, is the alternative? The system known as the sliding scale Dr. Smart considers the best for regulating wages.

This system, however, can only be carried out by regularly-constituted bodies. Hence, says Dr. Smart, "strong unions on either side are the best security of good relations. Whatever be the case as regards other trade, the principle of trade unionism has a vindication within the volumes of the Labour Commission, which puts it beyond question as regards the miners." Further, Dr. Smart argues that the wages of women workers are determined, not by the

¹ *Studies in Economics*. By William Smart, M.A., LL.D., Lecturer in Political Economy in the University of Glasgow. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

law of supply and demand, nor even by the bare "subsistence" standard of to-day, "but by the 'sustenance' of a former age, when the world was poorer and capital was more powerful." With one great exception—viz., the Lancashire weaving industry, the average wage of women is 10s. a week, and this has been established by custom, and but for the fact that women in the industry referred to belong to the same powerful union as the men, Dr. Smart thinks that they, too, would soon be reduced to the customary wage.

Since wealth in this country has increased in far greater proportion than population, Dr. Smart considers that there is room for a rise in women-workers' wages, but he thinks that this will only be obtained by "combination." "The economist's first thought would be to recommend to them the same measures as have proved successful in the case of their co-workers."

In the chapter entitled "Over-production" Dr. Smart exposes the fallacy underlying the current commercial doctrine of over-production. He brings out clearly the important difference between absolute over-production and over-production at a price. This latter is what the average business man really means by the term. The remedy for absolute over-production is by widening the circle of consumption, or by "the socialising of consumption," as Dr. Smart calls it. That is to say, the great cause of our present commercial depression is not over-production, but under-consumption. Finally, Dr. Smart deals in a broad-minded and liberal spirit with the relations existing between economics and ethics. Few will rise from the perusal of this book without having learned something fresh, and much that is highly instructive.

It is too frequently assumed that French writers are incapable of dealing correctly with our national institutions or our economic problems. *La Question Ouvrière*,¹ by M. Paul de Rousiers, does not stand alone in showing that this assumption is begotten of ignorance and insular prejudice. The work before us is divided into three parts. The first deals with the small workshops, in which the master works himself, and generally supervises all the work, and where little machinery is used; the second, with the mining industries which are carried on under the modern organisation of capital and labour upon a great scale, but where modern machinery has not yet displaced human labour to any appreciable extent; and, finally, with the large industries conducted in factories where labour-saving machinery is constantly tending to displace the workers.

The object which M. de Rousiers set before him was to ascertain the influence of machinery upon the labour question and the social condition of the workers. This object is prominently maintained throughout the book. To gain any adequate knowledge of this

¹ *La Question Ouvrière en Angleterre*. By Paul de Rousiers. With a Preface by Henri de Tourville. Paris: Firmin-Didot. 1895.

great question M. de Rousiers considers it essential to first ascertain the social and economic condition of the workers. Accordingly, he set to work and collected material by personal investigations on the spot, visiting himself all the great centres of industry, and making inquiries into the typical industries in each of the three classes with which his work deals. In fact, he seems to have been almost everywhere, and to have allowed little to escape his notice, and the result is a valuable storehouse of information which no student of the labour question can afford to neglect.

Dr. Smart's point that under a sliding scale, although wages do not rise at a corresponding rate with the rise in prices, yet at the same time they do not fall at a corresponding rate with the fall in prices, is singularly confirmed by the *Report on Wages and Hours of Labour*,¹ issued by the Board of Trade for 1893.

Although 1893 was a period of severe depression in prices, wages on the whole did not fall, but, on the contrary, rose slightly. Presumably the fall came in the following year. Part I. deals with the changes in the rates of wages and hours of labour; Part II. with the standard price rates; and Part III. with the standard time rates. The fact that the whole Report has been prepared under the able direction of Mr. Llewellyn Smith, Commissioner for Labour, is a sufficient guarantee of its practical value.

The Report on Profit-Sharing by Mr. B. F. Schloss, published last year, has now been supplemented by the *Report on Gain-Sharing and certain other Systems of Bonus on Production*,¹ prepared by the same writer and issued by the Board of Trade under the supervision of Mr. Llewellyn Smith. The chief difference between the two systems is this. Under a scheme of profit-sharing it will be remembered "that the employee receives by way of bonus, in addition to his ordinary wages, a share in the profits of the business in which he is engaged; under the systems now under consideration, systems which have been designated under the general name of progressive wages, the employee receives, as an incentive to the display of a special degree of efficiency, a bonus, the amount of which is altogether independent of the profits earned or the losses incurred by the business, and which is strictly proportionate to the extra activity, carefulness and intelligence exhibited by him, measured by the reduction effected in the cost of production as compared with certain standard costs."

Six examples are given, one from the United States, one from Canada and the remainder from England. This highly instructive Report should prove of extreme value to all interested in co-operative production.

¹ *Report on Wages and Hours of Labour 1893*. With Statistical Tables. By H. Llewellyn Smith; and *Report on Gain-Sharing and certain other Systems of Bonus on Production, 1895*. By B. F. Schloss. Presented to the Board of Trade by H. Llewellyn Smith, Commissioner for Labour. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MR. H. RASHDALL'S work on *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*¹ contains an enormous amount of useful information on the subject. No doubt, much of what is embodied in the three volumes is already more or less familiar to persons of culture; but Mr. Rashdall must get the credit of collecting a vast amount of matter, and placing it before his readers within the compass of a single book. The chapter dealing with Abelard is specially interesting, and the history of the University of Paris, which occupies about 270 pages of the first volume, is a curious and fascinating record. The account of the rise and progress of Oxford University in the third volume will, no doubt, have an exceptional interest for English readers.

In *The History of St. James's Square*² Mr. Arthur I. Dasent has broken new ground. As he points out in the preface to his most interesting book, it is "the first systematic visitation from house to house of any particular street or square in London." The author has based his researches on the parochial rate-book preserved at the St. James's Vestry Hall—"a mine of topographical material much neglected by antiquarian writers." He has also drawn much information from the diaries of Evelyn, Pepys, and Luttrell. It is interesting to find the fact impressed upon our minds that the West End of London dates only from the Restoration.

Mr. Dasent properly assigns to Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, the distinction of having been the founder of the West End. This nobleman, shortly after the Restoration, on his return from Paris, obtained a building lease of forty-five acres of St. James's Fields, and eventually the grant in fee of the site of the Square. Jermyn, though described as "a man of pleasure," must have been of an energetic and enterprising character.

The combination of statistical accuracy and imagination shown by Mr. Dasent in this book constitutes, perhaps, its greatest charm. One chapter, entitled "A Day in the Life of Charles II.," is almost as entertaining as a passage in *Esmond*. The author describes a royal perambulation of the "great square in St. James's Fields" on a summer's day in 1683. The easy-going king is supposed to be accompanied by Will Chiffinch; and, after sauntering from Whitehall through St. James's Park, he is pictured passing through the Palace in which he was born in order to enter Pall Mall. Looking up at St. James's, the king remarks: "The astrologers tell me, when first I saw the light of day, the star of Venus was in the ascendant, and what man dare assert that I have not done my best to keep it

¹ *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. By Hastings Rashdall, M.A. Three volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

² *The History of St. James's Square*. By Arthur Irwin Dasent. London: Macmillan & Co.

there ever since?" After stopping to chat with the Duchess of Mazarin about the gains and losses of the previous night at her basset-table, and dallying awhile with Nell Gwynne in Pall Mall, listening to her latest gossip, he would naturally turn into the Square, and visit Mrs. Davis, commonly known as "Moll Davis," whose singing of "My Lodging is on the Cold Ground" had so captivated his Majesty as to "procure her rapid elevation from that uncomfortable resting-place to what may be styled a *vice-regal* establishment." We shall not forestall, by any further summary or quotation, the pleasure every intelligent reader will experience in the perusal of this chapter. The account of the great houses in the Square is very detailed, and full of curious facts. The chapter headed "One Hundred Years Ago," is written in the gossipy fashion which Mr. Dasent is pleased to affect, while never losing sight of the truth which he has carefully dug out from a heap of ancient records and other materials of ostensibly the most prosaic description. There can be no doubt that such a book as this has a definite and very extensive value for the student of history; and it will, moreover, furnish *data* for writers of fiction who wish, in the dearth of latter-day subjects, to go back a century or two for the foundation of a romance which may rest on a solid background of reality.

Mr. Kebbel's *Life of Lord Derby*¹ (in the Statesmen Series) is a capital specimen of biography. The author has avoided all diffuseness and, within the compass of a little more than 200 pages, has recorded practically all that is known as to the career of the man whom he describes as "the great Patrician." It is not a matter for surprise to learn that Lord Derby and Lord Beaconsfield never became really intimate. They certainly were not "kindred spirits." Lord Derby had all the faults as well as the redeeming qualities of a sincere though wrong-headed Tory; while the late Lord Beaconsfield had all the acuteness and the deceitfulness of a political "Tito Milema."

We do not think Mr. Kebbel is right in assuming that Lord Derby held much the same views about the Corn Laws as Lord Palmerston. It is more probable that the Conservative rhetorician—for that is the best way to describe him—had no logical or formulated views on any subject. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, was nothing if not a serious statesman. The chapter on "Lord Derby as a Man of Letters," is not the least interesting in the book. Mr. Kebbel is good enough to acknowledge that the subject of his biography was not the last of the classic statesmen, having regard to the fact that Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Gladstone are still left. "But with these," he adds, "it seems probable that the breed will finally become extinct." One would think that Mr. Kebbel had never heard of Lord Rosebery, Mr. Balfour, or Mr. John Morley.

¹ *Life of Lord Derby*. (The Statesmen Series). By T. E. Kebbel, M.A. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

But a narrow and pedantic use of the word "classical" is surely unworthy of a writer of biography in the nineteenth century.

In the *Life and Letters of Dean Church*,¹ edited by his daughter, we have the story of a useful and distinguished life. Dean Church was the friend of John Henry Newman, and differences of opinion on religious questions never chilled his affection for a man whose genius and intellect influenced his own life so much. With characteristic modesty he said to Lord Acton that he had not in his book on *The Oxford Movement* attempted a complete criticism of Newman, "partly because he felt it beyond him, partly because it was so against the grain."

Of the personal virtues of the Dean it would be hard to speak too highly. Some notion as to the excellence and nobility of his character may be gathered by a perusal of his biography. The book is splendidly printed, and contains a good portrait of Dean Church, with his autograph attached.

Mr. L. B. Seeley has produced a very readable and sympathetic life of Fanny Burney,² afterwards Madame D'Arblay, the celebrated authoress of *Ecclina*. The amiability of this lady won for her numerous friends and admirers, including Dr. Johnson, who was quite delighted with her most famous novel. Mr. Seeley wisely refrains from entering into any discussion as to the literary value of Madame D'Arblay's works. She was, in a sense, a pioneer, as her efforts influenced so great a writer as Jane Austen; but, from the standpoint either of style or construction, all her novels are full of defects. Her sprightly sketches of the people whom she met, specimens of which from her diary are given in Mr. Seeley's book, are, indeed, more valuable than the productions which he is pleased to call her "fictions." Jane Austen's admiration for her is even more pitiful than Byron's worship of Pope. It only proves that the critical faculty does not always accompany creative genius. Mr. Seeley concludes his interesting volume with a tribute to Madame D'Arblay as "the best representative of a worthy and amiable family who had been trained in the school of Samuel Johnson."

Another volume which reflects credit on Mr. Seeley's industry and research is entitled *Horace Walpole and his World*.³ We do not share Mr. Seeley's high estimate of this celebrity, and are inclined to question his title to be regarded as "the prince of English letter-writers." There is a smack of artificiality about all Horace Walpole's correspondence. Byron's letters are much more natural and characteristic. If it be the fact, as Mr. Seeley suggests, that Walpole prepared summaries of his letters, their essentially artificial

¹ *Life and Letters of Dean Church*. Edited by his Daughter, Mary C. Church. With a Preface by the Dean of Christ Church. London: Macmillan & Co.

² *Fanny Burney and her Friends*. Select Passages from her Diary and other Writings. Edited by L. B. Seeley, M.A. London: Seeley & Co.

³ *Horace Walpole and his World*. Select Passages from his Letters. Edited by L. B. Seeley, M.A. London: Seeley & Co.

character is demonstrated. Many events of the period are, of course, vividly described in these letters—for instance, the execution of Lord Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino for the part taken by them in the rebellion of 1745, the marriage and coronation of George III., and the Gordon Riots. For this reason the volume ought to prove entertaining. At the same time, the world has heard a little too much of the selfish, vain, little-minded, cold-blooded Horace Walpole. It is easy to excuse his treatment of poor Chatterton by quoting Sir Walter Scott's statement that "his sole crime lies in not patronising at once a young man who only appeared before him in the character of a very inartificial impostor." This is a mean and disingenuous allusion to the most wonderful boy of genius that ever lived. After all, Scott's method of mystifying the world as to the authorship of the Waverley novels might as reasonably be called "imposture" as the act of Chatterton which shocked the "virtuous" Horace's moral sense. But we need not dwell further on a painful subject. It is hard to manufacture a book out of materials supplied by another man, even though the latter happens to be a pseudo-literary fop of the last century, without bestowing a little praise on even so worthless an object. Therefore, we excuse Mr. Seeley's misplaced enthusiasm.

We have received from Messrs. Williams & Norgate a copy of the volume just published of Wilhelm von Giesbrecht's elaborate work, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit*.¹ In this volume, which is a monument of research and painstaking accumulation of details, the author deals with the history of the German Empire in the twelfth century and its relations with the Pope and with Italy. The authorities relied on and quoted are very numerous, and practically exhaust the subject. There is an Introduction by B. von Simson, who has, moreover, ably edited the work.

¹ *Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit*. Sechster (schluss) Band. London: Williams & Norgate.

THE DRAMA.

THE play-going public is sufficiently satiated with the "woman with a past" *motif* to make a new departure in stage fiction acceptable. The new departure is an old question presented again for solution—the woman with a future, and how, given the existence of certain conventional lines, and the inflexible rules of social life, she is bound to shape it. This is a progressive step. To aim at moulding the future rather than to consider the best means of retrieving the past, is to strike at the root of the difficulty; but the question involved in dealing with it is no less intricate, no easier of solution than was the trying dilemma of the Tanqueray *ménage*. The marriage question, and the position of two beings yoked together for all time to the discomfiture of one or other of them is, however directly or indirectly touched upon, one of the greatest problems of the age to deal with, and it has not been vouchsafed to Mr. H. V. Esmond to solve it in his new play, *The Divided Way*, at the St. James's Theatre. He has attacked the problem boldly, and worked it out on a broad scale up to a certain point, but at the critical juncture, at the divided way, he has accepted the old time-worn conclusion, that the only possible honourable future under mistaken marriage is self-annihilation of one of the sufferers, of course the easiest way out of the difficulty. Were every person in the position of Lois Humeden to take poison to-morrow, there would probably be an amazing increase in the mortality of the year, yet the difficult knot would still be untied. Does the death of one of the victims, and the fact that it was chosen as an escape from a living torture make the conduct of Mr. Esmond's principal personages right? There should be another way out of the terrible tragedy, a saving of the despairing waste of souls unsuitably mated. When will a dramatist convinced of the possibility of this other way rise up sufficiently strong to show it? As it is, in Mr. Esmond's creation two men are left to mourn a woman, and to suffer remorse, each one with the gnawing knowledge that he loved her, yet could not make her happy; one, the husband, because she loved another man; the other, the lover, because he could not free her from her husband. Probably the rebuff is ready: Lois Humeden was not a good woman, since she loved a man other than her husband, and she deserved her fate. Good or bad, she was human; she was swayed by feelings

within her inmost soul, dominated by some mysterious power, too strong to be resisted by human force of will. There is a noble quality enshrined within the heart of most of us, but sparsely used and still less understood; it plays an insignificant, a dormant part, where it might be made a tremendous lever in the ordering of our lives—renunciation, self-renunciation for the good of the greatest number. Strange that we cannot exercise this humane quality for the happiness of two where otherwise only one might be enjoying a doubtful kind of happiness, the possession of the dross without the pure gold. Life will always be full of sad mistakes and burdens of woe, until tragic facts are looked at, not bare rights. Lois Humeden exercised renunciation of a doubly mistaken kind. She killed herself, and she benefited nobody by the act. When she is dead what is the position? That dreaded tyrant, scandal, is appeased, but are the people concerned any happier because she is out of the way? Let us look a little with our imagination into the future. Gaunt, the lover, probably flies from a scene of painful reminiscences to wear his life out in unavailing regrets; Jack, the husband, probably grieves for a time, after which, according to proverbial human nature, he will allow himself to be consoled—he is young. All things will *evidently* have come right, in correct form; but will there not be a void all the same, however much it may be glossed over? So far as Jack is concerned, Lois was lost to him before she died. Could he not, by some magnanimous means, have been content to know her happy in life, instead of inanimate in her grave? Is it really a Christian-like sentiment which says that two persons must love as conventional laws decree they shall love, or otherwise go through a living martyrdom of what is called duty? Mr. Esmond appears to agree with Mr. Sydney Grundy's verdict in *Slaves of the Ring*, where the situation was practically the same, that "there will not be an end" possible other than stoic endurance of a lamentable fate.

The vital point in Mr. Esmond's play suffers because the character of Lois is not conceived in a sufficiently lofty spirit at the critical moments by Miss Evelyn Millard, who plays the part. Although she invests it with a distinct charm, it is of too sensuous a type, she is too spasmodic, too capricious, and, worst of all, she makes an insidious fawning take a prominent place where the earnest, almost reverential, feeling of inspired love would considerably raise the situation, and impart the dignity absent from mere passion. Miss Millard is seen to greater advantage in the last act, where her subdued despair gives the real note of the situation. Mr. George Alexander, who plays Gaunt, has seldom invested a character with so much quiet, deep, convincing force. He places his love on the high level which should have won for it a more satisfactory ending. Mr. Esmond, if he has not given us a masterpiece, or the solution of one of the problems of life's fitful fever, has provided ample food for

reflection, and his creditable sentiments will bear fruit, all in good time, if they induce people to think on a question which will one day require to be dealt with again.

The Misogynist, which precedes *The Divided Way*, is chiefly remarkable for Mr. Alexander's exceedingly clever portrayal of a soured old bachelor, turned into a woman-hater by a mistake in the course of true love in his early life. It is a very pretty little sketch.

The Chili Widow at the Royalty Theatre, under the management of Mr. Arthur Bouchier, is a merry adaptation of the French comedy, *Monsieur le Directeur*, and affords a good deal of enjoyment by its irresistibly droll events and genuine fun, quite free from the usual flavourings of the French school. It is capitally acted all round, and the result is a brightness extremely refreshing after some of the not too enlivening products of the "play with a purpose" type.

AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE VENEZUELAN DISPUTE.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S personality will doubtless become, by virtue of recent events, as conspicuous a feature in European politics as for a dozen years past it has been in those of America. And if we may judge by the comments which have been cabled to New York, it is likely to meet with as varying criticism by foreigners as has been bestowed upon him by his own countrymen. No American statesman of the present generation, indeed, has been followed with more unquestioning loyalty than he; none has been pursued with such bitter hostility; and while in both these respects resembling Jackson and Lincoln, the only other figures standing out with equal distinctness on the field of American history, he is unlike them in the singular versatility of his backing; the ranks of friend and foe having shifted repeatedly during his comparatively brief career.

The wittiest of our contemporaneous public men once defined a statesman as a "politician who is dead"; and it is unquestionably true that the tendency of American political discussion has led to much hurling of abuse at those in high office while they are living, which has been tardily atoned for by their all but deification after death. Bearing this in mind, it is not surprising to find that so strong and aggressive a character as that of Mr. Cleveland should call forth attacks as severe as the adulation of him has been profound; but this alone would not sufficiently account for the diametrically contradictory estimates of his motives and ability which have obtained, and which are now suffering a fresh revision as the result of his Venezuelan Message.

As to the real popular verdict on that message, it is very hard at this moment to form a correct opinion; doubly so for one placed in the environment of the Eastern States, and most of all in New York, the writer's home, where the greater breadth of our horizon, due to our more intimate relations with the outside world, yet makes it more difficult for us to appreciate the waves of sentiment that now and then run through the more rural districts, and even to a considerable extent sway the commercial classes of the interior cities. Among New York business men, it is safe to say that the aversion to war is so strong, that the majority of Mr. Cleveland's

warmest admirers—and among these it would not be far wrong to count, perhaps, the majority of those who handle the commerce and the finances of our greatest port—are disposed to turn against him in his “jingo” attitude; though there are still many who, plainly against their real convictions, are rallying to his side with a recklessness of the possible consequences which is very palpably artificial. The Republicans here, as throughout the country, are in a very confused state of mind; for, while they condemn the President savagely, they cannot yet consistently repudiate his cause altogether. They have learned to look upon him as the one political enemy whom they must needs hate most, because they have had such abundant occasion to fear him; but, on the other hand, he has time and again occupied a position of defiance to the jingoism, to the exclusive monopoly of which they have of late years laid special claim; and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the desire to take the wind out of the Republican party’s sails on this score was the controlling motive for the President’s action. One other class of New Yorkers who have always opposed Mr. Cleveland on personal grounds, although for the most part belonging to the same party with him, is the labouring and lower middle classes, so largely influenced by the Irish element. This class, or the Irish section, at least, is always ready to do the British lion a bad turn; and from this results one of the amusing features of the situation, that elements which have throughout distrusted and disliked Mr. Cleveland, mainly from the belief which, rightly or wrongly, they have entertained—that his sympathies are with the plutocratic side of society—are now vociferously on his side as against the known inclination of thousands who have hitherto implicitly trusted him as their leader.

But among the masses who make up what we may call provincial America, there is grave reason to believe that, at all events for the moment, there is a genuine warlike feeling. It must be remembered that America is still provincial to a very considerable degree; not in the same pronounced and ridiculous style that Dickens described with cutting pen, but yet to a greater extent than might be looked for among people so well informed. Mr. Brycc, a keen observer, has said that the American people is intensely conservative of its traditions, and one of these to be cherished all the more that the nation has grown so far away from it as to have destroyed its significance, is the Monroe Doctrine. The real fact which that doctrine expressed was that at the time when it was promulgated, we were still doubtful—not of our right, but of our power to exist; and that as our conception of government was at such variance with that of all other nations, we could not afford to run any risk to our national development, such as might ensue from neighbours alien in institutions. We were like some lone widow in

an isolated farmhouse, who might not admit any visitor because some visitors were suspicious characters. The recognition of this has suddenly come to many dwellers on the seaboard by having their attention directed through the present dispute, for the first time, to the Monroe Doctrine as something having an existence, as something more real than, for instance, the Thirty-two Articles are to a modern Churchman. And the opening of their eyes to this has also revealed to them that, for present conditions, the Monroe Doctrine is an absurdity. Not only has our growth placed us beyond all possible danger from foreign interference, such as existed seventy years ago, but the civilised world in general has advanced so far along the lines of popular government, that our domestic liberty has far more to fear from the advance of plutocracy among our own people than from any aggressions from without. A great republic has been established on the continent of Europe for nearly as many years as the United States had lived when Monroe was President. The voice of the people is fully as omnipotent in Great Britain as with ourselves, and even among the military empires of the Old World, outside of Russia, the nearest approach to personal government is to be found in the fantastic performances of William of Germany. There is no longer an enemy whom we must warn off from proximity lest it should overshadow our democracy ; for there are none of the Great Powers who are not themselves compelled to listen to the will of their citizens.

But however much the conception of this changed situation may be grasped by the dwellers on our seaboard—and it can scarcely be said to be distinctly formulated even in their minds as a rule—our seaboard is, after all, but a narrow strip in comparison with the vastness of the entire land. The interior population clings closer to the beliefs which it absorbed from its schoolbooks a quarter or half a century ago. It has fewer distractions and spectacles to make it *blasé* of such things, and as we get further away from the coarser side of warfare, which for some years after the Rebellion had disgusted our people most thoroughly with all idea of fighting, the pomps and vanities of arms begin to appeal more to the popular mind, just as it did during the long era of peace which preceded our great internecine struggle. Nor is the enormous expense as startling a consideration to the citizen of Illinois or Nebraska as to the citizen of New York. Mankind the world over is apt to be prodigal of governmental expenditure ; and since the interior appreciates less directly its interdependence upon foreign trade, it recognises less closely than the seaboard the individual sacrifices that would follow upon derangement of that trade. It is doubtful whether much, if any, of the traditional hostility towards Great Britain, as the Power from which our forefathers had to win their freedom, still lingers as a living force even in the most rural districts ; but there

is still a sort of half-sense of pride in the old revolutionary spirit that leads men to feel when any dispute springs up that it might be a good thing to revive. It is the keeping alive this under-current of bad blood which is apt to be the most unfortunate result of this Venezuelan business; and, as an instance of how things utterly insignificant in themselves may influence public sentiment, it is curious to note how much vitality was infused into this undercurrent by the quarrel over the *Defender-Valkyrie* yacht races. Taken altogether, such echoes as we get here from the West and the Mississippi Valley would indicate that sentiment there, while not definitely in favour of war and not by any means convinced that war is at hand, has yet been heartily in favour of Mr. Cleveland's attitude; and it is a question, with the probabilities strongly in favour of its affirmative answer, whether the producing this result was not the purpose of the Message.

Nor does this imply necessarily that Mr. Cleveland desires a third term, and as one means of securing it, is picking a quarrel with the nation which he has hitherto been charged with unduly favouring. So strong has been the political current towards the Republican party during the past three years that it is very generally conceded that no Democratic candidate can win in the next Presidential election; and even if Mr. Cleveland really possesses the intense personal vanity of which his bitterest enemies accuse him, it is hard to believe that he would not be at least doubtful of victory if he were nominated; and it is not in human nature to deliberately select the leading of a forlorn hope for an office the honours of which he has already so fully enjoyed. Rather is it more probable that he seeks to end his administration with his party on a rising tide instead of a falling one, to rob its opponents of as many of their favourite issues as possible, and to conciliate those whom previous actions on his part may have disaffected; so that when he lays down the Presidency it will be with all the prestige that has hitherto surrounded his official life. He has been variously portrayed as a very political seer with a genius for grasping the currents of public opinion such as no other American of his time possesses, as a simple citizen guided only by his individual conviction and indifferent altogether to public opinion, as a cunning schemer with his own personal aggrandisement solely in view; as a brutally heavy man, with no remotest understanding of statecraft. A portion, at least, of the first conception is true, if actions tell anything of character. Whether he is guided by self-interest or by devotion to the public weal, whether or not he is really a great man or only a mediocre one, he is certainly neither the ignorant boor that a few of his enemies have depicted nor the simple, unsophisticated citizen that so many of his followers have loved to paint, rather in their own image than in his. He is a strong man, with much

inflexibility of purpose ; but every step in his career has indicated the profound politician who has phenomenal power to diagnose public opinion, and supreme judgment as to when most effectively to appeal for its advocacy of a move which he himself desires.

Until this year, his main strength has lain in the West and South, the former section really nominating him the last time when everything pointed to their demanding a candidate of their own, and giving him a majority at the election such as no one had dreamed of ; but his staunch adhesion to the gold standard and sound money had begun to alienate many of his warmest advocates in those portions of the country. Such men as these he has brought back under his banner at a single stroke, for it is amongst them that the traditional ideas about the Monroe Doctrine have most strength ; and whether he or some one else be the Democratic candidate this coming autumn, the adhesion of these men may make all the difference whether, if the Democratic party is defeated, it shall come out of the contest a shattered remnant or a compact host, trained to an early victory. For it must be remembered that the President's term will not end until four months after the election ; and that there will be ample opportunity in that time for him to retrieve many effects of defeat and (provided always that he holds its rank intact) to set it on the high road to future success, and thus end his administration with credit. Another class, too, has been conciliated by his latest move ; that which is, after all, most concisely described by the term proletariat. No other public man of our day in America has ever struck such crushing blows at special privileges and entrenched wealth as has Mr. Cleveland in his war upon the protective system, and in this, the labouring men, who have learned to be Free Traders far more rapidly than have the farmers, have, as a whole, been in sympathy with him ; but they have always had an instinctive dislike for his personality, and latterly this has grown into a positive opinion that his tendencies are plutocratic, an opinion to a great extent crystallised by his attitude toward the railroad strikers at Chicago more than a year ago. These men, as a class, are inclined to favour a scrimmage out of the pure love of combativeness which comes from association with the rougher pursuits ; and with such of them as are of Irish blood to this is added hatred of England as a never-dying impulse. They, too, have been brought closer to Mr. Cleveland than ever before, and bound more firmly to the Democratic party than they were otherwise likely to remain while he was still its chosen head.

And yet, we none of us really believe that war will come. One other political consideration remains to avert this—as well as all the intrinsic improbabilities of such a catastrophe—and perhaps not the least important one to bear in mind in estimating the President's

motives. The Republicans have latterly been posing as a jingo party and with considerable success in gaining popularity. They have insisted on our doing a lot of grabbing on our own account and on resenting a grab by any one else. They have taunted the President and the Democratic party, in general, as being weak-kneed and flabby in their foreign relations, much as your Conservatives have taunted the Liberals. The President has suddenly taken this ground from them, and, what is more, has forced them into serving as the brake on popular impetuosity ; for, after all, we know perfectly well that we cannot afford the extravagance of war, even if we really want it, which at best is doubtful. Some one must call a halt, and it is perfectly plain that this duty will fall upon the Republican Senate ; which, if no longer a body grave or reverend enough for anybody to respect very much, is yet composed of the older men, from whom caution is expected. And, therefore, it has come about that because of this necessity, as well as of the purely partisan necessity, that it would never do for them to follow out implicitly the line which has been drawn by a Democratic President, the Senators will have to devise the means to prevent an actual collision. That the Commission to be appointed will be handled and its report so manipulated as to produce this result, there is very little doubt ; unless, indeed, hostilities should be brought about by the folly of naval officers on either side ; so that we may well sum up the whole matter by concluding that President Cleveland has precipitated a situation of some danger, from which he is perfectly well aware that the country will be satisfactorily extricated, solely or mainly as a political manœuvre which promises very fair success. It is not altogether a dignified course, it is not altogether a wise one ; but it has at least the justification of precedent in most of the world's diplomacy.

E. J. SHRIVER.

DAYLIGHT ON THE LAND QUESTION.

LACK OF EMPLOYMENT: ITS CAUSE AND ITS CURE.

THE study of economics has been forced upon us by the fact that during the past half-century we have pursued all our industrial operations with ever-increasing intensity. One cannot take up a scientific paper without meeting with one or more contributions upon the relative economy of the use of animal, steam, or electric power in the production of a given result. It was formerly said that that man was a benefactor to his species who caused two blades of grass to grow where one grew before. But of late years we have not been content with appliances which only double the former product. Tenfold and one hundredfold would not overstate many of the results obtained; and the importance of studying the economics of production has necessarily advanced in the same ratio. It is therefore all the more singular that so little attention has been devoted to that department of economics which deals with the source from which all our materials are drawn and from which we derive all the forces that we employ. We have, for the most part, been merely scratching the surface of economics, for we have failed to exhaustively study the bearing of the science upon the solid earth beneath us and upon the great forces of Nature around us. I think it will be shown upon investigation that in this matter we fall far short in sagacity even of those peoples whom we describe as uncivilised. For the earliest peoples, in supplying their very simple needs, gave every one equal freedom of access to the storehouse of materials and to the forces of Nature. We, although we have developed wants far in excess of theirs, and as a consequence are the more dependent upon this equality of access, have allowed a small section of our fellows to monopolise nearly all the sources of supply.

There are several signs of the present day calculated to throw serious doubt upon the method which has been adopted in grafting modern upon primitive conditions. We do not appear to reap the full benefit of progress in added comfort all round. On the contrary, several strange and unexpected developments have made their appearance to the detriment of our comfort and our security. Let us confine our attention to the most notable and serious of these anomalies—the existence and constant increase of an unemployed

class. In this class I do not include, as a reproach upon the present system, the imbecile, the crippled and lazy, or those who, owing to advanced age, are past work. The notable point is that in all civilised countries an able-bodied, intelligent class now exists which is willing—nay, anxious—to work, but cannot find work to do ; and, further, that this class exists in ordinary times when neither war nor famine is deranging production. If our methods of production had been growing ruder and less efficient all the time, instead of developing at a truly marvellous rate, this would not be so surprising. Even in that case, however, such reduced efficiency would have led to a general descent to a lower scale of comfort only, and not to the formation of one large, needy class, graduating to an unemployed residuum, while, at the same time, the few grow wealthy “beyond the dreams of avarice.”

Throughout this article I propose to make the appearance of an unemployed class the test of the success or the failure of the different systems of land tenure that have followed each other ; and the search for the cause of this lack of employment will, I imagine, prove easier if we work forward from primitive times, instead of backwards from our own complex civilisation. By proceeding in this way we shall not be met by the question of currency, nor by that of tariffs. I shall not ignore these questions, however, but merely put them aside for present convenience. Let us try this method and see if we can discover a cause, apart from currency and tariffs, which would, even under comparatively simple conditions of life, produce an unemployed class.

I propose to present for consideration only three stages of social development, and shall sketch them briefly and with a free hand. I do not offer them as pages from the actual history of any nation, but rather as outline illustrations of the process of development. These stages I shall classify as the “primitive,” the “improved,” and the “divided labour” periods.

To begin with the “primitive” period. The name is not intended to indicate the earliest condition of all, but a period at which the people may be supposed to have advanced so far as to acknowledge the right of exclusive individual use of pieces of land for cultivation, and to recognise as his rightful personal property the productions of each individual. They are supposed to know very little of the use of tools and even of the simplest appliances. In supplying themselves with food they gather what Nature provides, and also imitate her processes in the planting of seeds or slips in localities which suit their convenience. They snare and detain in enclosures certain animals and birds in order to secure more regular supplies of meat, milk, and eggs than hunting would afford. They provide themselves with clothing by using the skins of animals and the feathers of birds, and by making rude fabrics from wool and vegetable fibres,

and they make huts by using the branches of trees and large leaves and plastering them over with mud.

In order to procure these materials each man would enjoy free access to all the supplies of Nature, and have a plot of ground to live and work upon. Any restriction as to these points would, at that date, be impossible to contemplate. Each man would be recognised as having the same needs as his fellows; and as no man could live unless he were allowed to procure the necessary materials, free access to these would be a matter of course. These early people would not, of course, go through any such process of reasoning as the above, but would, without question, follow immemorial usage. Those to whom the best lands fell would, it is true, supply their wants more easily than the others, but the difference would be very slight where wants were so few and methods so primitive.

It is obvious that in such a state of society there could be no unemployed in the modern sense of the term. As a matter of historical fact, no mention is ever made of an unemployed class amongst a primitive people. Not only is this the case, but in producing a romance, dealing with this period, the introduction of such a class would be a palpable and a fantastic absurdity.

It will be necessary to look further, therefore, than the primitive period for some cause sufficient to account for the appearance of an unemployed class. Let us then advance to the second or "improved" period, and for this purpose let us suppose that into the primitive period were gradually introduced certain improved appliances and methods of production of such a limited character that each man could use them upon, and without abandoning, the cultivation of his own holding.

The introduction of such improvements would open up two alternatives to the people. It would enable them to produce what formerly satisfied their wants with a shorter working day; or, on the other hand, to gratify much more extensive desires by working as long as formerly. Those individuals who adopted the improvements would enjoy more satisfactions than their predecessors. There would be a little greater difference in favour of those who used the best land than was the case during the primitive period; but there would be no tendency in these changed circumstances to cause any to fall out of work. Having free access to materials and a place to work upon they would just continue to supply their wants as they arose. Each individual would adopt whichever of the new alternatives he found more agreeable; but those who adopted the improvements would not, by so doing, take anything from the others, nor would they inflict any injury or disability upon them. Each man would still, as in the primitive period, receive the full product of his toil. Each man would still be able to employ himself on the land.

It is clear, therefore, that the introduction of improved appliances,

such as each man could use on his own plot of land, could have no tendency to produce an unemployed class.

Having thus failed to find any tendency towards the formation of an unemployed class in the first and second periods of development, let us proceed to the third, or "divided labour," period. This period would very naturally evolve from the "improved" period. Experience is the great teacher, and the intelligent and the enterprising would not be slow to take advantage of such further mechanical improvements and improved methods as might suggest themselves. Machinery would sooner or later progress beyond the point at which each one could, by himself, make use of it. Motive power would be obtained from the wind and from running water, and this would render possible the working of more powerful machines, which would, in their turn, aid in the manufacture of engines to be driven by steam and ultimately by electricity.

The distinctive feature of this period would be the necessity for the division of labour. Machinery having progressed beyond the point at which individuals could effectively utilise it, it would become necessary for many to give up the direct culture of the land and to devote their whole attention, in co-operation with their fellows, to manufacturing upon a large scale. This would lead gradually to a complete break-up of primitive conditions. A considerable number would cease to look upon the land in the same light as their forefathers did, and many would prefer the new occupations to the old, and the more intimate connection with masses of their fellows to the quieter life of the fields. They would, therefore, think that they were benefitting by changing their condition and would not suspect that the change involved any ultimate disadvantage to themselves and to their descendants. It is quite safe to assume this, because even at the present day but few of us think that these changes have indirectly brought about the present adverse conditions. My belief, however, is that they have done so, and that the new and the disturbing factor is the private "ownership" of ground-rent by a section of the people.

I wish it to be distinctly understood, of course, that the term "rent" in the economic sense, to which I shall confine myself, means the return given for the use of land, and does not include any charge for the use of the improvements added thereto by man.

Let us now trace several steps in the introduction of the new system of industry. It is obvious that those who began to devote their whole time to factory work could not continue to use any land beyond the limits of a mere garden. It would also follow that those who continued to cultivate the land would cease to make, and begin to buy, their clothing, and other things. This would enable them to devote their whole attention to the land, and to work larger areas than formerly. They would, therefore, divide amongst

them the lands given up by those who went to the factories. No question of buying or renting these lands would at first occur to either party. The artisan would depart to make his living in another way, and the new occupier could make no living off the additional land unless he cultivated it. Use would be the only title; the idea of value apart from use would not yet have arisen; and no man would realise that the monopoly of the land would enable the "owner" to live in idleness by levying tribute upon the workers.

But another phase of this change in the holding of the land would concurrently manifest itself, a change fraught with most momentous consequences. For this change would promptly suggest the new idea that land has an exchange value as well as a use value—that if a man be secured in the absolute "ownership" of a piece of land he may derive a revenue from it, not only by using it himself, but by graciously allowing others to use it upon the condition that they hand over to him in consideration of that privilege a portion of the produce of their labour. The new factories would each require a site of land, and the factory workers would be obliged to live near their work. Hence villages, towns, and cities would grow up and cause small areas to be put to vastly more valuable uses than that of mere tillage. Location would thus become the great test of the desirability or otherwise of sites for factories, warehouses, shops, dwelling-houses, &c., and fertility would count for nothing. In consequence, a ground-rent value would attach itself to the land, and could be obtained by the holders of those pieces which were in demand. Naturally these men would not be willing to vacate a part, or the whole, of their now valuable land in favour of the new-comers, except for a sufficient inducement. Thus would be introduced the important innovation of one section of the community paying another section for the right to use the earth—that is to say, for the right to live; for the use of the earth is absolutely essential to the lives of all men. It is also evident that the land which had acquired a ground-rental value, would *ipso facto* possess a selling value. Moreover, some land having increased in value, other lands might be expected to do so, and to go on increasing in value. These lands would, therefore, become marketable, and would in consequence be open to investors and speculators as well as to *bona fide* users.

Do not let me be understood, however, to inveigh against ground-rent *per se*. I do no such thing. I do not consider it to be an evil. It has not been devised by human ingenuity as an engine of oppression. It arises from an economic necessity. It cannot be avoided, and no Act of Parliament can abolish it.

Let us consider for a moment what ground-rent is. If two men cultivate two pieces of land of equal size, each devoting the same amount of labour and capital, and the same degree of intelligence, to

his work, and one piece always yields a better return than the other, we cannot say that the one man produces more than the other. It is not the man, but Nature, that makes the difference. In short, one of the men utilises a superior natural opportunity. This would, of course, occur in each of the three periods to which I have alluded, but the difference in desirability would become more marked in the "improved" than in the "primitive" period, and still more marked in that of "divided labour." In the "primitive" period the product would be small, and the cultivators' wants would correspond. Hence the difference would be less noticeable, and the injustice infinitesimal. But with each addition to the means adopted for extracting more from the soil the disparity would become accentuated and the injustice greater; and in the third period, in which locality became more important than fertility, in which labour was divided and subdivided, and men worked, not only on the ground but on floor above floor in factories, this disparity would increase in proportion to the greater intensity of the application of labour and capital to natural opportunities.

The difference in the desirability of various blocks of land as compared with the best land that can be had for nothing, determines their rental value, and so long as competition for the use of the land exists, so long as two men want the same piece, so long must rent continue. Whether rent arises from superiority in the natural properties of the soil, or from locality (the desirability conferred by the presence of the community), it is manifestly not the creation of the mere "owner." If, therefore, the "owner" is allowed to appropriate the rent, he either enjoys a monopoly of that which Nature dispenses, or confiscates the earnings of his fellows without rendering them any return. The evil lies, in short, not in the existence of ground-rent, but in its private monopolisation.

An important feature of this change of land tenures must not be overlooked. It would not be the new artisans who would become possessed of town sites in lieu of their country sections. The master-mechanic or employer would rent or buy the site for the factory, and in many cases for the working-man's dwelling also. Very few of the artisans would be able to secure enough of the more valuable land even to live upon. Consequently a large number would never again have a plot of ground to call their own, and at the same time a few individuals would have acquired, and would consider as their own, all the corner sites, all the favoured spots.

The vicious nature of such a system is readily discernible. A large section of the population can no longer obtain direct access to the materials and forces of Nature, except upon permission from, and payment to, the "owners" of the land. Thus many men being shut off by inability to pay have no alternative but to offer their

services for wages. During the "primitive" and "improved" periods no man would work for another for less than he could make on his own plot of ground. Having this alternative he would have true freedom of contract, and the product of his labour would measure the value of his labour. In the divided labour period, however, the worker would be deprived of this natural alternative. The product gauge would be no longer his, and he must either take the competitive wage or remain idle. In the "primitive" and "improved" periods, since one hundred men working together can produce more than a hundred times the product of one man, increase of population by increasing the possibilities of co-operation would mean an increase in the amount of wealth *per capita*, and would thus increase wages. In the "divided labour" period, however, an increase of population would mean increased competition for employment, and lower wages—an increased demand for land, and higher rent; and sooner or later many, being unable to employ themselves because denied freedom of access to the land, and being unable to find others to employ them, would be forced to stand idle.

This evil would be greatly intensified by the progress of mechanical invention. If a machine be invented which, with one attendant, can produce a given result formerly requiring the work of ten men, the consequence is that nine of them will cease to be required, temporarily if not permanently. In short, machinery does not, under existing conditions, co-operate with the wage-earners and add to their reward, but competes against and displaces them. It is equally true that it does not permanently work for the capitalist or tenant class; for, as soon as their leases come to be renewed, the landlord is able to demand an increased ground-rent because additional desirability has been conferred upon his land. It is clear, therefore, that improved machinery works always in the long run for the landlord, for the manufacturer only during the currency of his lease, and always against the wage-earner. In the "primitive" and the "improved" periods invention would assist the producers to make more out of their holdings, and they would enjoy the entire product. In the "divided labour" period, however, vast numbers have no holdings, and, as a consequence, they not only lose the advantage to be derived from mechanical inventions but suffer from the competition of machinery. If it were conceivable that machinery could entirely supersede labour, the whole of the wealth produced would obviously go to the land "owners"; there would be "no demand for labour," and the labourer being unable to purchase the right to live by selling his labour would be obliged either to exist on charity or to starve. This, of course, is an impossible extreme, but the economic position is a serious one which leaves a very large class at the mercy of a contingency which, in degree, is

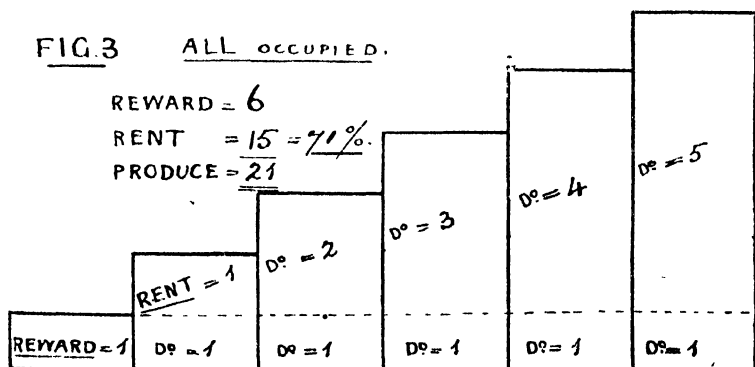
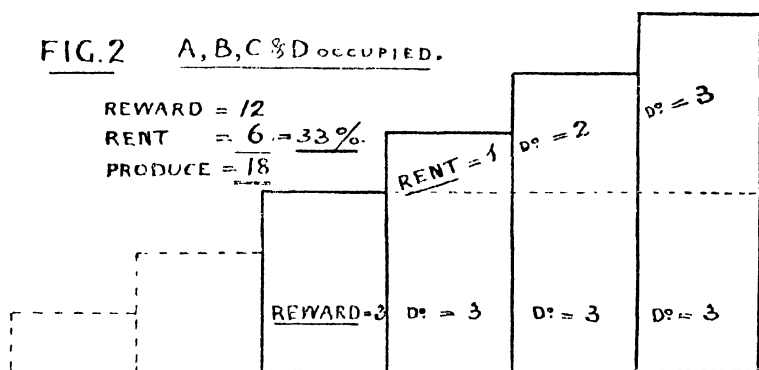
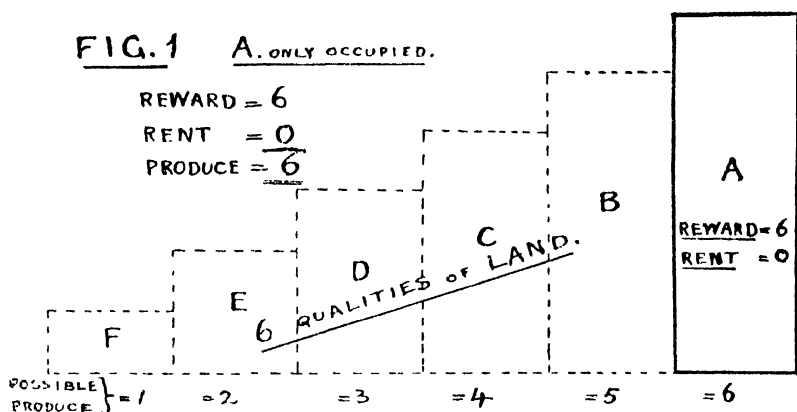
continually happening, and which, in fact, leads to the existence of a large, and continually increasing, class of involuntary idlers. The cause of this anomaly is not, however, the improvement of machinery but the operation of a vicious system which gives all the benefits to one class, and denies them to the rest. In the "primitive" and "improved" periods, when all enjoyed direct access to the land, the superseding of all need to labour would result in the satisfaction of the wants of all without the necessity for working. In the "divided labour" period, on the other hand, the raw material of wealth being the subject of a close monopoly, the land-"owners" being able to satisfy all their wants with the aid of machinery and without the intervention of labour, would secure the whole of the product; while, unless invention progressed so far as to enable the landless classes to live in empty space, and make something out of nothing, they could exist only on sufferance, since for the land "owners" to say, "This is our planet; clear out; you are trespassers!" would amount to a sentence of death.

Under such conditions all the landless would obviously be in the same position as the unemployed to-day; and, as with the march of invention machinery approaches more and more closely to this ideal, as speculation closes one after the other the avenues of employment afforded by Nature, so must the unemployed class increase in numbers till it reaches the above standard.

A brief review of the economic law of "rent and reward" that governs the amount of ground-rent which the land-"owner" can demand and the amount of the reward which the producer can retain, will show that the effect of these evils is not stationary but cumulative. This law is that as population increases in a country whose lands vary in productivity the reward of industry falls to a less and less proportion of the value of the produce, while the increasing balance is swallowed up in ground-rent. The reason is that as population increases it must spread over less and less desirable lands—that is to say, lands from which, with equal application of skill, capital and labour, a smaller product is obtainable. The "owners" of the more desirable lands can, therefore, claim as rent the whole of the amount by which the produce of their land exceeds that of the least desirable land in use.

The law may be illustrated very well by the accompanying diagram. Let it be assumed that in a given country the land may be classified into six sections of differing degree of desirability, and let these sections be indicated by the letters A to F. Section A, being the most desirable land, is shown as overtopping the others, and F, the least desirable, is the lowest of all. Let us represent the product of A for a given expenditure of labour and capital as 6; B, 5; C, 4; and so on, while F is only 1. It must, of course, be remem-

LAW OF "RENT & REWARD".



bered that these are merely arbitrary figures used for the sake of illustrating the principle.

Naturally the earliest settlers will locate themselves upon the most desirable section of the country. So long as there is plenty of this A quality for all, they will work on that land only, and each individual will retain and enjoy the full product of his labour; for so long as two men do not compete for one piece its "owner" cannot obtain a ground-rent. This position is shown in Fig. 1.

As time goes on, however, section A, owing either to the increase of population or to the extension of industry, will be fully occupied, and some will have to seek a living on B. Now as the possible product from A is 6, and from B only 5, it is obvious that the B settlers will not be so well off as the A settlers. The shrewder ones on section B will soon see that they might as well give some of the A settlers a small rent for A land, as work on the second best land which yields 5 only. At first they might obtain a slight advantage by so doing, but competition would quickly force the rent of A land up to 1, so that the net return to the tenants in section A would be 5. So long as section B was not wholly occupied the rent could not rise any higher, as obviously no man would work A land at such a rent as would leave him a less return than he could make on B land, which he could obtain rent free. In time, however, sections A and B will be filled and an overflow on to section C will take place. The possible product on C is only 4, and the result of competition will be that land in section B will command a rent of 1, and land in section A a rent of 2, while the net return for the same expenditure of labour and capital on A, B, and C will be 4. Later still, section D will be needed, and as the return to labour and capital on that section is 3, the position will be that shown by Fig. 2. Next, section E, upon which the return is only 2, and lastly, section F, upon which the return is only 1, are resorted to. F, being the least desirable land in use, will yield no rent. It will now be noticed that the reward of 6 which was obtainable on A by the first settlers, has fallen gradually to 1, and that the reward of labour and capital has fallen to the same point on all the other sections. On the other hand, rent, which at first had no existence, has grown to 5 on A, to 4 on B, to 3 on C, to 2 on D, and to 1 on E. This position is shown by Fig. 3, and this is what, apart from the disturbing influence of "human nature," would be the effect of the operation of economic laws under the supposed conditions in every country in the world. It is a universal law of economics that cannot be repealed by Parliament. It is the inevitable outcome of the demand by an increasing and progressive population for the use of a natural element that varies in desirability and is fixed in quantity.

It will be seen, therefore, that the mere operation of economic law would tend to give the land-"owner" the lion's share, but

speculative dealings in land introduce a disturbing influence that greatly accentuates this evil. The periodical rise and fall in land values is generally attributed to the alternate revival and depression of trade, and on the face of it the explanation appears plausible. But, as a matter of fact, the advance of trade with a growing population would, under natural conditions, be continuous; and to attribute the rise and fall of land values to the revival or the depression of trade is to mistake effect for cause. The natural tendency is for trade to advance continuously; but an advance of trade involves an increased demand for land, and as land values rise speculation sets in; the rent or price of land is forced up above the economic standard, and trade and industry are forced to pay far more than the present using value of the land. Failures naturally follow, many are thrown out of employment, and this leads to a reduced consumption of goods. Confronted by these phenomena, the orthodox political economist refers the lack of employment to "over-population," and attributes the accumulation of stocks due to reduced consumption to "over-production"!

As a result of the failures, the banks call in or restrict their advances and a "crisis" occurs. Land values begin to fall, and the nation struggles along for years as best it can until a further growth of population or new developments of trade, assisted at first by lower charges for land, cause a gradual recovery all round. Trade again revives, land values again rise, and speculation once more sets in, and the whole cycle is gone through *ad lib.* The effect of land speculation is cumulative, and as a result there exists a constant tendency to force down the wages of labour to a bare subsistence, and the return to capital to the minimum upon which business can be carried on; and as often as this tendency overshoots the mark thousands of willing workers are forced to stand idle while their wives and their little ones are starving, and hundreds of manufacturers and tradesmen are compelled to have resort to the Bankruptcy Courts.

A steam boiler is constructed to sustain with safety a certain pressure. But let that pressure be progressively increased, and it does not require an engineer to tell us what the result must be. Be the increase quick or slow, it is only a question of time. An explosion must take place. Are there not abundant signs in every civilised country that conditions are steadily approaching such a crisis? America is perhaps the most significant object-lesson for us. With an immense territory still unoccupied, we have seen for years a steady growth of land monopoly, of huge trusts bolstered up by a protective tariff, of millionaires arising as the result of these causes; and at the other extreme the growth of a population of unemployed breaking out in open rebellion against—they scarcely know what.

Beginning with "primitive" conditions and working forward to

the present more complex state of society, I have gradually traced the evolution of "the unemployed," and discovered a cause which, apart from currency and tariffs, would, even under comparatively simple conditions of life, produce an unemployed class. After this outflanking movement I propose, however, to deliver a direct attack upon the front of those who contend that the questions of currency and tariffs are potent factors in the production of an unemployed class.

First, take the currency, the circulation of coin for the purposes of exchange. This constitutes an improvement in two respects upon simple barter. In the first place, it gives us a "standard of value," so that instead of comparing products with products, we speak of all products in relation to so many pounds, shillings, and pence—that is to say, we speak of their "price" and make all our calculations upon that basis. In the second place, it affords us a "medium of exchange," and, using it as such, we make most of our smaller purchases and sales directly in exchange for coin. In larger transactions the coin is not actually handled, but, instead thereof, written orders (cheques, bills of exchange, &c.) are exchanged for goods, and the balances of many transactions are at intervals transferred between the banks. The advantage of both these improvements is simply an economy of labour, in nowise differing in economic effects from the various mechanical improvements to which I have referred. The capitalists are supposed to manipulate the currency for their own benefit and to the detriment of others. But how could they have done so in the "primitive" and "improved" periods in which each man had direct access to the land, and could thus secure the full product value of his labour? It would have been impossible. Every lever requires a fulcrum to make it effective, and Archimedes promised, if supplied with a fulcrum, to move the world. In the "divided labour" period the capitalists have been supplied by law with a fulcrum—private ownership of land—and the capitalists now move the world. They would, however, be powerless for evil without this fulcrum; for with direct access to the land each man would be economically independent, and would be able to decline the use of capital if the terms upon which it was offered did not suit him. It is perfectly obvious, too, that until we get rid of "the robber that takes all that is left," no mere currency reform, however good in itself, can better the condition of the workers, for the landlord, controlling the only raw material of industry, could still force the labourer to hand over to him everything above and beyond a bare subsistence. In fact, to free the worker from the grip of the land-monopolist, currency reform must enable the labourer to live in empty space and to make something out of nothing—a magic power which even its most ardent advocate will hardly claim for it.

The tariff difficulty arises from a mistaken idea as to the uses of

money. The protectionist position involves the hoary superstition of "keeping the money in the country," and such absurd ideas as that it is possible by taxing everybody to make everybody rich. But when once the fact is firmly grasped, that trade is an exchange of goods for goods, the whole theory collapses; for it is obvious that, that being so, so far from free-trade lessening the demand for labour, the more goods a country imports, the more goods it must manufacture to export in return for those goods, and therefore that the greater the volume of imports the greater the demand for labour to produce exports to exchange for them.

The cause of want of employment is thus seen to be land monopoly, which denies the equal right of all to access to the materials and forces supplied by Nature; and the only possible cure lies in the removal of that cause. Had those who at the beginning of the "divided labour" period gave up the direct use of the land to become wage-earners, known of the existence of the law of rent and realised how detrimentally land monopoly and land speculation would affect their interests and those of their descendants, they would have demanded that some automatic provision should be made to secure to them and to their descendants that freedom of access to the land which would ensure their economic freedom; and they would also have demanded some guarantee that the increased value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and progress of the community should be appropriated for the common benefit. Such a guarantee, with the minimum of State interference, is to be found in the single tax, of which, I am glad to see, the WESTMINSTER REVIEW is so staunch a supporter. This tax being levied on the full annual value of the land, whether put to use or not, would force all vacant land into the market, and the rental value of the land being appropriated to public purposes, all the robber rates and taxes now levied on labour and capital would be remitted. With freedom of access to the land, and with the removal of the rates and taxes that now hamper trade and industry, innumerable avenues of employment would be opened up; where each got what he earned unearned incomes would be an economic impossibility, and thus, as a consequence of this fundamental reform, the unemployed classes, both millionaire and pauper, would quickly disappear.

EDWARD WHITTY.

MR. THOMAS HARDY'S LATEST NOVEL.

THOSE who have satisfied themselves by observation and experience of the essentially artificial character of so-called British "morality" will not be surprised to find that certain critics of the didactic school have condemned Mr. Thomas Hardy's latest novel, *Jude the Obscure*, on the ground of its outspokenness and its flagrant disregard of Mrs. Grundy's tender feelings. *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* offended the susceptibilities of such critics as Mr. Andrew Lang and Mr. James Payn, who worship the venerable Walter Scott, and prefer romance to realism. But *Jude the Obscure* will be *anathema maranatha* to hundreds of comparatively liberal-minded people who see no harm in such works as *Jane Eyre* or *Adam Bede*. Mr. Hardy does not write, like Sir Walter Besant, merely for the edification of "the Young Person." When invited to give his personal views some time since on the subject of "Candour in Fiction," he emphatically claimed for the novelist the right to deal fearlessly with all the facts of life. His sympathies are manifestly with the French naturalistic school of fiction, though I for one cannot regard him as a writer of the same class as M. Zola or the late Guy de Maupassant. Through all that Mr. Hardy has written vibrates a passionate chivalry, to which we find no parallel in French realism. In our generation there has been no novelist capable of exhibiting the mysterious fascination of woman upon the other sex with the same art, with the same force of imagination. All his heroines are ideals, or at least idealised types, rather than portraits drawn from real life. To this extent, therefore, Mr. Hardy is not "realistic" in the vulgar sense of the word. He has shrunk from the portrayal of commonplace women—if we except the case of Arabella in his last novel—and the charming creatures around whom the interest of *Far from the Mudding Crowd*, *The Trumpet Major*, and nearly all his other works, including *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, centres, seem like etherealised beings—fays, sirens, who disguise themselves as farmeresses, parsons' daughters, unconventional heiresses, bishops' wives, schoolmistresses, or agricultural working-girls.

To ordinary men of the world such creatures as Elfride in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* probably appear as unreal as Cinderella. *Tess*, no doubt, walks through dreadful realities to a tragic doom, and I can easily imagine the horror of a mere romantic trifle like Mr. Andrew

Lang on finding a woman with such a record put forward as a heroine of fiction. But she, too, is the opposite of commonplace. Hers is a rich, voluptuous, daring, downright nature, such as old Babylon might have produced, in spite of her prosaic surroundings and her squalid miseries. The physiognomy of character, which defies external circumstances, has been recognised by Mr. Hardy, and he alone, amongst living English novelists, has fully realised the great truth that a Cleopatra may be found toiling on a Wessex farm, that the soul of a Mary Stuart may animate a nineteenth-century middle-class girl.

Are there such women around us as those delineated by the author of *Tess*? I am sure such beings are possible; and if we admit their possibility, let us thank Mr. Hardy for having presented to us in his pages entrancingly fascinating creatures, who, unlike the objectionable crowd of so-called "advanced" women, are free from mammon-worship, low ambition, and aggressiveness, and are essentially feminine, like Helen of Troy, Mary Magdalen, and that fair Heloïse whose name shines like a star through the monastic gloom of the Middle Ages.

How poor and artificial a heroine Diana Vernon is, in comparison with Paula Power, or even Ethelberta, notwithstanding the disappointment we naturally feel at her unorthodox conduct in marrying the wrong man! Diana Vernon is, at least in my judgment, a mere fancy-portrait, and a rather repulsive type of womanhood withal. Paula is not unreal, but an idealisation of a modern girl, and what a splendid creature she is!

Mr. Hardy, then, is a worshipper of the ideal woman, and his heroines are all free from the vice of what I venture to describe as feminine masculinity (disregarding the criticism of logic-choppers)—the novelist has stripped them of materialising influences, so that, to use in a different sense the words of a popular English poet, "all that remains of them now is pure womanly." It has frequently amused me to hear "good young men" abuse Mr. Hardy for having on his title-page called poor Tess "a pure woman." Why did these admirably moral prigs forget Tom Hood's immortal line, which fully explains the novelist's meaning?

While Mr. Hardy's heroines are types, or ideals, the *milieu* in which they are placed is as true as any pen-picture of English life and English landscape can possibly be; and the Wessex described in his novels is essentially and unmistakably English.

Jude the Obscure is a very different kind of book from *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. In *Tess* the entire interest of the novel is attached to the life of a woman; in *Jude*, just as in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, it gathers round the career of a man. The history of Jude's ineffectual efforts to obtain a University education is intensely pathetic. If Samuel Johnson could come back to earth and read

this portion of Mr. Hardy's last novel, I venture to think that he would have found it hard to keep back his tears, stern Briton though he was ; and, but for the miserable priggery of this tail-end of the nineteenth century, the first part of *Jude the Obscure* would be held up by the critics as one of the most touching records in all literature. This story of crushed aspirations can only be appreciated by those who have the power of true sympathy. Unfortunately, we live in an age when nearly all human beings are concerned only with their material success in life. The word "failure" makes them tremble ; and, no doubt, Mr. Hardy's apparent pessimism is distasteful to the innumerable throng of vulgar-minded aspirants whose only gospel is to "get on" by hook or by crook. How could we expect the modern young man, whose thoughts are fixed solely on the Woolsack or on the results of a successful experiment on the Turf or the Stock Exchange, to enter into the feelings of a poor rustic stone-cutter who dreamed of taking out his degree and becoming a clergyman ! The love-affairs of so obscure an individual may excite the attention of the unambitious middle-aged man, but not of the youthful prig of our day. The relations between Sue and her cousin will necessarily appear impure to those who see nothing but uncleanness in the relations of a married man and a woman who is not his wife. But Mr. Hardy is not to blame for the brutishness of some of his readers' minds any more than Miranda (to borrow a favourite illustration of Mr. Ruskin) is to blame for Caliban's beastly thoughts about her.

The "plot" (hideous word !) of *Jude the Obscure* has been sketched, and, indeed, misrepresented, by so many of the smug journalistic critics of this book, that it is better to let all intelligent and honest readers find out the true history of Jude Fawley for themselves by reading the novel. It is certainly "strong meat," but there is nothing prurient, nothing artificial in this work ; it is *human* in the widest sense of that comprehensive word. The tragic chapter with which the novel closes is perhaps the finest specimen of pure narrative that Mr. Hardy has ever given us—there is nothing equal to it in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. The character of Sue is nearly as fascinating as that of Elfride in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. In concentrated power the novel, as a whole, is inferior to *Tess*, and it lacks the fresh, sweet atmosphere which makes *The Woodlanders* one of the most delightful of books. In *Arabella* we have a faithful portrait of a foul-minded woman whom we can compare to no other female personage in Mr. Hardy's novels. Some of the language put into the mouth of Phillotson, the husband of Sue, is a little incongruous, for it is scarcely likely that a village schoolmaster would talk about "the matriarchal system."

But in spite of certain defects of form which are perhaps inevitable, having regard to the intricacies of a story involving matrimonial

complications, *Jude the Obscure* is the best English novel which has appeared since *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. Mr. George Meredith's epigrammatic cleverness cannot atone for his poverty of invention, his lack of incident, his fantastic system of misreading human nature, and, if the word "novelist" means a writer of human history, Mr. Hardy is incomparably superior to his supposed rival. I would class the author of *Tess* with Fielding, Balzac, Flaubert, Turgenev, George Eliot, and Dostoevsky; while Mr. Meredith is the literary brother of Bulwer Lytton, Peacock, and Mérimée. The mosquito-like criticism of the day need not trouble a novelist who has already won fame. He is the greatest living English writer of fiction. In intensity, in grip of life, and, above all, in the artistic combination of the real and the ideal, he surpasses any of his French contemporaries. *Jude the Obscure* is not his greatest work; but no other living novelist could have written it.

D. F. HANNIGAN.

CATALOGUING AN EMPIRE.¹

THE general public who see the short newspaper notices of the monthly sessional meetings of the Royal Colonial Institute, when more or less eminent men in connection with the Colonies read papers dealing with our fellow-countrymen's settlements abroad, or those who hear of its annual meetings and attend its annual *conversazione*, or even those who attend the pleasant little dinners which precede the meetings, have generally a very hazy notion as to the aims and objects of this Institute. Those to whom the question is put believe more or less that it is established to promote federation, or "something of that sort." The belief that such is the aim after which the Royal Colonial Institute strives has done much to prevent the Institute being more thoroughly known at home than is the case at present, in spite of its membership having reached the high number of 4000, and its very flourishing financial position—for the average man who has little time to devote to subjects outside his business has great difficulty in understanding how colonies, situated so widely apart, and of such different, not to say antagonistic, trade interests as Canada and Australia, the Cape and British Guiana, can be brought under one dominion. But, as a matter of fact, the Royal Colonial Institute does not aim at federation at all. Its objects are very distinctly stated in its charter to be as follows:

"To provide a place of meeting for all gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a Reading Room and Library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial and Indian subjects may be constantly available, and a Museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial and Indian productions; to facilitate interchange of experiences amongst persons representing all the dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for the reading of papers, and for holding discussions upon Colonial and Indian subjects generally, and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire."

The pursuit of the above objects has been faithfully carried out. To give practical effect to these objects, the Council have concentrated their energies upon three lines of conduct. The one is the holding of monthly meetings and dinners, and the annual meet-

¹ *Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Colonial Institute*. Third Edition. Compiled by James R. Boosé. 1895.

ing and conversazione already referred to, the second is the publication of its Journal and Proceedings, and the third is the formation of a library exclusively devoted to literature dealing with the Colonies.

The Institute was founded twenty-seven years ago, and possesses, besides a valuable freehold in one of the leading thoroughfares of London, a most complete and representative collection of *Colonial* literature, housed in comfortable quarters. At the present time there are over 26,000 volumes in the library, and a third edition of the Catalogue has quite recently seen the light. This, as well as the two previous catalogues, has been compiled by Mr. James R. Boosé, the librarian, who has been officially connected with the Institute for the past twenty-three years; he is now laying the foundation for a fourth edition, the increase in the library, amounting to one hundred works a month or more, necessitating an early beginning.

The library is so very thorough that it is frequently consulted by statesmen, scientific men, and travellers alike. The collection of the *Government Gazettes* of all the colonies is as complete as that of the Colonial Office, but, while these *Gazettes* remain permanently in the library, the Colonial newspapers, by special arrangement, find their way annually to the British Museum. A yearly grant of varying amount is voted for purchases of books, &c., but by far the larger portion of the library is made up of gifts, the records of which show great munificence on the part of the donors. Books that are wanted are advertised for in the *Institute's Journal*, under the heading of "Desiderata"; by this means many a stray volume has been brought to its home.

The Catalogue is divided into sections, which may be briefly explained. We have, first, an Index to Countries, to which the inquirer will turn, if he be desirous of finding out what books are published on the particular colony he is interested in, in which reference page numbers will indicate where he shall find all the literature relating to that colony. Then follows an Authors' Index, arranged alphabetically, in which the name of every author is followed by a brief title of his work, with reference page number, where the full title and other particulars are given. These two indexes are, in fact, the keys of the book, and permit the Catalogue proper to be cut up into suitable sections without mystifying the reader, who cannot fail to find the required books or pamphlets, provided they exist in the library, and, *en passant*, it may be said very few books are wanting.

After the Author's Index, which occupies 150 pages closely printed, we have the Catalogue proper. This is cut up into sections, beginning with General Collections of Travels and Voyages, containing Hakluyt, Purchas, Churchill, Burney, Pinkerton, &c., with complete contents to every one. This section is followed by one of

books of Voyages and Travels in various parts of the British Empire ; then follow the accounts of the Various Travels into the Arctic, Antarctic, and Pacific regions ; after this we get to the list of books treating of our colonies, grouped geographically : thus Australasia, including Australia and its divisions, Tasmania, New Zealand, New Guinea, Fiji, &c. The British North American books, which come next, include Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, &c. Then we have the African, the East Indian, and the West Indian books, and those of our isolated possessions, like the Falklands, Gibraltar, &c.

A special section is devoted to works on the British Colonies, their History, Trade, Resources and Government, Emigration and Federation. Other sections are devoted to books on Colonial Botany, Colonial Poems, Colonial Fiction, and Colonial School Books.

Then follows a very interesting section, and one of considerable practical use, containing the Transactions and Proceedings of Colonial Societies, Chambers of Commerce, University Calendars, Almanacks, Directories, Newspapers, Magazines, Periodicals, Library Catalogues, Charts, Surveys and Parliamentary Papers (United Kingdom relating to the colonies, and Parliamentary Papers published in the colonies and India). Finally we have the *Challenger Reports*, fully indexed.

In all the sections following the two indexes the lists of books are arranged according to date of issue, an arrangement which would perhaps interfere with easy search, but for the fact that the reference page numbers given in the two indexes obviate any such difficulty.

From this summary it will be evident that the Catalogue has been prepared with great forethought and care. It possesses all the qualities that make it useful with the least possible amount of handling—those who have much to do with catalogues will appreciate the last-named virtue—and we may add, personal experience has proved this, for we frequently turn to its pages for information.

To conclude, the reader on examining the pages of this elegant volume will probably be much astonished at the enormous quantity of Colonial literature possessed by the Institute, he will be impressed with the extent of our Colonial empire as evidenced by its literature, and he will concur in the opinion that the Council, by the assistance of their able librarian, have well accomplished one of the objects for which the Royal Colonial Institute was founded.

HENRY LING ROTH.

BIMETALLISM.

AN APPEAL.

THE controversy on the subject of Bimetallism still rages, and the present seems to be a fitting opportunity for taking note of the position of the discussion. The formation, activity, and literature of the Bimetallic League and Gold Standard Defence Association have brought the contentions of the rival schools to a focus, and it may not be unprofitable at this stage to endeavour to hold the parties concerned to the real question at issue between them, as there seems to be a tendency, now that the vital matter in debate has been touched upon, to branch off to other and irrelevant matters, and so to widen and perpetuate a fruitless argumentation.

The question between bimetallists and monometallists may be narrowed to the single issue viz. :

In the event of a world-wide adoption of bimetallism, such as it is sought to bring about, is it possible that a market ratio between gold and silver could exist concurrently with and different from the legal ratio ?

Bimetallists assert that no other than the legal ratio could exist. Monometallists base their reasonings on the assumption that a market ratio would also exist side by side with the legal ratio, and exclaim at the absurdity of the denial rather than deal with it by logical arguments. Every man must take one side or the other on this crucial point. If he takes the side that no ratio will exist except the legal ratio, then, as far as the theory of bimetallism is concerned, he is a bimetallist, no matter what else he holds. If he takes the side that there will be a market ratio besides the legal ratio, then he is monometallist, whatever else he holds.

Monometallists have shown, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the old and partial system of bimetallism, of which the world has had experience, was awry and futile, and that it had to be abandoned by every country which adopted it; but under the new world-wide, all-embracing bimetallic policy it will not do, neither for monometallists to assert that since bimetallism broke down under a system in which various legal ratios were operating one against the other it must also break down under one single, common, universal

ratio; nor for bimetallists to declare that since no other than the legal ratio ever has existed in any single State while there was the opportunity for easy export to other countries where the legal ratio was different, it is equally impossible that any other than the legal ratio can exist in the larger, world-embracing State which they propose.

This question of Bimetallism may be looked at from a practical as well as from a theoretical point of view, and it is well to keep the two views separate and distinct. Many monometallists may say "there are too many practical difficulties in the way of the adoption of bimetallism for any scheme ever to be agreed upon," and it must be admitted that that is a strong position to take up. These difficulties have influenced the action of the most ardent theorists in the bimetallic cause. But are monometallists content to rest their case on the hopelessness of bimetallism? If that be so, then let them clearly say so. But surely if they can demonstrate that besides its almost practical impossibility bimetallism, even if it were established to-morrow under an international agreement with every commercial nation in the world, it could not be maintained, then the project of bimetallism must shrink to a pastime, and its pursuit—in the words of Mr. Gladstone—be "a passing humour of the hour."

The practical and theoretical sides of the question may be looked at shortly in turn.

The severest blow which bimetallism has lately received was dealt by Mr. Balfour in his recent letter to Sir John Leng. While adhering to his old opinions on the subject, and personally in favour of an international agreement providing for the coinage of silver at a fixed ratio to gold, Mr. Balfour stated that he had no reason to believe that an International Conference held at the present time would result in an international agreement, and that another abortive Conference would, in his opinion, be disastrous. Why this declaration should have been received with so much apparent surprise it is difficult to imagine, for the same gentleman, in his place in the House of Commons, a few years before, said, "I feel bound to give additional emphasis to what I have already stated—that it would be folly and madness in any Government to go in advance of the educated commercial opinion of the country. I certainly should think it not far from lunacy to attempt to force on the United Kingdom and the City of London a form of currency which they do not thoroughly adopt and believe in." Now what are the views of the several Governments as expressed by their responsible representatives at the International Conference on the subject held at Brussels in 1892—3?

The Conference assembled at the invitation of the United States, who had expressed a wish to the several Governments that a ratio might be established by the leading commercial nations for the

coinage of silver at their several mints. The British Government intimated in reply that Great Britain would not be able to send delegates to attend a Conference for such a purpose. The Government of the United States thereupon proposed a Conference for the purpose of devising some scheme which would have the effect of raising the price of silver by enlarging its use in national currency and international exchange. That invitation was accepted, and the Conference at Brussels followed. The Conference opened with a discussion on this general resolution, "That in the opinion of this Conference it is desirable that some measures should be found for increasing the use of silver in the currency system of the nations." In speaking to this resolution, and on the very first day of the Conference, Count Alvensleben, representative of Germany, stated that Germany was quite satisfied with her gold standard, and had no intention of altering her system, and the States of the Latin Union, at the outset, were inclined to criticise rather than assist in attaining this primary object of the Conference. This resolution occupied what may be termed the first stage of the proceedings. The second stage was occupied by a practical proposal introduced by a British delegate, Mr. de Rothschild. That proposal was referred to a committee, but eventually withdrawn.

It was not until the third stage, or sixth session, of the conference that the coast was clear for an essentially bimetallic proposal. In this connection the lead was taken by the United States. Spain and Mexico followed, and were ready to join in any measures which would have the effect of raising the price of silver. The Netherlands were prepared to join in an agreement, provided that Great Britain was a party to it. France—which was followed by the other States of the Latin Union, excepting Switzerland, which strongly favoured a single standard—was firmly opposed to any union for the adoption of bimetallism which did not include Great Britain, Germany, Austria, and Russia. The Roumanian Government did not consider bimetallism a practical possibility; and Russia, Turkey, and Portugal expressed no opinion. The remaining Powers represented, boldly declared their adherence to the policy of monometallism. The representatives of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland—though a member of the Latin Union—emphatically pronounced in favour of a single gold standard. The delegate of Austria-Hungary frankly declared that his Government had every intention of abiding by the gold currency they were engaged in establishing; and the British Government, as already stated, had declined to take part in any International Conference convened for the purpose of endeavouring to fix a ratio between the values of gold and silver. It cannot be said that the Powers were indifferent to the subject of the Conference. They were fully represented, and there is no ambiguity about the result. As long as the action of

the States of the Latin Union depends on the monetary policy of Great Britain, Germany, Austria, and Russia, so long the cause of bimetallism may be regarded as hopeless. So much for the practical aspect of the question.

The contention of bimetallists is that if a fixed ratio between gold and silver were established the market ratio would immediately approximate the legal ratio, and shortly no other than the legal ratio would exist. Sir David Barbour, in his *Theory of Bimetallism*, occupies a chapter of his book in setting forth an illustration of the manner in which a single bimetallic country regulates the market price of gold and silver :

"The position is exactly the same," he says, "as if a merchant came into the open market and offered to all comers either to give 2 bushels of wheat for 3 bushels of barley, or to give 3 bushels of barley for 2 bushels of wheat. Let us assume that when the merchant offered these terms of exchange the market rate was 2 bushels of wheat to $3\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of barley. As soon as the merchant made his offer, all persons who had barley to sell would resort to him. They would say, if we can get 2 bushels of wheat for 3 bushels of barley from this man, why should we give $3\frac{1}{2}$ bushels for the same amount of wheat in the market? As long, therefore, as the merchant's stock of wheat enabled him to give 2 bushels of wheat for 3 bushels of barley no holder of barley would take less than 2 bushels of wheat for 3 bushels of barley. And the holder of barley would find it impossible to get more than 2 bushels of wheat, for if the market rate became $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat to 3 bushels of barley, the holder of wheat would say, 'I will not give $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat for 3 bushels of barley, because I can go to this merchant and get 3 bushels of barley for 2 bushels of wheat.'"

Now, though Sir David Barbour tells us that the holders of barley would be ready to resort to this merchant from whom they would get 2 bushels of wheat for only 3 bushels of barley, while in the open market it would take $3\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of barley to purchase 2 bushels of wheat, he says nothing about what the holders of wheat would do, until, further on, he alters the ratio; neither does he tell us what the holders of barley would do if the merchant were to give them only 2 bushels of wheat for 3 bushels of barley when in the open market they would get $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat. But we can very well imagine that when the market ratio was 2 bushels of wheat to $3\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of barley, the holders of wheat would do very little business with this merchant, and his stock of wheat would soon be exhausted; and the holders of barley, when the market ratio was $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat to 3 bushels of barley, would do very little business with this merchant if they were to receive only 2 bushels of wheat for 3 bushels of barley, when in the open market they could get $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat. And what business principles dictate past experience confirms, for during last century the holders of silver did very little business with the Mint. Why? Because, following Sir David Barbour's illustration, they were invited to accept in exchange

for their silver a gold piece of the value of 20s. 8d., at the rate of 21s., and accordingly they would lose 1d. on every gold piece they received. The result was that no silver, or very little silver, was coined at the English Mint during the greater part of last century, because the holders of silver found it more profitable to sell their silver for industrial purposes, or to export it, than to take it to the Mint. In like manner, when supplies of gold came pouring in from California and Australia, the legal ratio of France was powerless to control the market ratio. By that legal ratio gold was overrated, and silver was underrated, and nothing could prevent the importation of gold and the exportation of silver. France passed from a silver currency to a gold currency, and a very small divergence between the legal ratio and the market ratio effected the change. Nay, more, it is urged by bimetallists that it is absurd to speak of the value or price of silver five-franc pieces in France, and of silver thalers in Germany. When? Under a bimetallic *régime*, with an open mint for the coinage of both metals at a ratio fixed by law? Unless it means this, the argument is of no avail. But France could not, even in the palmy days of bimetallism, control the value of her five-franc pieces. In the Report of the French Monetary Commission of 1869, it is distinctly stated (p. 185) that in the years 1859 and 1864 five-franc silver pieces commanded an *internal* premium in France. In those years it took from 20.20 fcs. to 20.30 fcs. in gold to purchase four five-franc pieces in silver. That is a remarkable circumstance, and yet it is said to be absurd to speak of the relative value of silver coin and gold coin apart from the legal value in a bimetallic country. And so when bimetallists say that a single country can regulate the market price of gold and silver, or fix the relative value of the coins, the answer is that it cannot, not even within its own borders. And they are equally wrong when they say that the whole world can do so under an international agreement.

What is money? There is nothing ultramundane about it. It has not dropped from the clouds. It is gold or silver, as the case may be, cut into so many pieces and stamped and verified by the State. In olden times merchants weighed their gold in scales on the spot and gave it in exchange for their purchases; and in modern times the Mint cuts the gold into pieces and certifies each to be of a certain weight and fineness, but there is no magic in the operation. One ounce of standard gold is $34\frac{3}{8}$ sovereigns, and $34\frac{3}{8}$ sovereigns are one ounce of gold. Were gold as cheap as pebbles on the sea shore, or as dear as diamonds, 40 lb. troy of gold would still be coined into 1869 sovereigns; we could not appraise the value of the one nor the other. Whatever befalls the one befalls the other; they are indissolubly linked together. The whole stock of gold, coined and uncoined, is one single and indivisible unit. Value is a relative

term, alone it has no meaning. If we wish to ascertain the value of gold we must set it against other saleable commodities. Gold is an article of merchandise, and as such subject to the laws which govern the temporary value of all kinds of merchandise. If the supply of gold should become smaller and the demand for it continue the same or increase, nothing could prevent it from becoming dearer. Bimetallists deny this. They decline to admit that money is a commodity, or that there is a market value of the money metals different from the legal value. Commodities, they say, have a price, but money makes the price of all commodities and itself has no price. But it has already been shown that money is gold cut into pieces, whose value varies, and must vary with the value of the metal. Though they deny it in explicit terms, bimetallists assume this principle in their arguments. If they have insisted on one thing more than another in the whole course of this controversy it has been that gold has "appreciated," that is, has risen in value, owing, as they allege, to its scarcity. So also while the price of silver in terms of gold was fixed by law in France, we yet read from the Report of the Monetary Commission of 1869, that "on the general market silver tends to depreciate while gold is asked for." If, therefore, gold "appreciates" and silver "depreciates," how can it be maintained that their values are fixed? If gold and silver were to be coined in unlimited quantities at a fixed legal ratio of 1 to 15½, can it be imagined that the supplies of nature and the needs of man in respect of *both* metals will so correspond as to ensure their values varying simultaneously, and exactly to preserve his ratio? By no means, and yet nothing short of it will make bimetallism tolerable.

We must, therefore, conclude that even under an International Agreement, a market value of the metals would exist concurrently with and different from the legal value. The relative value of gold and silver would vary and so also diverge from the fixed legal ratio established between them, and monometallists have shown, and shown conclusively, that the market value of the metals governs the legal value of the bullion and coins, and that the coins of the metal which is cheaper for the time being are used in payment of debt to the exclusion of coins of the dearer metal. It is difficult to conclude but that as bimetallism has operated in the past so will it operate in the future. Bimetallists are defeated along the whole line, and Bimetallism must be dismissed as one of the idlest fancies that ever pestered the brains of men.

G. KEITH MARISCHAL.

TROIS ANS AU MINISTÈRE.¹

A GREAT change is coming over the main lines of political thought of the more philosophical Liberals. It is beginning now to be realised that the changes in State structure from which they hoped so much may leave them with the worst of the old evils in a new form, and some fresh ones which it will be most difficult to combat. This conviction is throwing them back on the consideration of the ends of government—the function of the State determined as a question of ethics. Given the supreme end, what is the shape compulsory co-operation for political purposes must take in order to conform to that end? Is it legitimate at all? Are there any limits to it? And if there are any such limits, what are they and how are they established? These are the questions which politicians of the more thoughtful type are beginning to put to themselves; and, in the endeavour to answer them, they are studying the results of actual governmental institutions as, probably, they were never studied before. The old party catchwords have lost much of their significance, and rouse nausea rather than enthusiasm in students who are earnest above all things for truth and right.

Among such students must be reckoned M. Yves Guyot, who had charge of the portfolio of Public Works in the Ministry of M. Tirard, and afterwards in that of M. de Freycinet, during the three years commencing with February 1889. But the fates have been unpropitious to any calm philosophical consideration of the Department of Public Works on the part of M. Guyot. From the time when he ceased to be a Minister, he has been engaged in one long polemic against the Socialists. The volume which we have at present under consideration was intended to be one of a series on *La Vie Nationale*, edited by MM. Charles Benoist and André Liesse; but, almost irresistibly, M. Guyot put himself in the position of a Minister under “interpellation”; and the result, to use his own words, was that the book became *un livre de combat*. “My book,” he says, with perfect frankness, “took a personal tone which no longer squared with that of the collection to which it was destined.” The editors have accordingly decided that M. Guyot shall write another work, of a didactic character, for their series; and in this we think they are undoubtedly right. For the present

work really belongs, by character, not to the series which they are editing, which is altogether impersonal and expository, but to that series of vivacious *brochures de combat* which commenced with *La Tyrannie Socialiste*.¹

It must not, however, be supposed from this that M. Guyot reaches no broad conclusions. On the contrary, it is these inferences of a general character which will almost exclusively prove interesting to the English reader. M. Guyot sums them up at the end of his book as follows :

"The first duty of a Minister is to stimulate and develop works of private initiative, and to endeavour to make enterprises spring up without State subventions or guarantees. He ought to render secure and to develop the circulation, both of persons and things, over all parts of the national territory. He should watch over the conservation and maintenance of such parts of the public domain as are confided to his care. He should guard himself against attempting to take the direction of the private enterprises over which he has control. So far from trying to extend his powers in this direction, he ought to limit them ; indeed, instead of wishing to do everything and doing nothing, he should concentrate all his care on the daily working of his office. He should be less anxious to promise new works than to finish those already commenced. The instances cited prove that the cost of large works cannot be charged to the ordinary budget of the State. They should, then, be carried out by the aid of middlemen, such as contractors, or by the aid of joint stock enterprise and loans. In the Department of Public Works, as in all other ministerial departments, the business of government and administration is one of prevision, action, and resistance."

With these propositions we, in the main, agree ; and we do not see how M. Guyot could say more. For example, with regard to the statement that large State works should be carried out by the aid of middlemen, he says (p. 61) that

"the State can do nothing save on condition of binding itself by a contract. It must place itself under obligation to an intermediary, who will protect it from its own revulsions and the changes of direction which may result from the hazards of politics. Thence the necessity for the State that it should have interposed personalities between it and its enterprises ; railway companies, chambers of commerce for ports, chambers of navigation, or private enterprises. Wherever works may be made remunerative, the Government should address itself to contractors."

Now, on the very next page, when M. Guyot comes to apply this principle, he says : "Certainly I do not ask that our roads should be given to companies : here the State is obliged to act directly." Obligated ! Why ? And if there is any such obligation, what becomes of the principle to which this obligation is opposed ? M. Guyot says himself that he bears in mind that,

¹ An English translation of this work, edited by the present writer, has been published in Messrs. Sonnenschein & Co.'s "Social Science Series."

“if the barriers and tolls of the English turnpike roads were very annoying and very onerous to those who made use of them, this system enabled England to have a network of roads well kept up, over its whole surface, before other nations; while if France had a few magnificent national roads, which moved the admiration of Arthur Young, on the eve of 1789, in reality it had not a network of circulation. It is preferable to pay a toll, even to an individual, and have facility of circulation, than to be completely deprived of it.”

The fact is that the opposition to turnpike roads and toll bridges was very largely due to sheer ignorance. People did not see that if roads are made and bridges built, they must be paid for; and, in so far as they are not paid for by those who use them, they must be paid for by those who do not use them. It is true there is a way of obtaining payment for them which is just in itself, and which relieves the general public from the burden; but the principle which underlies this is only slowly making its way and would, we fear, not be accepted by M. Guyot himself. Roads and viaducts generally enormously increase the value of the lands through which they pass, and it seems fair, therefore, to make the creation and maintenance of those roads a charge on the land. This charge should be a national one when the land is held in trust for national use; but not till then.

Our present point, however, need not carry us so far as this. M. Guyot admits that he would not place any intermediary between the Department of Public Works and the construction of canals and bridges. This admission destroys the principle with which he sets out, or reduces it to, at most, an approximate generalisation. And this, if he will allow us to say so, is the natural result of the method of direct induction which he pursues both in politics and economics. As he is about to write a didactic work on the subject of the book under consideration, we will ask him whether he is not making a mistake in denouncing as *a priori* all deduction, even when based on general propositions with an inductive basis; whether the conclusions reached by his method will not vary with the scope of his inductions in time and place; and whether any ethical conclusions can be reached at all by that method. We put these questions in all friendliness to M. Guyot, who has fought too brave a battle for freedom and justice during many years for us to feel other than the strongest respect and regard for him, even when we fancy we have caught him tripping in his logic.

J. H. L.

ENDURING CHARACTERISTICS OF MACAULAY.

As it is now more than five-and-thirty years since Lord Macaulay was laid to rest in "that venerable Abbey hallowed by the dust of many generations of princes, heroes, and poets," to use his own language, it may not be premature to consider how far the judgment already passed upon admired characteristics of his writings is in a fair way of being endorsed by posterity. On first acquaintance readers are perhaps too apt to think of the eminent historian and essayist as an unrivalled instance of the rare combination of impassioned eloquence, erudition, and sustained powers of literary art in connection with a successful parliamentary career and a splendid social reputation. But when we read and re-read *Essays and History, Lays and Speeches* in riper years, we have a more exact and inward manner of estimating the value of the pre-eminent abilities that delight and enthral us. Macaulay is still the brilliant and effective artist who keeps us spellbound with his unflagging eloquence, the marvels of his information and his vivid presentment of historic scenes and personages; but our more critical judgment calls upon us to give precise account of the source and nature of the impression produced, of the value of the influence excited upon our minds, and to consider how far these are of the highest concern for our mental and spiritual advancement. We are not content to be fascinated with the freshness, vigour, and vivacity of the descriptive touches with which his pages abound, but we also ask ourselves whether these inimitable pictures are true in spirit as in detail, how far the historian's insight throughout his magnificent survey enables him to connect the events and individuals portrayed with the central spiritual influence of existence, and in what manner we are the wiser for the "science of philosophy" by which the intricacies of the panorama of human affairs spread before us are explained.

Before considering Macaulay's characteristic literary power, we may glance for a moment at one or two salient features of his mind, and observe, in the first place, how the remarkable completeness that this evinces is again noticeable in the peculiar harmony which exists between his life and writings. In both we discern the same clearness, vigour, and consistency, the same intrepid candour, vivid sympathy, and enthusiastic predilections. This harmony is perhaps all

the more striking when we recall the unsettled character of the age in which his early years were cast, and the various influences at work in literature as well as in the more troubled sphere of active affairs. A study of Macaulay's life and of his mind as regards his opinions on contemporary subjects, as expressed in his letters and speeches, will help us to understand the first half of the century, as reflected through the medium of a clear, vigorous historical sense. It will enable us to realise many now extinct tendencies of that time and appreciate their value without the exaggeration or vagueness of their early originators. It will also supply us with a lofty and straightforward standard in estimating their distinctive merit with regard to the then existing state of society. Many years of Macaulay's life had passed before the "revolutionary dishes of the last century" were all served in this country, and it is a question whether we have quite finished up the "remnants" yet. Born¹ amid the confusion and excitement which attended the first changes wrought by the French Revolution, when liberty, equality, and fraternity, in their old sense, were still the aspiration of advanced propagandists; when Europe was still convulsed by war, and men's minds, sobered by the excesses of the Republicans, turned once more to the old fixed system of government, Macaulay's opening years belong to the generation which came after that which had passed from the heights of glowing expectation to the depths of bitter disappointment; after the time when Coleridge and Southey had pictured the illusive delights of pantisocracy and Wordsworth had imagined that—

"from the wreck
A golden palace rose, or seemed to rise,
The appointed seat of equitable law
And mild paternal sway."

But although born after the time when these visions had been most powerful and alluring, the youthful genius could not be entirely unaffected by their influence; and in the first decade of the century there were still aspirations quickening men's pulses, which were expressed in some of the noblest writings of the time. But in spite of these, the tendency was towards a reaction. A young and impressionable mind, however, was most likely to be influenced by what appealed to the imagination and feelings. Before Macaulay left college, Byron and Shelley had poured out their finest inspiration; but neither the vague impassioned yearnings, expressed in characteristic visionary eloquence, of the one, nor the manlier though stormier liberal thoughts of the other, seem to have affected the tone of the young student's feeling. Yet Byron's verse expresses the "tumult of the revolutionary stir, its wild, vague emotion, the law-

¹ October 25, 1800.

lessness of the reaction against dead authority, the glow of the old metallic forms of life and literature, molten to white heat, and surging with power," as much as the poetry of Shelley does "the constant exaltation of its pure ideal." Shelley's revolt against authority, moreover, is evinced in his life as well as his writings, and his aspirations after what is just and free, independently of the forms that may clothe them, are a part of his very existence.

But abstract ideas, yearnings after imaginary ideals, stirred little sympathy in young Macaulay's mind. His attitude towards the French Revolution was already that of the historian. This position was no doubt as much due to the influence of the circle in which he passed his earliest years as the natural tendency of his mind to regard events and personages from an historical standpoint. As an instance of the extent of his early reading of poetry in which the prevalent ideas were conspicuously expressed, we may refer to a charming letter written to Hannah More when he was about fourteen. In this he mentions recently published works of Scott, Byron, Southey, and Wordsworth. Wordsworth he seems to have perused with mingled feelings. Elsewhere we learn that he was one of the few early readers of the poet who had "got through" *The Excursion*. Although outside Wordsworth's influence in its profoundest and most intimate phase, one tendency of the poet's verse must have been welcomed with the most vivid sympathy by the gifted young scholar. This was Wordsworth's fervid and unswerving love of liberty; the undying patriotism and intense desire for the free life of a nation which found its most exalted utterance in the series of noble sonnets on Liberty.

While at college, we are told, the tendency of Macaulay's opinions was at first Conservative; but the early predilections of genius are not to be reckoned of much account. The Conservative tendency in Macaulay's instance—never more, we venture to surmise, than a reactionary phase—was, however, definitely extinguished by the influence of his brilliant friend and fellow-student, Charles Austin. Perhaps it was only that Austin, who "dominated" so many of his associates, drew out the latent sentiments of the future Whig politician and gave decision to the wavering impressions of a mind that as yet had taken no definite form. But when once Macaulay's views became defined and settled he never swerved from them. Austin seems to have been the commanding intellect of a select circle at Cambridge, which included Henry and Derwent Coleridge, the inspiring Greek professor, Malden, and John Moultrie, meditative poet and divine, who, in one of his most felicitous poems, has drawn with graceful skill the principal figures of that gifted conclave, and in which he makes special mention of the simple, genial character of one "who now ranks high among the great on earth."

Macaulay's powers of application were undoubtedly great, and

his love of literature supplied the incentive which led him to devour volume after volume with such extraordinary persistency. Into a mind, watched over, as it were, by a most vigilant and retentive memory, he poured an incessant stream of impressions, which were retained in a manner to be of use whenever required. When the time came they were fused together and poured forth in a flood of fascinating language, invested as well with all the splendour of his imagination. His spirit had an instinctive sympathy with that realm of genius, sacred to

“ the great of old,
The dead but sceptred sovrans, who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.”

Although the reverse of an antiquarian's his mind did to a most remarkable degree gloat over every detail of the past; but these were precious only so far as they enabled him to make that past more vivid and lifelike to the mental eye. One of his sisters has preserved a singularly interesting conversation in which Macaulay, replying to a question of hers, explained how his memory was so distinct and exact. He told her that in storing up the details of events of former times he made a picture of them in his own mind, where each part had its appropriate place. As he walked along he imagined the various times and personages, and fitted them into his conception. He mingled with groups of statesmen, courtiers, and writers in particular places, as if in life, and the slightest detail became of the greatest assistance to the full comprehension of any particular scene or individual. This remarkable facility of vivid representation was no doubt dependent upon his marvellous memory—a memory which while it could retain nearly the whole of *Paradise Lost* was ready to preserve the most insignificant society anecdote; a memory which while it called forth the delighted astonishment of Hallam and Milman at its stores of erudition made Moore exclaim, “It's astonishing what a lot of rubbish Macaulay remembers.”

His memory thus assisting, a clear and powerful imagination was in its turn aided by that remarkable faculty. His power of retaining so accurately all that he read was in a measure due to his being able to fix exact visual impressions upon his mind, associated even with the particular form or position of the words expressive of the ideas to be remembered. In the manner we usually recall a picture or an image, Macaulay could recall the form of the type or the exact place of the letters upon the page where any particular passage occurred, and this operation brought before his mind the sentence referred to as if actually before him. As an instance of this “second sight” one may refer to what he once said upon being asked the authority for a certain statement in his essay on “Frederick the

Great." "It is in an article in the *British Encyclopedia*. You will find it there on the left-hand side of the page, about half-way down. I read it when at Cambridge and have never seen it since. I am certain you will find it there." This was the case, although it was twenty years since Macaulay had seen the passage in question.

Passing from these general references we must now briefly notice two distinct and significant positions in which Macaulay presents himself to the world—that of the vigorous, Liberal political man of affairs, and that of the consummate and brilliant literary artist. The instances we possess of his success in the former respect have been regarded as belonging as much to literature as to oratory; and the more appreciable difference arises from the circumstance, that although prepared with elaborate care and thoughtfulness, he was enabled by the aid of his fine memory to deliver his speeches without committing any part of them to paper. His reason for adopting this method—that it saved his utterance from assuming that peculiar cast of expression which ideas fall into when written out—is conclusive. No one can fail to notice the distinct character of the speeches as compared with the essays. We seem to feel that theirs is a language which has been poured out with vehement and unpremeditated fluency, language which has all the naturalness of uttered expression; all the charm and ease of spontaneous inspiration; all the glow and fire and persuasive eagerness of oratory. His position in the parliamentary conflicts of his day belongs to history; but his consistency as a politician, it may be noted, is in unison with the rest of his career. The zeal and ardour with which he threw himself into the struggle over the Reform measure of 1831 are consistent with his usual earnest thoroughness of purpose. If not the most conclusive, his speeches are the most stirring and eloquent delivered during the memorable discussions in the House of Commons. They express in glowing, even passionate language his deep sympathy with the great popular movement of that day. His private letters evince the same spirit; and in one, descriptive of the Division on the second reading when the Reform Bill of 1831 was passed by a majority of one, he describes with panting exultation the excitement and triumph of the occasion, and the deep relief experienced at the happy result. From the "Speeches" we may learn what an earnest, intelligent, thorough-going Liberal thought with regard to some of the principal questions of the day from 1830 to 1856. Impassioned, fervid, full of imaginative vitality, there is yet a strong chain of reasoning running through them, binding the parts into a convincing whole, stirring, enthralling, and taking the breath of the reader away—as much now as when, uttered in a whirlwind of oratorical vehemence, the shorthand writers panted after the speaker in vain—they yet leave behind the calm of a serenely conviction than the mere display of invective, sarcasm and denunciatory

eloquence can account for. It is the large grasp, the intellectual elevation of treatment that remain as their lasting and noblest merits.

While Macaulay was engaged among the foremost politicians of England, and later occupied for four years in India over a legislative code for that country, the true bent of his mind was towards the absorbing pursuit of letters. These years were the years of his supremacy in the *Edinburgh Review*, when the Essays, afterwards republished in volume form, were appearing in brilliant succession. The general features of these incomparable productions are well known—fearless decision of opinion, extraordinary fulness of information, a clear and orderly arrangement of intricate details unfolded in a narrative marked by vigorous and apposite rapidity of movement so as to produce a flowing, artistic, and fascinating whole. Distinct and complete, each of itself, the essays were thrown off in the midst of engrossing public business at the times their various subjects suggested themselves. Yet they are something more than mere preliminary “sketches” over which the artist is trying his powers or practising his hand for final achievement. They are compressed and complete pictures of unique literary art, finished with the most ungrudging care and animated with a spirit full of enthusiasm. Studies wrought out in an imagination of rare distinctness as well as preciseness of detail, they are presented without any marks of the labour which has gone to produce the harmonious effect, glowing before us in their splendour, whole and shapely, as the work of an original creative brain. There is nothing similar to them in literature. To call them works of imaginative art might excite opposition; but in effect they are closely akin. Macaulay’s method of work is not dissimilar to that of the artist of a great historical picture. The impressions taken away from numberless volumes are fused together and reproduced with the freshness, charm, and vitality of an original imaginative work. Books were to him what Nature and her glories are to the poet; the scholar has read the secrets of numberless folios, then, aided by his gifts of insight and construction, transferred their impressions to his glowing pages. The records of history have been to him the theatre of real life from which he has drawn the facts for his dramatic portraits. He is a painter of historical cartoons; if not the Raphael, at least the Veronese of the literary power of presenting the historical scenes he loves to describe. These remarks are more strictly applicable to the essays, which are essentially biographical studies, such as those which treat of Sir William Temple, Lord Olive, Warren Hastings, Frederick the Great, Madame D’Arblay, and Addison; but they are, in *z*. measure, true of all of them. Macaulay seems most at home with his subject when it is that of a literary man for the illustration of whose life an historical background is necessary. The constant excursions into the Elysian

fields of literature, abounding with purer and lovelier delights than those of mere politics, render these essays more attractive reading than those which are entirely taken up with the mysteries of State affairs. It is, however, worthy of note how Macaulay's genius, in this description of writing, instinctively spreads its tendrils towards those parts of his subject where it is most at home; how his spirit, as if suddenly unfettered, seems to bound forward with new energy, when, Antæus-like, his feet have once touched their historical mother-earth. His most felicitous and eloquent passages, as his most animated and graphic descriptive interludes, belong to the strictly historical portions of his narrative—strictly historical as distinct from those which are purely critical or explanatory.

But the Essays illustrate in so distinct, finished, and splendid a manner the marvellous faculties that, with fuller and richer significance, produced also the History, that in considering Macaulay's leading intellectual characteristics it is imperative to dwell upon the more prominent features of these.

Macaulay's mind in its theoretic tendency had a severe common-sense element. He disliked, was indeed impatient of, abstract ideas whether political, social, or philosophical. An idea, the truth of which might not be vindicated until a future generation, found no favour in his eyes. His intellect, from dwelling so long and intently upon the past and upon truths that had been tested by practice, had assumed a retrospective cast, that was unsympathetic towards any prospective idea, simply an idea. His opinion respecting abstract truths is clearly and shrewdly expressed in a passage in his essay on "Machiavelli," wherein he lays it down that "every man who has seen the world knows that nothing is so useless as a general maxim;" and that "few indeed of the many wise apophthegms which have been uttered from the time of the Seven Sages of Greece to that of poor Richard have prevented a single foolish action." If Macaulay's views of the value of abstract ideas had been confined to antithetical disparagement, it might not have been of consequence; but this attitude of his mind was no doubt one cause of his deplorable want of appreciation of the old system of philosophy in that part of his essay on "Bacon" which attempted an estimate of the ancient and modern schools. Macaulay took his view of the ancient system from Bacon, and Bacon himself, it is now generally asserted by specialists, did not understand the philosophies he attacked. Macaulay, indeed, hardly apprehended the exact nature of Bacon's own contribution to science. Even in that special department—the art of investigating nature—where Macaulay estimates that Bacon accomplished his highest performance, the philosopher's services, if Dugald Stewart is to be relied upon, were not so invaluable. "It may be doubted," was the Edinburgh professor's conclusion, "whether any one important rule with regard to

the true method of investigation be contained in his works of which no hint can be traced in his predecessors." Another valuable authority also affirms that Bacon's "revolt from the waste of human intelligence, which he conceived to be owing to the adoption of a false method of investigation, blinded him to the real value of deduction as an instrument of discovery; and he was encouraged in his contempt for it as much by his own ignorance of mathematics as by the non-existence in his day of the great deductive sciences of physics and astronomy." Macaulay had not this latter plea for any misjudgment; but it is doubtful whether that tendency of his mind which was so in sympathy with practical issues would ever have allowed him to appreciate the true significance of abstract studies; just as his passion for historical reading and general literature impeded his attaining proficiency in mathematics at a university of which that science is the most cherished pursuit; and no doubt his other and more engrossing studies were responsible for his not taking the highest honours expected of him at Cambridge.

It was this characteristic tendency of Macaulay's mind to become passionately absorbed in whatever it was pursuing with zeal and delight, that affected the value and sobriety of many of his critical estimates. Some of these are by no means samples of prescience; and where, perhaps, his judgments are most sound and acceptable, we are not altogether wrong in thinking that some part of the credit is due to the *Zeitgeist*. For instance, by gathering up the threads of criticism and being thoroughly familiar with the appreciative discernment growing for years, he was able to place Bunyan on his proper pedestal as a great imaginative writer. At the same time this would hardly account for the fact that the same discernment in 1830 perceived and recorded the exceptional splendour of Shelley's genius. This opinion, expressed in the essay on Bunyan, as lying outside the usual course of Macaulay's judgments, deserves to be noted as one of the most singular and penetrating instances of his critical foresight. Another illustration is afforded us by his perceiving in the peculiarities of Horace Walpole's writings an originality which entitles the eighteenth-century virtuoso to a distinct place in literature. Works like Lessing's *Laocoon*, and the examination of Hamlet in *Wilhelm Meister*, Macaulay says in a letter to Napier in 1858, "fill me with wonder and despair;" and this epistle is admirably explicit as to the writer's own insight into the classes of subjects he was peculiarly "able to treat as few people can." His appreciation of Jane Austen's works is a familiar instance of his happiest view of criticism, but even in this he is not at his best; and the judgment is far from exhausting or final. We may admire, on account of their concise vigour and enthusiastic eloquence, the remarks upon the poetry of Milton and Byron—remarks, however, in no way so excellent or perceptive as those upon Shelley; but we

are conscious that in these and similar criticisms his insight is limited. The definition of poetry which occurs in the essay on "Milton" must have appeared somewhat meagre and shallow to a generation familiar with the expositions of Coleridge, Hazlitt, and Leigh Hunt. If not entirely deficient in insight into the charm and mystery of the highest poetic and imaginative conceptions of idealistic work, it was towards the outward, tangible, and more matter-of-fact expression of art that Macaulay was most attracted and understood best. Here that incisive talent which enabled him to read the past with such penetrating sagacity afforded him little assistance; and those conclusions which appear like sudden glimpses of inspiration were reserved for historical problems. We have no wish to dwell upon his success on the lower levels of criticism, or it would be easy to enumerate examples of his acuteness and proficiency in discerning verbal flaws and mishaps in a Croker, or his severity in following the flagrant ineptitudes of a Robert Montgomery. This is game hardly worthy the flight of so imposing a wing. In reading the papers in which this talent is conspicuous, we recall Carlyle's pathetic reference to the last writings of Scott; and although the position is not quite analagous, we feel a similar regret that talents worthy of nobler aim and exercise should thus "hitch" themselves to the task of "dragging ignoble wheels."

Macaulay's criticisms upon the poetry of Milton and Byron are chiefly of interest on account of their appreciation of the characteristic powers of word-painting possessed by those poets, and revealing indirectly two of the chief models of the critic's own graphic style. Macaulay knew well the weakness of diffuse description, and his own pictures are always marked by bold and rapid strokes, by the freedom of their general outlines and the suggestive significance of the details. The prominent feature is, however, always unmistakable, thrown into vivid relief by a rare art of arrangement. Macaulay was sensible how fatal a mistake it is for a word-artist to accumulate minutiae or to lavish too many words in the presentment of a landscape. He knew that the true art of a word-painter consists in bringing, by a few distinguishing epithets, his scene or figure distinctly before the reader's mind; he knew further that whole pages of description often fail to produce the effect that a few felicitous words may at once suggest. This was the art in description which Milton and Byron possessed to perfection; and Macaulay's own pictures suggest the source of his magic. They possess also another characteristic which is a leading feature in the graphic pages of his noblest model. "Milton's images," says Macaulay, "depend less on what they directly represent than on what they remotely suggest." Again, with respect to the epithets Milton so

skillfully employs: "One transports us back to a remote period of history. Another places us among the novel scenes and manners of a distant region. A third evokes all the dear classical recollections of childhood—the schoolroom, the dog-eared Virgil, the holiday and the prize. A fourth brings before us the splendid phantoms of chivalrous romance, the trophied lists, the embroidered housings, the quaint devices, the haunted forests, the enchanted gardens, the achievements of enamoured knights and the smiles of rescued princesses." No reader of Macaulay needs to be reminded of passages in his works to which this account will apply with singular minuteness and fidelity; and it may be added in passing that one of the most pleasing effects of the *Lays of Ancient Rome*, apart from the breathless, spirited flow of the eloquent verse, consists in a similar irresistible charm of pictorial allusion and suggestiveness. That peculiar magic which Macaulay found in Milton's "words of enchantment" he has himself infused in no small measure into his own graphic touches. Witness the manner, for instance, in which he enumerates the various places from which the contingents of the gallant army on the morning of the Battle of Lake Regillus are drawn—"Setia's purple vineyards," "Norba's ancient wall," "the drear banks of Ufens," or the "green steeps whence Anio leaps in floods of snow-white foam"—all start at once into existence at the rapid and vivid strokes of his pencil. In the "Prophecy of Capys" this power of suggesting to the mind distinct scenes with a few graphic strokes is perhaps seen at its best. The prophecy of the "sightless seer" may be described as throughout being a succession of words of incantation, which act as a spell upon the reader's imagination.

Whether Montaigne's dictum, that no one should write history who has not served the State in some civil or military capacity, be sound or not, it can hardly be questioned that such experience must be of the greatest value to historical writers. In this respect, as in the cases also of Gibbon and Clarendon, Macaulay may be said to have derived invaluable practical insight and information from his career in the House of Commons, his position as a legislator in India, and his official appointments at the War Office. That men thus experienced in the world carry with them to the study a more enlarged and practical experience than commonly belongs to mere men of letters can hardly be questioned. But in the case of one coming as Macaulay from stirring and impassioned conflicts, is there not a danger that the equanimity of his judgment regarding events of the past may be affected by the recollection of his own enthusiasm and sympathy in a similar position? Can it always be said that the historian of political differences of the reign of James II. was sufficiently remote in feeling and identity to be an impartial chronicler

of the questions raging at that time? Were Macaulay's experiences of the struggles of parties and the debates of senates confined to helping him to present the world with more glowing and vivid descriptions of past transactions? In walking over the deceitful ashes of the past, have his footsteps never been heated by hidden fires which may have communicated a glow to his brain? To express it even more directly, has not the memorable historical undertaking of Macaulay been assailed with dangers similar to those of which Horace warned the Roman Pollio? These and similar questions have been repeatedly asked, and it can be scarcely denied that the history is in places open to the charge of ingenuous partiality—ingenuous, for there is no wilful perverting of facts, no malice of statement aforethought. A mind with the natural warmth, vigour, and vehemence of Macaulay's, throwing its whole strength into the subject he was considering, must of necessity exhibit some of its tendencies and prevent his narrative possessing the judicial serenity so justly admired in Hallam's surveys of modern history. The unswerving consistency with which Macaulay throughout his writings advocates the cause of freedom suggests a statesman and writer whose works also exhibit a similar open and decided espousal of the same political canons. Macaulay was a careful and appreciative student of Bolingbroke; and the manner in which Macaulay's great work illustrates Bolingbroke's famous dictum that "History is philosophy teaching by example" is one determining test of its value in the higher regions of historical art. It was once customary to allude to the splendid narrative of the reigns of James II. and William III. as a torso—as a fascinating but incomplete effort; and as far as the original design of the writer is concerned, this is no doubt true. But if regarded as a history of the Revolution of 1688, and the settlement of England consequent upon the change up to the time of the Peace of Ryswick, the work will be found to have a natural artistic unity. If, however, we consider this consummate result of the historian's mature and deliberate labours by the test of another standard, it will be found to be incomplete for a far more important reason than that it was not continued as originally purposed "to a time within the memory of men still living," or even, as afterwards resolved, to the end of Queen Anne's reign. It will be found to be incomplete, not because the literary art which shapes it is not of a very rare order—not because the political wisdom which animates it is not of a definite, sagacious, penetrating description; not because the details of the narrative have not been clearly apprehended and fused together into a lucid and coherent whole, but because with all these imposing advantages it is deficient in that higher and rarer excellence which is able to bring out and make us understand and

reverence the grand, unalterable principles behind the life of a nation ; how at the heart of that life there is a continuous and imperishable inspiration ; how the order of its course is a Divine order independent of governments or changes or even individuals ; how the development of this order in the individual, in the nation, and finally in humanity is a Divine idea leading up gradually to the ideal of truth and progress. We are in no way enlightened as to that which is common to all periods, to all societies—the same yesterday, to-day and for ever—in a word, as to the synthetical connection between the different eras of humanity. In Macaulay's pages nations rise and fall ; statesmen come into office, cabinets are formed and changed ; taxes are levied ; wars declared, waged and concluded ; one epoch is rendered illustrious by a Bacon or a Newton, by a Milton or a Dryden, by a Swift or a Johnson, by a Watt or an Arkwright ; one period is convulsed by religious conflicts and persecutions, in another the Puritans spring up, in another Methodism is established ; one generation is fertile of adventurous explorers, another of experimental physicists ; but apparently there is no connection between these periods and events beyond that of historical sequence and arrangement ; there is no thread of vital gold binding them together, no indestructible spiritual force at the heart of the origin of one and all alike. Again we come to what we have hinted before : that to Macaulay history was known only by its manifestations : the subjective principle, hidden beneath, was practically, as regards his presentiment, unrecognised. Perhaps these considerations were viewed by him in a way similar to that with which he regarded those abstract truths about which he expressed himself so lightly as not being applicable "to the problem of real life." But if, as Joubert beautifully says, "the universe obeys God as the body obeys the soul that fills it," in the workings of history we should at least recognise the presence of a Divine Spirit, working towards the integrity of a sublime purpose.

On the other hand, no one has estimated more shrewdly and clearly than Macaulay the nature of the external progress of England, or has more eloquently and vigorously described the results of her material greatness and physical advancement. The mind is at once set aglow at the recollection of her military successes, at her mercantile supremacy, at the splendour of that "maritime power which would annihilate in a quarter of an hour the navies of Tyre, Athens, Carthage, Venice, and Genoa together." "The History of England," he repeats, in substance, over and over again, "is the history of this great change in the moral, intellectual, and physical state of the inhabitants of our island." The great change referred to is how in the course of seven centuries the England of the Saxons and Normans became the England that we know and love. The

passage in which this view occurs¹ deserves to be carefully pondered as it comprises in it a list of those glories which Macaulay thought deserving of special honour, and in it we have the key to the spirit with which he has treated that part of our annals which comes within the scope of his work. It is, in truth, a flattering picture of the expansive nature of our material resources; the increased and increasing splendour of our social and intellectual successes; the immeasurable superiority of our present conditions to that of our forefathers. As an annalist he is so far content to present these facts as they come before him. There is nothing prospective in his treatment; history engages him entirely from its objective side. The principles of existence which he exhibits in the work of the individuals he portrays are limited to their relations to the exigencies of time, and have no suspicion of the Hegelian conception of the universe as a single process of evolution in a sublime design.

Yet Macaulay had his conception of the continuity of history and of the providential ruling of human affairs; but it was the accepted, time-honoured theory of the old school of teachers who, under God, referred the events of the past to such causes as that of restraint producing excess; and excess, rigour, which in its turn was succeeded by license, the action and reaction of which subsidiary influences necessitated the various changes in social and political affairs. Are we to accept this explanation as satisfactory of the problems of the past, or as helpful and inspiring in our attempt to deal with those of the future? Are we to allow ourselves to be carried by his fascinating narrative smoothly over the struggles and difficulties of the revolutions that have been, silenced by a rush of sonorous sentences and blinded by a ceaseless dazzle of antithesis and epigram, and yet not ask ourselves—is there not also a vital and enduring principle involved in these outbreaks and heart-burnings of humanity with which the future will also have one day to reckon? But with regard to these and similar problems Macaulay's pages afford us little guidance; and it is with a sigh of constrained regret that we turn from his luminous exposition, when we are disturbed as to the ultimate progress of humanity towards perfection, or disheartened at the scant assistance our study of his works has afforded us in realising that idea of the future which is the final goal of the "crowning race of mankind." The monument of his genius is flushed only with the lines of the light that has been; there are no dawn-tints in the aureole of his fame.

But after all is said, Macaulay's works remain an imperishable monument of constructive genius and unflagging industry. The large-hearted, comprehensive nature of his treatment is eminently freehanded, massive and generous—nothing narrow, paltry, servile,

¹ Essays : *Macintosh's History of the Revolution.*

or truckling marks it anywhere. Although his faculties were not so evenly balanced—his temperament not so equitable—as to allow him to exercise judicial impartiality, the standard which he brings to his judgment on men and affairs is always lofty, impressive and honest. He is not more exacting from others than from himself. The same noble spirit of independence which ran through his own life may be traced in every line of his work. He hit hard, and did not always calculate the effects of his blows. They were, however, the strokes of an open and a fearless adversary. This faculty of hard-hitting made him such a formidable champion in Parliament with regard to the first Reform Bill. If others had inserted the thin end of the wedge, he was one of the foremost of those to whom it was owing that this was driven so manfully home. Perhaps more than any one's, then, his powerful blows, aimed with such directness, force and rapidity, finally split down the stump of abuses and shivered it into splinters. His keen sarcasm, indignant scorn, and contemptuous irony were among the weapons of a resistless eloquence which was to find its most consummate expression in recording a brief but memorable episode of our annals. When we recall his wide and versatile accomplishments, the eulogy of Sir Archibald Alison—a partisan of another school—comes to mind: "It is hard to say whether Macaulay's poetry, his speeches in Parliament, or his brilliant essays are the most charming. Each has raised him to a very great eminence, and would be sufficient to constitute the reputation of an ordinary man."

High among the classic writers of our country his name has taken its place whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the merit of individual productions. His unrivalled vigour, freshness, vividness of style have placed him there. More to be admired even than clearness and vividness of description are the supreme grace, ease, finish, and luminous beauty of every sentence in the swift rushing stream of his eloquent narrative. Nor are the ideas so obvious and commonplace as the exquisite lucidity of their expression might at first lead some to think. Every thought is put so clearly, every point is so transparently illustrated that we are tempted to do injustice to the freshness or sagacity of the idea so artistically presented. There is nothing involved or undecided; all is simplicity, energy, and certainty in the language. Culture begins to assume a more friendly attitude towards Macaulay than formerly, "touched and awed," says Professor Sedgwick, "by his wonderful devotion to literature." Well, indeed, may culture with all its reserve be touched and awed! Macaulay's love of literature was an increasing passion every year that he lived, and as he grew old he became more and more conservative in his choice of authors. No one could reverence more devoutly than he the great names of literature; and as his

earliest brilliant success in the field where he was destined to achieve his most enduring reputation was in honour of one of our greatest writers, we will conclude by quoting the words uttered by this illustrious man before the Parliament of the Commonwealth on behalf of an unlicensed Press, as applicable to the literary treasure Macaulay has himself left; for of that, too, may we not say that it is "the precious life-blood of a master-spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

THOMAS BRADFELD.

THE REAL INTERESTS OF THE PUBLIC IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

WITH the long course of divisions among nations there would appear to be no little danger that hatreds, prejudices, and national pride should distort the views and warp the judgment even of educated people on this subject. A few words, therefore, may not be inopportune to investigate in calmness prevalent opinions, in order to see if they coincide with the dictates of common-sense, or are merely figments of the imagination. To do this honestly and temperately can surely be productive of no harm, but possibly may do good. Should there be any danger necessarily attendant on external relations that might warrant the existing impulse to increase armaments, it is as well that we should recognise the fact, and make up our minds to endure what cannot be cured. If, on the contrary, it is found that any departure from the present manner of regulating foreign affairs would put a different face on the matter, and if it is found that the interests of the several States are not mutually inimical after all, that will be something to encourage a hope of a good time coming.

Sir Walter Scott makes Rob Roy explain in a fatherly way to Frank Osbaldistone that all quarrels arise about "women and gear." By this time we may safely say that the civilised world has outgrown the absurdity of going to war *pour les beaux yeux de madame*. There remains, then, the single item of "gear," or material interests, as the phrase goes. These interests naturally divide themselves into two main branches—territory and commerce; but the two seem more interwoven than the two classes of property, real and personal, are in domestic affairs. The reason of this is plain. With the advance of representative institutions the masses have acquired greater political power, and they look more and more to the establishment of colonies as a means of obtaining the advantage of wider markets for the products of their industry, to the exclusion of the products of other nations. This is the case in the colonial policy of all nations, except our own, as regards the exclusion; for England is the only country in Christendom that allows no distinction to be made in its Custom-houses between the products of her own subjects and those of foreigners. It might be thought *a priori* that such a

policy would make us popular with our neighbours, but such is very far from the truth. One would naturally think that, importing as we do and have done for generations, more largely from foreign countries than they import from us, and allowing no distinction between their goods and our own, either at home or at the ports of our colonies and dependencies, would satisfy even their very dreams of avarice, and make them our very good friends. Their doctrines of protection, which should logically magnify the benefits so freely offered to them, seem, on the contrary, to inflame their resentment. The explanation appears to be that all this protection, in which they implicitly put their trust, is a mere trammel to them in the commercial race with us.

The theory of protection does not work out in practice as it ought to do if it embodied economic truth; and the protectionists, instead of getting out of temper with their theory, get out of temper with us for underselling them. Accordingly we hear from time to time a good deal of grumbling in France that, notwithstanding all the expense of opening up new colonies, the foreigner reaps the fruit by doing the bulk of the business with them. The fact seems to be that it is so. The share of France in the trade of French Indo-China, for example, is about one-fourth. France has only the monopoly of the expense of acquiring the colony and maintaining order there, and, as Adam Smith pointed out, that is the only monopoly possible in the circumstances. The colonies of France are, besides, with the exception of those on the North African coast, quite unsuited for European emigration, so that there is, if possible, less reason to regard them in the light of our self-governing colonies as great empires in course of making. Now, we have had a larger experience in colonial matters than France or any other country. What does that experience teach us, or rather what ought it to have taught us? A certain class of men are said to get their instruction in the school of experience, but it is to be feared a still larger class attend this school with little profit. We have found out that there is a good deal of fallacy lurking about the term "possession" as applied to colonies. If we look to the fact that those countries offer markets where we can trade on equal terms with our foreign competitors, there may be some advantage in the so-called possession, though the policy only too common among our colonies of protecting their own industries against the mother country reduces even that advantage to the same level as in the case of any foreign country where we compete equally with third parties and unequally with its home producers by reason of the tariff—with this difference, that we are under an obligation to defend the colony in case of war. In a political sense, these colonies have not been of any advantage whatever. We draw neither revenue nor troops from them, and never could. Such a policy was attempted with the old

American colonies, and the result is seen in the United States, an empire indeed, if you like, but to us a foreign empire ; and in the whole experience of our Foreign Office, perhaps not the least troublesome of the foreign empires with which we have had to deal. The only exceptions, where we have received some assistance from our colonies and India for Imperial purposes are to be found in the Soudan war, and when some Indian troops were ordered to Malta the last time that the Eastern Question was in debate. Some troops from Australia assisted us in our struggle with the Arabs on the Red Sea littoral, and a few Canadian boatmen helped us to pull against the interminable stream in what seems to a layman the extraordinary line of attack on Khartoum. The Australians, the public have been led to understand by one who ought to know them well,¹ will not repeat that experiment. Indeed, the talk here about Imperial Federation and the burdens of empire to be gloriously shared by these Antipodean brethren with those elsewhere, produced an Australian National party, according to the same authority. Whether it is likely that Canada will follow suit does not appear ; but as we are masters in India we may possibly order sepoy to embark for foreign service, should occasion arise.

In trade, New South Wales and the Cape are the only colonies that appear disposed to adopt free trade, or a tariff for revenue only. As far as contributing to defence, they are all more or less willing to share with the Home Government the cost of the defence of their own particular colony—surely not such a large matter as to warrant the grandiloquent talk of Imperial Federationists. But as we have remarked, the colonies of France, Germany, and Holland do not even get this length, being unfit for the most part for white settlement. Nevertheless, there has been quite an exciting time with the scramble for tropical Africa ; and indeed few men would have ventured to predict ten or fifteen years ago that, in these circumstances, the peace would have been kept so long. It is possible that the impressions among statesmen, to which Lord Dufferin has alluded, that tropical Africa is not by any means so valuable as is often assumed, may have something to do with this piece of good luck. These impressions are amply justified by the budgets of the Congo Free State, as well as the finances of “Ibea,” and the steady expenditure of France on its colonies. People will see surely in the long run that these countries in tropical Africa can only be administered at enormous expense, even after taxing imports and exports as heavily as possible, issuing trade licences, selling land, and so forth. Wider markets are no doubt desirable, chiefly because of the artificial impediments to trade between civilised States ; but seeing that the expense of opening new markets in Africa is great, the more

¹ *Vide Macmillan's Magazine*, for July 1889—article by Mr Wise, ex-Attorney-General of New South Wales.

likely thing would have been that all should talk much about the doing of it, and each do as little of it as might comport with decency, instead of getting up heated discussions about not being at liberty to do more. Statesmen are apt to be led whither they would not in these matters in order to satisfy the clamours of their supporters, who, in turn, are pestered by their constituents who trade with these countries, while the public at large have to find the money. The case of Uganda is in point; and surely if King Leopold and the Belgians have had a bad time in the Congo Free State, with its great river system in favour of rapid development, our experience in British East Africa, and especially in Uganda, 800 miles from the coast, is not likely to be as good. It is still less likely to be an advantageous acquisition should quarrels arise with our European neighbours; for we do not hold the happy neutral position of the Congo Free State, but are credited with "deep designs" in all directions for the extension of our territory, and are treated accordingly.

There would not appear to be any solid interest to the public in such extensions of the empire, because, beyond the fact of their unfitness for emigrants, we can neither draw revenue nor troops from them, but, on the contrary, must continually send men and money thither for their defence and the maintenance of order. As far as commerce goes, the experience elsewhere shows that we shall always have at least our share of the trade whether the flag is ours or that of some other State. If we were even absolutely excluded from the trade of tropical Africa—a supposition which is absurd—so much more of the capital of the other Powers would probably rush in to fill up the void, that we should certainly gain ground elsewhere. Adam Smith showed that, by our attempted monopoly of the American trade, we lost ground in the more advantageous field of Continental trade in the very way that I am assuming with a supposed attempt by other nations to monopolise the African trade. As for the Cape, it has got more territory than it can well employ. Its interest, therefore, is properly confined to the utilisation of what it has got, avoiding everything that might give rise to misapprehensions elsewhere. But there can be very little doubt that the colonies and dependencies of all States—not being self-governing colonies of course—might be transferred to, and be administered by, a European federal Government, while the self-governing colonies might be admitted as members of the federation, if they should so desire. That such a federal Government should be constituted, I endeavour to show, is the highest interest of every European State and the citizens thereof. There seems, indeed, no other practicable method of avoiding, or at least rendering innocuous, national jealousies and racial hatreds, and abolishing the consequent competition in armaments that is rapidly ruining them all. Several

of the smaller Powers indeed have reached such a level in the world of finance as amounts to ruin, and with a continuance of the existing European polity the larger Powers will surely follow. The greatest obstacle, probably, to the federation of Europe, is the implicit belief in protection tariffs and bounties upon exports, that Continental nations hug so pertinaciously. The consideration of this brings the second division of the subject of territorial acquisitions naturally into view.

Various States are supposed to have ambitions in the matter of the removal of their neighbours' landmarks. It is impossible to say whether there is much or little support in fact for this supposition, nor is it of much importance if there were none at all; for when a multitude of people get an idea of this sort into their heads about a neighbouring State, which is credited, nobody knows how, with such a design, argument is as impotent to eradicate it as if it were an imputation of witchcraft in the olden time. It can, however, be very easily shown that such a design runs counter to the fundamental notion of protection, and nothing touches the action of States so soon or so powerfully as the belief that any given step involves their real interests. In certain quarters this may be scouted as a repetition of "Cobden's optimism," but his position that, so soon as a nation is soundly instructed about its real interests, it certainly follows these interests, is quite unassailable. At the present moment all Continental States follow protection, simply because they believe their interests are in that direction, and for no other reason. It may be said—I have said on a former occasion—that those tariffs are necessary to meet the expense of war-budgets; but, then, are these military preparations necessary? They are only necessary, as the late Count von Moltke put it, "so long as the States of Europe lead a separate existence." My contention being that the interest of the European public would be infinitely better promoted by European federation than by the present separate system, this argument for the financial aid derived from the tariffs may be set aside as soon as this point is conceded. The supposition that the armies exist to maintain protection by force of arms and the protective tariffs to pay the armies, is absurd. It is certainly the teaching of history that the State which lets down its army is in danger of paying for its temerity; but this could not occur if there were only one army in Europe, and that subject to congress. We come, therefore, to the point whether there is any good to trade, and by consequence to the public, of any State from protection itself. It is the fashion among protectionists to say that the opinion of the civilised world is entirely and solidly against England on this question. Let us, therefore, consider a little more closely this asserted solidity of opinion. Take any two European States, say France and Spain, and each will appear to support the theory of protection. But in the case of any

commodity, as wine, for example, the reason why France imposes a protective duty on Spanish wine is surely because the wine-growers of France could not otherwise support the competition of Spanish wine-growers. That is, the Spanish wines without the duty could be brought cheaper to the French markets than the French wines. This very reason is also at the bottom of the Spanish duty on French wines, since Spain, too, holds the protectionist theory. Therefore, the opinions of Spaniards and Frenchmen about wine are so far from agreement as to be diametrically opposite. The same may be said of any other States, and all the common products of the land and labour of these States, so there is no need to ring the changes on all of them in this place. Suffice it to say that, if we take the number of important European States as thirteen, there will be found to be twelve to one in protectionist opinions against the imposition of every protective item in each of their tariffs. This is rather a curious and instructive outcome of the argument on the "solid opinion of the civilised world" against England on fiscal policy. The whole thing is a tissue of nonsense.

Let us next consider this protectionist opinion, with the element of conquest added. M. Méline, who is the French high-priest of protection, explained to the Chamber of Deputies not long ago that certain manufacturers at Lyons wanted to lay down certain looms, but required some guarantee that they would not be undersold by the foreigner—no doubt meaning Crefeld. Now France would probably not put on sackcloth if her boundary were advanced to the left bank of the Rhine all the way down. But this would include Crefeld, and in that case, of course, neither the Lyons weavers nor all the other industrial population of France would be considered for one moment. The loss to the Lyons manufacturers, however, on the supposition that they could not compete with Crefeld, would just be as real as if Crefeld remained German and the protective tariff of France had no existence. As soon as the two lines of custom-houses were brushed out of the way the two countries would be economically one, and all the benefits—and they are incalculable—that have resulted from such a step according to actual observed facts, would accrue to both. They would accrue just the same if the two countries were under one Government or two, since these are political, not economic, distinctions. In the France of the *ancien régime*, cut as the country was into several economic pieces by different tariffs, the evil effects of such divisions were to be seen, though the whole of the country was under one king. Hence, political distinctions are quite irrelevant in the consideration of a country's real interests in trade. Further, the case would not be altered by the complete disappearance of commercial men as a class, though no doubt there would be a vast economic loss by their disappearance, notwithstanding superficial talk about the "middleman." The public is the interested

party, and commercial men its servants in effecting exchanges. Germany, as we see it to-day, is a standing monument to the good effect of abolishing customs duties. Before the establishment of their Zollverein they had no end of them, till it was found that their commerce was being strangled by them. The Zollverein took much time and labour to get it set up, and many of the States kept out of it for years. But no one who knows anything about Germany can fail to see what an improvement it has effected. The argument used by protectionists about the equity of charging foreign products with duties, as "market dues," involves the negative of the German Zollverein policy, and the German Zollverein policy was perhaps the most potent factor in the making of the modern German Empire. Not only so, but, if there is anything in the "market dues" and "equal burdens" theory, we should logically have to impose cetroi duties between county and county or parish and parish—certainly between town and country—at home. The Chinese do something of this kind with their lekin duties, on account of which their foreign imports can be carried no great way into the interior of that immense empire, even supposing they had railways to-morrow. If the Chinese now were only a little more enlightened, and could get so far above their prejudices against foreigners as to read the protectionist press of Europe, they could have no idea what a number of reasons they would find for keeping to their antiquated trade restrictions! There underlies these protectionist notions the same sort of idea that possessed the searchers after perpetual motion—namely, that a machine could be made to *produce* power. Had it occurred to those deluded ones that no machine can give out more power than is communicated to it, and, indeed, generally a good deal less, by the amount absorbed by the friction of the machine itself, there would have been an immense saving of their time and labour. Even they, however, would have seen that to add to the friction was not the way to the end they proposed to themselves. In the same way, this protective machinery is only so much additional cause of frictional loss of power, and the only result, when the machinery is efficient, is to depreciate the value of the produce of the land and labour of a country. But the increase of this value is the great object of political economy, being the real interest of the public. The theory of protection, therefore, is completely opposed to the real interest of the public. The same thing is seen in the working of the foreign Exchanges. The business of a dealer in this line of business is to buy, say, in Paris, bills on London and sell them at a profit, or, what is the same thing, make out fresh bills on London to order at a higher price. These prices, like the price of everything else, depend on supply and demand. But the supply in this case depends for the most part upon the amount of commodities exported from France. Against these sendings bills are drawn upon London, and these bills are the

supply. The demand arises principally to pay for commodities imported into France, to some other countries on French account, or to countries from which France draws supplies. When goods are consigned to France for sale, or are otherwise sold for a certain sum of money in francs, the returns of course are larger or smaller in sterling according as the course of exchange happens to be favourable to France or to England respectively. Suppose an English merchant has consigned goods to Paris, and has got for them nett 10,000 francs. If exchange were at 25 francs for £1 he would obtain a draft on London for £400, but if the exchange moved more in favour of England—say to 25·25 for £1—he would only get £396 odd. This fall depends on the increasing scarcity in Paris of bills on London—a state of things that depends largely, in the long run, on the small amount of English and other foreign purchases from France. Our English consignor's interest, therefore, is seen to coincide exactly with that of France, for the more exchange is in favour of France—other things being assumed equal—the larger his returns are bound to be. But the interest of the consignor is in this matter the interest of England generally. The general interests of England and France, therefore, are identical, for the case is, *mutatis mutandis*, precisely the same with a French consignor to London. It is curious to notice in this connection that the outcry about the Indian exchange is based on the fact that it is getting more and more favourable to England, and therefore that, if this should continue, it would destroy our Indian trade. In other words, the interest of our merchants is identical with that of India, and the interest of Indian merchants exporting to this side coincides with that of England. What our merchants would like to see is a rapid increase of Indian exports, and at larger prices, the diminution of the Indian charges payable in London, and the discontinuance of Indian borrowing in London. A mere increase in the value of silver would mean a fall in rupee prices of commodities as well as exchange, and loans could not improve trade, though many appear to think so. It would, however, relieve the Indian Government by so much of the loss at present incurred by remitting to England, and might, by that gain, make possible the repeal of the Indian 5 per cent. duty on imports. Now, according to Mr. Augustus Sauerbeck's index number of the wholesale prices of commodities in January of last year, the sum of £100 in the period 1867–77 would be represented by £63. This would make £100 at present show the same purchasing power as £158 14s. 7½d. in the period 1867–77, before the decline in silver became considerable. It does not, therefore, appear a business-like arrangement to barter this increase in the purchasing power of everybody's revenue in this country for the repeal of a 5 per cent. duty in India. Taking the view of Sir Robert Giffen, that, the amounts of gold and silver in the world being supposed equal at the

ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, there would be a rise in prices of commodities in the present gold standard countries, and a fall in the present silver standard countries of one-half of the present appreciation of gold; by tying gold and silver together, it would still be greatly against the interest of gold standard countries to enact such a nexus.

But the question of the foreign exchange is bounded in each direction by the cost of sending money or bullion to balance accounts, while the question of the freedom of exchange or free trade goes much deeper, as it concerns the gigantic sums on each side of the account, of which the money and bullion sendings can hardly ever form a very large proportion. The principle underlying both is of course identical. The chief cases in which goods leave a country without bringing about a return trade are the liquidation of interest of money borrowed abroad, the remittance of profits of trades and professions carried on by foreigners, the charges of an army or navy operating abroad, and, finally, bad debts made abroad. Beyond the amount of these things, goods or bullion must pass either to the country sending the goods in the first instance, or to some other country, from which the proceeds will find their way through the labyrinth of the foreign Exchanges to their several destinations.

Hence to put up tariff barriers according to the present practice of foreign States is contrary to their own interest. If tariffs were supposed to be an advantage, one would think that a tariff on the importation of the precious metals, to discourage, according to protectionist principle, the unprofitable trade and force the profitable one in goods would have been the outcome of those principles. And yet this sending of coin and bullion hither and thither takes place incessantly without let or hindrance. It brings funds from one country to another to lower the rate of interest in the latter. The rate of interest, however, is the profit of the capitalist, who is usually supposed to be an austere man and astute withal. But we never hear of the money interest clamouring for a tariff to keep out foreign funds that come to compete with domestic funds, even in the countries that are forever inventing new duties on other importations, besides increasing the old duties by leaps and bounds. It seems therefore clear that the character of these monied men entitles them to the ancient panegyric on the husbandman—the ancient husbandman of course: “*Pius Questus, stabilissimus que minimeque invidiosus; minimeque male cogitantes sunt, qui in eo studio occupati sunt!*” The modern husbandman is generally occupied in petitioning his Government to lay taxes on agricultural produce imported, or getting up scares about cattle diseases to prohibit the importation of live stock. In fact “Old Cato” would hardly know him, so much has he changed his studies. The question of interest to the public here is, whether by taxing foreign grain we increase its real value; for it is evident enough that such an

impost is a tax on every industry in the country for the behoof of the agricultural interest, and forces capital into farming that would be otherwise more profitably invested. It is absurd to force capital and labour into this industry when, left to themselves, they would be employed in such a way as to procure more grain in exchange for their produce than by growing the grain itself.¹ The highest success of protection would appear to be considered by its votaries to consist in exporting goods largely and importing nothing but money or bullion. Supposing this absurdity to be attained—say by the United States—the consequence would necessarily be that, having captured all the coin and bullion in the world, their foreign trade must cease and determine, since they could get nothing at all for further sendings that would be allowed to enter the United States. Every approximation to that point must have a proportionate effect in the same direction. The heaping up of money in their country, however, would bring down the value of money with them and raise it elsewhere to such an extent that capitalists in the States would export it to invest it abroad, and probably follow the capital, if it were impossible to get anything for its use so long as they remained at home.

The only drawback to the freedom of trade is the war risk necessarily attending the present system of managing international affairs. Should we, for example, get involved in war, the command of the sea becomes a vital matter. Our navy is the first and last line of defence. If it is lost, all is lost, for without taking the trouble to invade us, a hostile fleet could very soon starve us out. This is a danger from which Imperial federation could not deliver us, for our grain ships from the colonies and India would be subject to the blockade, just as those from the United States, Russia, South America, or the Danube. But to grow all or nearly all our supplies at home would mean such enhanced prices for those supplies as would require either very much higher wages in our industries, which would annihilate our foreign trade, or cause, with the same wages, such distress in this country as to amount to famine and destroy the home trade, of course. There is no complete escape from this dilemma except in European federation, not that it need necessarily be limited to Europe. The new naval programmes sprung on us every half-dozen years, and upon which we may reckon ever so long in the future, are only palliatives of the danger, so rapidly are war-ships found to become obsolete; and indeed so much is an ironclad fleet, which is supposed to be efficient, a mere matter of theory. No doubt the ships will be fought, as our countrymen have ever done their duty, with all the courage, address, and stoicism of old Rome. Still all this is not a complete policy, but is subject to the

¹ As soon as this ceases to be the case, capital and labour will of their own accord go into farming.

hazards of war, of all things the most hazardous. And of all things except anarchy and slavery, war is incomparably the worst for the citizens of a belligerent country both in body and estate. It is so even with victory as its issue, the most favourable assumption possible.

When mankind were mostly savages, and war resulted in the appropriation of the lands and goods of the vanquished, who were besides enslaved or exterminated, there could be no question of peace on any conceivable terms by self-respecting men, and armaments were a necessity of the times. But a good many of the phrases properly applicable to the foreigner in those ancient times are in current use now, when even the most sanguinary struggles produce nothing but a rectification of frontier, the payment of an indemnity for the expense and loss of life that the war has cost the victors, and perhaps some change in the tariff between the belligerent Powers about as important to them as that between tweedledum and tweedledee. Every European country is familiar with representative government. If all these countries, therefore, were to agree to form a federation somewhat similar to that in the United States, which would involve *inter alia* one federal army and no other, the war game would be at an end—law and liberty would begin. The strength of such a federation would guarantee the maintenance of peace and establish the reign of law, as they never have been guaranteed and established, in matters which are the common concern of Europe. Surely this is a practical and businesslike policy. It is probably more practicable than is generally thought, for the pressure of the present system in men and money is becoming more grievous year by year—particularly where the conscription is in force,¹ but even in this country where voluntary enlistment alone is permitted. Not that we are certain of avoiding the conscription in the course of years, or as necessity may arise. By the Ballot Act of 1860 it was enacted that all males over five feet two inches, between eighteen and thirty years of age, may be called upon to serve in the militia. This law is held in abeyance by an annual Act, but it shows which way the wind is blowing. The militia is a force that cannot be lawfully sent on foreign service, except, perhaps, as the Earl of Chatham said sarcastically, in case of invasion. It is notoriously difficult to define what is a defensive war. There has been much debate in Germany and France, for instance, as to the nature of the war of 1870, which was entirely an invasion of France, as it turned out, but is considered by German writers as a purely defensive war, though the French see it in a different light. Probably English opinion leans in that instance to the German view. Now, with a question like that arising in our own case, instead of that of Ger-

¹ See the remarks of the Paris correspondent of the *Times* on the question as to disarmament put by Mr. Byles in the House of Commons on January 11, 1891.

many, the Act of 1860 left to come into operation, a man of Chatham's mould at the head of affairs, and an angry nation to support him—and this combination of circumstances is anything but far-fetched—the chances are that this formidable militia would not be exclusively used at home. The probability is that the interference with trade alone, producing the closing of works and laying up of ships, with the attendant scarcity of work and dearth of provisions, would make a people, naturally brave and impatient of violence, go all lengths to put an end to an intolerable nuisance with the least possible delay. This is exactly the decision arrived at by Germany in 1870, the prospect of a French invasion of their country recalling to them the struggle and devastation of the Napoleonic wars at the beginning of the century.

The present polity of Europe shows some dozen States organised more or less perfectly within their own borders, but having no constitutional machinery to conduct and regulate that portion of their interests which is common to all—their foreign affairs. The polity of Europe is, therefore, in the position of the early Christian Church as described by the late M. Ernest Renan; “having not yet got all its members,” its organisation is incomplete. The old constitutional maxim that “what concerns all ought to be voted by all” points to the only method of supplying by legal means what is now procured in the last resort by violence. But Europe being so large as to make the idea of corporate union out of the question, even if it were desirable, the only other constitutional method known among men is federation. This would, however, enable all the States to legislate in common on International affairs, and leave them to legislate on their domestic affairs separately as hitherto, since federation should have for its basis that those affairs only should be regulated in congress which concern the States in common. There is not even any reason to prescribe in Europe, as is done in America, what the government of the States is to be, or how their elections are to be conducted. Whether a State is monarchical or republican is certainly not of common interest to Europe, whatever bigots may say on either side. Further, so long as the States have their proper share of federal power according to population allotted them, it does not in the least concern the federation by what method within each State that power is used in the election of representatives to congress. One State may choose to have all its representatives elected by one man, by universal suffrage, or by any plan between those extremes. That is the private business of such State, and so long as Congress is notified by the Chief Magistrate that such and such members have been elected its representatives according to the law of that State, all federal requirements on that score seem to be satisfied. Appointments of delegates to the great European conferences have never been matters of much difficulty. Such conferences are,

however, a species of intermittent parliaments, and therefore appointments to more regular assemblies, such as the federal congresses would be, ought not to present any real difficulty. There would be this difference, though, that no delegates would come to Congress as some went, according to Prince Gortschakoff's definition of their status, to the Berlin Conference on the San Stefano Treaty, *à titre de dictionnaires*.

Beyond these matters the practice in America might serve as a guide as far as circumstances would permit. However, it is not meant here to make even a rough sketch of a Constitution for the European federation, but merely to inculcate the general policy of adopting federation. The existing state of affairs, notwithstanding the splendid talent and high tone of the diplomatic corps of Europe, is in matters of first-rate importance little better than anarchy. The competition in armaments shows that the prevailing opinion among all the competitors endorses this view. This is no ordinary expression of opinion on their part, for it is an opinion that involves them in gigantic costs. That alone should be a sufficient guarantee for their sincerity. Moreover, it is clear that in the absence of proper constitutional machinery to remove the strain that is now weighing them all down, no Minister responsible for the safety of his State would for a moment dream of abandoning this competition, ruinous though it be. It is also clear that the competition is rapidly ruining all the competitors by the rapid growth of its cost in men and money. Excessive as this cost now is, there is not the slightest prospect of finality. It may safely be said that, as year by year has added to this burden all round, so every year will continue the process. This in itself is not a state of things that is at all likely to increase international friendship. On the contrary, when poverty increases, as it is bound to do by this waste of millions, the incessantly growing demands of Finance Ministers for money and of War Ministers for men are sure to produce a storm. Nations will become thereby more dangerous to each other, and their poverty cannot but make them less valuable to each other. This is a course of policy therefore that leads back directly to barbarism. The prejudice against the application of reason to politics is well known. Everything in that province is supposed to succeed so much better when it is left to grow and mature of itself. If it grows as rapidly indeed as European armaments, there will not perhaps be much to complain of—but does it? The Powers that have sufficient authority to break the peace have undoubtedly decreased in number in our time. Whether this is a tendency that is bound to proceed farther is quite another thing. Even if it did, the result could hardly be superior to a voluntary federation and probably would be much inferior to it. Where then is the wisdom of applying the maxims of *laissez-faire* to a subject that it was never meant to fit? *Laissez-faire* is the proper

deduction from the principle that political economy is of no country, while the armaments and tariffs of separate State Governments are just the opposite. These are not only of each independent State, but are also necessarily a menace to each, and to such a degree as materially to retard international commerce and amity that ought and would naturally flow from the advances in science connected with steam and electricity.

Arbitration may and does relieve the pressure somewhat by removing subsidiary questions from the danger of becoming burning questions, provided the awards are loyally carried out, for which, by the way, there is little guarantee. An executive Government may enter into such a conference in good faith and intend to accept the award, but it requires a vote of its Parliament to obtain the means, and this vote it may not have authority or credit enough to obtain. Still, in many questions arbitration has worked well. It is only when it is put forward as a method of settling all questions that a caution must be given, since a failure to settle a question never leaves the parties exactly where they were. A failure, besides, would make people have doubts about what arbitration is eminently fitted to perform, and thus discourage what may be called its legitimate use. As arbitration has no appearance of supplanting law at home, though there too a valuable auxiliary, so neither can it be expected to cover the whole ground in international differences.

Imperial federation seems never to have got farther than optimistic generalities of the after-dinner order, chiefly because the first step prescribed is that the Home Government should re-enact protection in favour of the colonies. This prescription is recommended by the consideration that our war strength would be increased—a cause therefore of increases in all other European armaments to balance ours—and that, in the long run, our trade with the colonies might amount to as much as our total foreign trade now does. In the meantime, however, even upon this hypothesis, we must live, and that on a much smaller foreign trade than we are doing. The grain ships from the colonies, we have seen, would be liable to seizure just as foreign ships would be. This policy, therefore, even if it could be set agoing, unsettles much and settles nothing worth speaking about, for as soon as foreign armaments had increased in proportion to our increased strength, we should be in the same military position as we now occupy, while the utmost dream of the most sanguine would leave trade, after years of depression, just where it is. European federation is probably as easy of attainment as Imperial federation would be. Continental nations are so grievously oppressed with the present system that they would gladly adopt a plan by which they could escape from their present bondage without infringing their liberty to manage their own affairs in their own way. Federation would enable them to do this much more fully than they have

hitherto done, for the ever-present fear of invasion cannot fail to modify seriously the internal constitution of a State, particularly where the frontiers are quite open, as is the case with every European country except ours. An army consisting of the whole people, in arms, which is the modern form, is a more ominous thing for a country than the severest despotism, but the one must have a tendency to bring on the other by the very nature of military discipline. The mechanism of federation is well known and understood everywhere, and nothing remains to be done but to clear the cobwebs of protection and the exclusive colony mania out of people's minds. When it is fairly understood that the extension of exchanges consequent upon universal free trade would be as great probably as that caused by the discovery of America and that of the Cape route to the East put together; and that the rush for colonies means a rush for the extension of liabilities, which, if necessary at all, would be much better acquired and managed by a Federal Government for the good of all and at the charge of all, the obstacles to European federation will be overcome. Enabling acts to enter upon negotiations for federation, with a referendum to the national Parliaments, would soon bring about a practical solution. Federation would prevent nearly all causes of quarrels arising, or even being thought of, that grow like the hydra's heads under the present system, while it would effectively restrain those that might unfortunately occur from blazing out in war and rapine—no State being allowed to take the law into its own hands. So very great an improvement should bring into view such a colossal saving in finance alone as to attract even the least conversant with fiscal business, and at the same time furnish the means to cover amply the legitimate claims of vested interests.

In the matter of civil and religious liberty and the advance of the cause of peace there seems a disposition on the Continent among the best informed to look to this country for light and leading. This is a path that is more sublime perhaps than any other—certainly more honourable than the tawdriness of military eminence—and ought to inspire us with a desire to see our country leading civilisation into a system of freedom based upon laws made by the common consent of all—executed and maintained by the strength of all.

C. D. FARQUHARSON.

DIVORCE AND RE-MARRIAGE.

WE were within a few days of Christmas. Sickening accounts of Armenian horrors flowed in daily. President Cleveland's "warlike Message" came like a bolt from the blue, charged with infinite possibilities. In a lesser degree the Ashanti expedition was engaging public attention, as also was the mysterious conduct of Russia in the far East. In the midst of these, and of a host of minor matters of public interest, appeared the following short paragraph in the daily papers :

"A meeting of the English Church Union was held on Tuesday night in Kennington, when the Duke of Newcastle presided. Canon Knox Little moved that a petition be presented to the Bishops, praying them 'to take immediate and effectual steps to put a stop to the scandal resulting from the blessing of the Church being given by individual clergymen to the marriages of divorced persons contrary to the law of the Church of England, to the contempt of all ecclesiastical discipline, and to the grievous injury of Christian morality.' The resolution was unanimously carried."

It was not in large type, nor was any prominence given to it in the way of editorial comment or otherwise. Ninety-nine out of every hundred readers would probably have been puzzled to recall it to mind a week afterwards. The Anglican Church is not the Church universal. It is but one of many rival religious systems, even in England ; and it is not every Englishman who pious his faith to a religious system. The English Church Union only represents one school of thought among Anglicans, and of these it comprises but an unimportant fraction. It is an irresponsible body, speaking for itself alone. Then why call attention to its sayings and doings ?

Why indeed ? To seek an adequate answer to this very natural question, let us mentally remount the stream of Time and trace some of the evolutions through which the Church has passed. To-day we find her comparatively impotent for good or for evil ; but we know that her voice once commanded the unquestioning obedience of civilised Europe. History may not be effaced. In these days of universal toleration we may ignore the Church as we choose, but her precepts and discipline have none the less been infused into our social and legislative systems ; and nowhere is the influence of ecclesiastical discipline more noticeable than in our past and present laws relating to

marriage and divorce. If any one questions this, let me remind him or her that there is little or nothing in the Bible itself which could be urged in support of the rigid law of monogamy which prevails in Christian communities. On the contrary, there is much which might be urged for the relaxation of that law. Nevertheless it prevails, and is generally regarded as no less sacred and binding than are the Ten Commandments. It is distinctly a Church law, not being explicitly derived from the Founder of Christianity, but evolved in post-apostolic times when the voice of authority was more European and less Asiatic. Like most religious laws, it probably owes its wide acceptance to the fact that it harmonises with the welfare of those whom it rules. He who would seek to legalise polygamy among the European races would be met at the outset by the fundamental and hopeless difficulty of reconciling those races to that which natural instinct forbids. He might as well inculcate monogamy among cats or polygamy among Java sparrows. Religion apart, those matters are decided by instinctive natural promptings in different races of men as in different species of animals. Individuals may err, but not so the community.

Admitting, then, that the law of monogamy is inflexible, it may be asked why the wisdom of the Church should be called in question when she rebukes divorce and declares the marriage bond indissoluble until death. My answer is, that in so doing she exercises a spurious claim to divine authority, begs the whole question, and thereby inflicts all the untold hardship and mischief which error necessarily entails.

It is not long since Canon Knox Little published what he was good enough to call the doctrine of the Church of England on the subject of Divorce and Re-marriage. He admitted, fairly enough, that "the Church can only legislate for her own children"; but, seeing that the Church aspires to guide the State in this matter, it behoves us to examine the Church's prerogative very carefully before allowing it to influence civil legislation so far as to erect a barrier between the citizen and his natural rights. Unless the Church can prove her rights as against those of the citizen who disputes her teaching, the injured party is morally bound to stand his ground and to resist the aggression.

The Canon's disquisition is not before me, but I remember his drawing a marked distinction between marriage and holy matrimony. The former he treats as the secular transaction, inseparable from human history, and subject to the shifting laws and customs of different races and of different times: the latter he treats as an etherealised form of the same transaction and applicable only to baptized Christians. With this view I should not be disposed to quarrel, seeing that nobody is forced nowadays to adopt the Church's precept and practice. But when he proceeds to treat marriage as

absolutely indissoluble except by death—and would have the State impose this law upon believer and unbeliever alike—I at once join issue with him, and challenge him to produce his Church's credentials. These, I maintain, will not bear investigation. They assume a succession of miracles, not one of which can be attested, and each one of which is disputed by an increasing number of scientific investigators. In order to win our adhesion to the ecclesiastical superstructure of which these miracles form the foundation, we find the Church from the outset exalting credulity into a virtue and calling it Faith. But experience teaches us that credulity is a vice, or, at any rate, a weakness bordering on vice. The credulous person is always vanquished in the battle of life. Why, then, are we expected to be credulous concerning things unseen, and about which the teachers themselves are all more or less at variance? So, when the Church pronounces marriage indissoluble except by death, the fallacy is at once apparent because we see, in the light of everyday experience, marriage effectually dissolved by several causes other than death. Some of these are already recognised by the State, which accordingly grants divorce with freedom of re-marriage, the Church's protests notwithstanding. Other causes, not yet recognised by the State, may be conveniently classified as follows:

- Insanity;
- Habitual drunkenness;
- Felony, followed by long imprisonment;
- Desertion.

If any one thinks these causes exceptional or insufficient for justifying any extension of the divorce law, let him leisurely count up the number of such cases which have come within his personal knowledge. Writing in middle age, I can personally vouch for fourteen such cases, although my lot has been cast in a very uneventful sphere. In the aggregate there must be tens of thousands of such cases in England alone, each representing one or more blighted lives, and each silently pleading for the deliverance which divorce only can afford. If that deliverance be withheld, it is primarily because the Church has mistaught the State—rulers and people alike.

The Press does not report in detail all that Canon Knox Little told his Kennington audience, but in his published writings he treats of divorce as of something essentially degrading to public morality, doctrine apart. He cites Lord Campbell (prime author of the Divorce Act of 1857) as bewailing the magnitude of the monster he had called into existence, and stating that there were now 300 cases pending before the court, whereas the number of divorces in England had not previously exceeded an average of three per annum. Could judicial perversity further go! Let me remind the reader that, prior to 1857, a divorce could only be obtained by the difficult, slow,

and costly process of a special Act of Parliament. Seeking divorce means, metaphorically, washing a lot of dirty linen in public; and this the average Englishman would always rather avoid, even at the risk of lifelong endurance of the misery from which he seeks deliverance. Afflicted spouses do not go on to the housetops to proclaim their woes, nor do they combine to agitate for legislative deliverance. Yet their silent sufferings attracted the notice of the legislature, and the Divorce Act of 1857 became law. If proof of its necessity were required, surely the 300 suits pending before the newly constituted court were proof enough; and yet Lord Campbell bewailed these 300 suits as indicating decay of public morality! Presumably he would have seen the Act repealed, and the 300 suitors dismissed to their desolated homes, each one to work out for himself or herself the grave problem of Human Nature *versus* Christianity. The Canon generalises when he adds that the "miasma" of the Divorce Court since 1857 has been steadily infecting the moral atmosphere which the nation breathes. One would rather suppose that the public disgrace and exposure attaching to divorce proceedings would act as a powerful deterrent to those tempted to transgress. What the Canon fails to make clear is, how society suffers by the concentration of the "miasma" in a court where, at least, it is ventilated and done with, and the innocent party is freed from a foul bondage. Would society be any the better if the "miasma" were allowed to linger, and fester, and develop further mischief in private households throughout the land?

In other countries, and indeed in some of the British colonies, the divorce law has been extended so as to embrace the several causes of disunion which I have mentioned, Christian dogma and tradition notwithstanding. Some of us may yet live to see the law similarly extended in the mother-country; and I venture to predict that, when the time comes, not a few of the clergy will be found willing to waive the mystical tenets of their order and to throw in their vote with Nature and common sense. I have known wives become hopelessly insane, obliged to be put under professional restraint, and leaving their husbands in the prime of life and with children to bring up. Nature and common sense prompt the husband to seek another companion; but the State (taught by the Church) says he shall not. Accordingly he knows he may not pay his addresses to any "respectable" lady. He even ceases to be welcome where there are marriageable daughters. What wonder if he eventually accepts illicit companionship. And drunkenness. To say nothing of drunken husbands, I have known drunken wives, creatures unfit to consort with any human being, self-degraded below the level of beasts, and maintained by desolate husbands whose only hope is that death may speedily consummate the separation. I have known of husbands convicted of felony and sentenced to long terms of imprison-

ment, leaving virtuous and gifted wives destitute of substance and debarred from re-marriage. Of desertion, it is sufficient to remind the reader of the notorious Jackson case, wherein the Judges of Appeal gravely decided in effect that, by going through the marriage ceremony, a man may condemn himself to lifelong celibacy!

Cold comfort has the Church for the victims of these anomalies. She offers only barren sympathy, exhorting the victim to bear his cross with patience. But the victim may well retort that such counsel comes ill from a Church which has made the cross for him, and has helped to fasten it on his shoulders, and is ready to scourge him (socially and spiritually) as soon as he falls under its weight while she escorts him along the weary road to Golgotha. For such is virtually the true state of the case. Dogmatic Christianity has ever been cruel at bottom, and in this matter of indissoluble marriage the Church has been pitiless. It is mere fetich worship, but it passes for morality.

Concede for a moment that Holy Scripture is the revealed word of God. I pass over the incestuous abominations recorded in the Old Testament, and (according to the inspired writers) condoned and approved by the Almighty. Let us assume that the conflicting standards of morality, old and new, have somehow been explained and reconciled, and that the New Testament is a safe and authenticated guide. Not one word of it can be adduced in support of this inflexible theory of indissoluble marriage. Even if the recorded words of Christ were as explicit against divorce and re-marriage as Canon Knox Little assumes, it is to be remembered that Christ Himself was wont to interpret divine law, not as the inflexible mandate of a lofty despot, but as a benevolent code bestowed paternally and to be received filially and administered with occasional reasonable relaxation in conformity with man's nature and needs. Again and again He rebukes the rigid sticklers for mechanical conformity, reminding them that the spirit of the law must be obeyed no less than the letter; that the laws were made for man, not man for the laws. He further chides them for rendering the law ineffectual by the traditions with which they had hampered it, and for laying upon men burdens too grievous to be borne. True, a man may not put away his wife and marry another, but that is no valid excuse for chaining together in unnatural bondage those whom it has pleased God to put asunder. In the four classes of separation which I have mentioned the "putting away" is done either by the Law-giver himself, or by the offending spouse, certainly not by the aggrieved spouse whose cause I am pleading.

Take the case of a wife who has become hopelessly insane or incorrigibly drunken. The self-controlling power has passed from her. She is virtually dead—to her husband at least—and her body is become her tomb. Does it not occur to our spiritual guides that

there is something revoltingly immoral—not to say criminal—in the two alternatives which they offer to the bereaved husband, viz., renewed cohabitation or unwilling celibacy? Criminal is not too strong a word as applied to cases of constitutional insanity, for here arises the question of heredity and of the taint which may be transmitted to unnumbered generations. The Church which fosters this horror may cease to execrate Herod, for he was merciful as compared with her. I can conceive nothing more infernal than the lot of a husband in humble circumstances and placed in this dilemma. It frequently happens that the wife's insanity or drunkenness is intermittent, with deceptive lucid intervals; or it may be lacking in the overt signs which doctors require before they will grant the needful certificates for removal and detention. Private homes and asylums are unavailable for lack of means. She must, therefore, continue to abide under the husband's roof; children of tender years are at her mercy; friends are alienated, and the husband must go to his daily work. Common sense demands that so revolting a union be dissolved in mercy to the living and to the yet unborn. And as time goes on, the needful separation having been somehow effected, the desolate husband naturally casts his eyes on a fair and promising young woman to fill the vacant place. What respect is he likely to feel for the statute laws which stand between him and the object of his blameless affection? And how much filial devotion is he likely to cherish for the "spiritual mother" on whose precepts those laws have been moulded? His only natural resource is in an illicit union which will set an evil example to those about him. Thus does the Church foster the very immorality which she affects to denounce.

Let the anomaly be ever so glaring, it counts for nothing with your professional Churchman. To him dogma is vital, and the woes of humanity must be suffered for dogma's sake. Yet the Church's ministers are constantly brought face to face with cases such as I have instanced. If one could but appeal to their human side, these clerics might do good service in initiating a wholesome scheme of reform. The Church has her synods and convocations, not to mention a House of Laymen and an annual Congress. Here are abundant opportunities for discussing and perfecting a scheme for extension of the divorce laws, which scheme—with plentiful safeguards against injustice and abuses—might then be submitted to the legislature with fair prospect of its adoption. Such, however, does not appear to be the Church's mission. Wrapped up in her own self-righteous traditions, she must needs quarrel with the State for having even passed the very inadequate Act of 1857; and she grudges the use of her altars even for the re-marriage of the innocent divorced party.

Just as the Church denounces divorce to-day, so did she in her

palmy days—when faith was willing and unquestioning—denounce the heinous sin of witchcraft, equally on scriptural authority. Pope Innocent VIII., in 1484, published a bull directing inquisitors to be vigilant in searching out and punishing those guilty of this crime. As a result, it is computed that not less than 100,000 victims must have suffered, in Germany alone, down to 1749, when the last execution took place at Würzburg. The reformed Church of England and the Protestant sects of Switzerland, Scotland, and America were all equally active in this branch of persecution. In England the number of victims is estimated at 30,000, and the barbarous law remained in force down to 1736. So much for the Church as an inspired guide of men.

I charge the Church, Catholic and Protestant alike, with having misused her influence to deceive the multitude. Just as she fostered the cruelty of witch-hunting until man's reason revolted, so has she wrought untold sorrow throughout our land by preaching this superstition as to the absolute indissolubility of marriage, and by falsely representing divorce as an accursed thing.

Some one may ask why the legislature comparatively free now from clerical influence—does not adjust the divorce law to the manifest needs in question. The reasons are manifold. First and foremost, superstitions linger long and die hard. The shrewdest man of business—if this question be sprung upon him unexpectedly—will give his judgment against reform; not because he is consciously prejudiced, but because he has always been taught that divorce is an essential evil, or at least something disreputable; and he takes it for granted that it is so. Secondly, no Government would stake its existence on a measure so controversial, and for which the public mind seems so unprepared. The initiative would have to be taken by the unhappy "private member," at the risk of his being dubbed a faddist, and whose bill (if it survived the ordeal of ballot) would be blocked, talked out, or otherwise rendered abortive by prejudiced opponents. The fate of the bill for legalisation of marriage with a deceased wife's sister is an instructive example of the long and weary years which may elapse before an obviously needed reform can be accomplished in face of fanciful opposition. Lastly, the reform is needed on behalf of a class of persons who, by the delicate nature of their sorrow, are precluded from anything like collective agitation, without which redress is seldom obtainable nowadays. The bereaved husband, for the same reason, cannot go and heckle the candidate who solicits his vote. The elected member knows nothing of the matter, nor has it been brought to his notice; and, if it had been, he would not feel personally qualified to take the initiative in so grave a social matter. For the moment no votes depend upon it; it is no business of his. So the Divorce Court continues to withhold freedom of re-marriage from those who, having done no wrong,

are by act of God truly and effectually divorced; but it daily grants this freedom to those who, having wantonly offended, are morally disqualified for the privilege. Could a more disgraceful anomaly mar our national history in the closing years of this boasted nineteenth century!

Meanwhile, in the deep Inferno of domestic misery—as planned by the Church and executed by the State—lie tens of thousands of our fellow-countrymen and countrywomen to whom this desired reform would be as resurrection from the dead. Silently they must needs suffer their unmerited torment and desolation, while the gay world around them lives and loves, marries and is given in marriage.

Yet we may live to see a strange thing. What if two adventurous spirits should combine to do for themselves what the law fails to do for them! I picture to myself an affectionate couple desirous to consummate their happiness in all self-respect, and with the publicity which honourable marriage demands. Church and State alike frown them away, because one of the contracting parties is—by a legal fiction—declared to be married already. True, they can take ship for one of the Australian colonies where more enlightened laws prevail, and can there be domiciled, after which the disqualified party can enter his suit for legal divorce, and for freedom to re-marry in complete legal form and under the British flag. But is it really needful for them to adopt this roundabout and costly process? How hopeless seemed the task which Columbus set himself when he undertook to make the egg stand on end, and how unexpectedly simple was its accomplishment!

Let us suppose a form of contract drawn up by a competent lawyer somewhat on the following plan:

PREAMBLE.

A and B desire to unite as husband and wife, but are debarred from so doing in legal form by reason of A's first wife being still alive. She has been separately maintained at A's charge for . . . years past, by reason of her insanity [habitual drunkenness] [misconduct] which then and thenceforward rendered her unfit for conjugal privileges and responsibilities.

COVENANT.

A and B therefore undertake jointly to adopt the compound surname of A — B —, and to publicly advertise to that effect in certain specified newspapers. They further agree to cohabit from this day forward, and to fulfil faithfully towards each other the several obligations of husband and wife. It is agreed that, in the event of A's first wife dying while the present covenant remains in force—or in the event of legislative enactment allowing the ceremonial marriage of A in prescribed legal form, A shall at once take the needful steps to effect such marriage with B. He binds himself under penalty of . . . so to do. Neither of the contracting parties may singly violate the terms of this contract without incurring [here specify the penalty agreed].

[Here might follow provisions for the custody of property owned by the contracting parties, and for its equitable disposal in all eventualities.]

Suppose such a deed to be dated, stamped, signed, attested by responsible witnesses, and put in execution. I venture to think it would be binding in law, and would be every bit as sacred as any marriage contracted before parson or registrar. Perhaps even more sacred: for a competent lawyer could at least make it equally binding on both parties, which the ordinary marriage vow is not. Such is my humble conception of marriage by contract as a possibility: the which—being solemnly and publicly executed—should command full social recognition and respect. In this connection, I am reminded that, for several generations, the Quakers contracted marriages which were invalid in law rather than resort to the churches. Presumably also the children born to them were illegitimate in law; but it does not appear that they were held in social dishonour on that account. Eventually the legislature provided for the civil recognition of their marriages. And this leads me to another reflection.

Perhaps it is not quite reasonable to look to the legislature to initiate the desired reform. Marriage laws and customs originate with the people, not with the legislature. The province of the legislature is rather to confirm, regulate, and modify the matrimonial laws and customs which it finds in vogue. Thus, if marriage by contract—on some such lines as I have sketched out—were found to be popular, and to work well, to promote and safeguard the happiness of the contracting parties, and to command social respect, then the legislature could deal with the question in the light of evidence and experience. Furthermore, there is this to be considered: that the demand for divorce is ever on the increase, and we constantly hear of the Court being unequal to the strain upon its functions. Now, if this be the result of the very inadequate measure of 1857, what would be the result of an extension of the law in the direction I have indicated? It would at once bring forward tens of thousands anxious to avail themselves of the proffered relief. Therefore, unless very special provision were made for such a glut of judicial business, the reform would hardly benefit 1 per cent. of those most concerned. The others would grow old while awaiting their turn, and would still be left meanwhile to solve the great problem for themselves.

I do not proffer these remarks as absolving our legislators from their obvious duty in this matter, but only to demonstrate that the solution of the question lies, in the last resort, with the individual citizen. I would even go further in the direction of reform, and include those numerous cases where the separation of husband and wife has been mutually agreed and unbrokenly maintained—say, during a period of three years. Three years is an interval in which the contracting parties may be supposed to have made up their minds on the subject; and divorce would then give reasonable effect

to their mature resolve. In all these cases it is impossible to insist too strongly on the immorality of coercing two reasonable beings into living in unnatural and unwilling union. At present the law requires that one of them shall overtly commit a grave offence before it will concede the desired freedom.

As to Churchmen and their scruples, let it suffice that the Church is there for them to obey or to disregard as they choose. They must allow ordinary men and women to shake off the remaining shackles of mysticism and superstition and to take life as they find it, not as the clerical devotee thinks it ought to be. The latter is well intentioned and therefore deserving of our respect and esteem; but he has proved himself mistaken over and over again, and therefore cannot be trusted implicitly in matters of public and social welfare. Even in this question of divorce and re-marriage it is difficult to reconcile Canon Knox Little's denunciations with the fact that, in A.D. 726, Pope Gregory II. issued a decretal, allowing a man to marry a second wife, "if the first were infirm and incapable of conjugal functions." Canon Knox Little would probably adduce arguments to show that the Papal decretal was not the voice of the Church. But it was promulgated by the only Church our forefathers knew. Hence it appears that baptized Englishmen were expressly permitted to do in the seventh century what is expressly forbidden to them in the nineteenth century. To crown the absurdity, let me add that, in several of the North American States and in certain of the British colonies, provision has been made by statute for the divorce and re-marriage of persons situated as I have described, so that the Englishman of to-day may—without separating himself from race and kindred—legally do in one land what is expressly forbidden in another. And I have yet to learn that the episcopal Churches in those distant lands would withhold the sacraments from him for so doing, albeit the said Churches are in actual and visible union with the mother Church of England. So much for the precepts of a Church whose code of morals shifts and varies as does its code of doctrine.

The Anglican clergy of to-day are free from the curse of enforced celibacy which formerly afflicted their order. Let them beware how they inflict—or help to inflict—the like curse on any portion of the people. Marriage is penalised by the unnatural anomalies to which I have called attention; it becomes a cruel and deadly snare for many an unoffending man or woman who embraces it supposing it to be the acme of human happiness, as, indeed a beneficent Creator intended it should be. With such object lessons before him, a prudent young man is not reasonably to be blamed if he avoids the snare, preferring to fulfil his destiny amid the safer comforts of club life and concubinage.

With all his zeal for the literal adoption of scriptural precept, the

Anglican priest is a standing proof that those precepts can only be followed in the light of experience and common sense. He wisely takes some thought for the morrow, does not turn his cheek to the smiter, nor give his coat to the thief who steals his cloak. As a wise and honest man he puts money in his purse before starting on a journey. And if he were invited to prove his faith according to the test prescribed in St. Mark's Gospel, chapter xvi., v. 18, he would refuse outright ; he would neither handle the snake nor drink the poison. Else would the jury bring in a verdict of *felo de se*, and Mother Church herself would disown him, and would refuse him Christian burial.

J. A. SEWELL.

THE VOICE OF WOMAN.

It is only during the last twenty years or so that the voice of woman has really been heard in literature. The women who distinguished themselves as writers before that time wrote under the influence of the social laws and literature which had been established by male feeling—because it was their interest to do so. Being entirely dependent on marriage as a profession, the woman of the past found it her interest to train herself in those qualities which made her attractive to men, humility being conspicuous among them. Even Charlotte Brönte, one of the most original and independent of women writers, stoutly maintained the inferiority of women.

This necessity for meeting the demands of the marriage market has given to the sex an artificial character of subservience and servility which I suppose was pleasing to the men of the past, and is still to a large number; but I observe that for the most part the men of the present day are more ready to admire women of an independent turn of mind. The effects of this system showed themselves in many ways, notably in the writings of literary women, who always wrote from a masculine point of view, and preached subserviency to their own sex. A very good example of this style of writing is Mdme. Cottin's *Exiles of Siberia*, in which the author is very careful to point out the superior wisdom of Elizabeth's father as compared with her mother—the mother being, at the same time, all that a mother ought to be. It showed itself in the special training which was formerly given to girls, who were taught chiefly showy accomplishments, which were likely to make them attractive to men, with merely a smattering of serious knowledge. Modesty, gentleness, and humility were much insisted on as suitable feminine qualifications.

It shows itself still in the readiness of women to blame one another, especially those among them who have fallen from the path of virtue, while they overlook the shortcomings of men.

It shows itself in the underhand arts practised by many women, more especially in the working classes, who do not scruple to deceive their husbands in order to carry on in private something which he has forbidden—the man, all the while, believing, in a blustering sort of way, that he is master in his own house. The woman does

this in order to preserve the domestic peace, and have her own way at the same time.

The woman who is so indignant when any one tries to prevent her husband beating her is another result of this teaching.

Man has always posed as the protector of the weaker sex ; but, with the best intentions, is it possible that he can thoroughly understand the interests of a creature different from himself, without consulting her opinion ? The law which denied property to married women proved that he did not. Now, the woman of the present day has suddenly discovered that she has opinions of her own respecting her welfare ; and those men and women who deride the extravagance of some of the female writers of our times would do well, before they scoff, to consider calmly what these women have to say, and see if there is any cause for their complaints. Until now, men have had it all their own way in literature ; and what they have written about women may be broadly divided under three heads—the first division being by far the largest.

1. Raptures written by men who are in love about the beauty and graces of women.

2. Complaints of married men about the trials of domestic life and the unreasonableness of women. (Good examples may be found in some of Lord Lytton's novels.)

3. Ill-natured sneers at old maids or women who are supposed to wish to marry. (Such as those written by Dickens and Smollett.)

Of course, there are some notable exceptions to this rule, such as Solomon's description of the virtuous woman.

Now, I do not for a moment suppose that the writings which I have mentioned show the average feeling of men towards women. The great majority of the men who are contented with their lot do not find it necessary to say so. We all know that the unfortunate have more to tell than the fortunate. The lover writes because he has not obtained what he desires. But I wish to point out that the women who were dissatisfied with their lot were obliged to make their complaints in private, to each other, because public feeling was such that if a wife did not agree with her husband she was blamed. The woman who complained of ceaseless child-bearing was told by husband and doctor that it was "the will of God" that she should spend her whole life in producing children. We see by the writings of Shakespeare how much meekness and subserviency was expected from a wife in his time. She must be ready to forgive any insult or backsliding on the part of her husband, being herself required to be blameless. No matter how badly he has treated her, she is ready to beg him, on her knees it may be, to receive her back again, because her honour and reputation depend on her being recognised as his wife. There is another, and still more degraded,

modern type of heroine, who, I fancy, exists only in the imaginations of male poets and novelists. This class of woman does not beg for her reputation ; she is ready to sacrifice reputation, honour, happiness, life, everything that is hers, and a good deal that is not hers, for the sake of the man she loves, without receiving anything in return. Such an one is "Joan Haste." But there is no place for self-respect in the manners and customs which owe their being to the marriage laws. Even at the present day, a woman whose husband has been unfaithful to her is allowed no redress. Dr. Johnson distinctly stated that he would not receive back a daughter who left her husband on these grounds, because he considered that it would be her own fault that she had not succeeded in pleasing him !

The artificial distinction conferred by society on the married woman as compared with the unmarried, combined with the difficulty of qualifying themselves for other professions, is, of course, the great inducement to marriage with the majority of women, as very many women, who do not care for domestic life, would greatly prefer independence and liberty. But they marry because society expects it of them, and tempts them with the promise of its favours.

The unmarried woman who is deserted by her lover has, of course, always been a scapegoat in the eyes of society, and it is only since George Eliot took up her cause that it has become the fashion to interest ourselves in her. But here I must make a small exception, as there are several very pathetic Scotch and French ballads descriptive of her sorrows. And the most eloquent of these, "Ye Banks and Braes of Bonnie Doon," was written by a man. In a French ballad in the same style, which is not generally known, we have :

"Je veux que la rose
Soit encore au rosier ;
Et que le rosier
Soit encore à planter."

That such a woman, having become an outcast through the fault of a man, should be restored to her place in society by receiving the name of the villain who has injured her, is, I think, the most revolting of the principles which have been evolved from the marriage system. A perfect instance of the absurdity of this rule is *My Little Girl*, by Walter Besant. The heroine has been deceived by a false marriage and deserted. Her betrayer is then ordered to marry her by another woman, who is supposed to be perfect. *They separate directly the ceremony is over.* Note this: the man was not worthy to live with her ; and yet it was only by his deigning to confer his name on her that she could regain her self-respect and the respect of others ! What a miserable, poor-spirited creature must a woman be who could

submit to such a ceremony ! But the absurdest part of the story has yet to come ; for the poor villain has to be killed off in order to leave the girl at liberty to marry a man who is worthy of her !

We see the same principle illustrated in *The Vicar of Wakefield*, though not so fully.

But now those women who dare to make complaint of existing social institutions are told that they wish to overthrow morality and order, and introduce a state of chaos. The question is, Are we living just now in a state of morality and order ? Are there no social abuses that need to be rooted up and done away with ? Are there no social laws that press unjustly on the hitherto silent part of the community ? Now that so many complaints have been made, all these questions ought to be considered. As women have, on the whole, obediently conformed to the character which was required of them for six thousand years or so, I think that now that they have begun to announce publicly that they have opinions of their own, they are due, at the very least, a fair hearing.

H. E. HARVEY.

DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION.

FOR more than three years strife has been rampant in the London and other School Boards over the question: "Shall religion be taught in the Board schools, and what is that religion to be?" After the last elections a sort of truce had set in, but the proposal made by the Rev. Price Hughes at the Grindelwald Conference, to have as a compromise the Apostles' Creed taught, has stirred the strife up again, and here we see in several papers the old combat cropping up afresh. While on one side the representatives of the Church maintain that it should be clearly defined what sort of Christian religion is to be taught, the Nonconformists as a body will stick to the so-called compromise, another set of advocates holding out for the simple reading of the Bible without comments or, as some have it, exclude religious teaching from the schools altogether.

But the remarkable fact is, that one and all seem to forget entirely the purpose for which School Boards and schools all over the kingdom were established. A person not knowing the ins and outs of the controversy and the history of the educational movement, and reading the present correspondence, might easily form the conclusion that it had been found that the religious and moral teaching of the youth of the country having been deemed deficient, the clergy had been called upon some thirty years ago to take measures to improve it, and they having failed to agree, Parliament had the solution taken into its own hands and taken care that a little secular education should be thrown in, just to give it a flavour. If such had been the case, the matter would look black enough for the clergy of all denominations, for it would then only prove that, being for centuries the only teaching body, they had neglected their duty; they had been teaching their creeds and dogmas to their hearts' content without interference, and the result would have been proved disastrous. But, as a matter of fact, religion and morals had nothing to do with the matter; and it is as well to recall to the mind of the general public what led to the passing of the Education Act of 1870.

At the outset it must appear remarkable that such an Act should have passed the legislature so easily, with the assent of all parties, in spite of the fact that, not only had there been no special demand for it, but that, as it turned out, the bulk of the people were against

the education of the masses ; yes, the people affected were so adverse to sending their children to school that the summonses for non-attendance accumulated sometimes to thousands in one district, and it took nearly twenty years, that is until almost a new generation had sprung up, before this legal pressure became less necessary. It is true that there had always been men who had advocated general education, to wit, the late Mr. Forster himself ; but the movement for such a desirable object made very slow progress indeed, when, all of a sudden, the Act passed and came into operation in spite of the resistance of the clergy and others. What then led up to this result ? To get at it we must look a little into the history of the past.

After the Napoleonic wars it was found that the whole of the Continent of Europe was utterly ruined and its resources exhausted ; trade, manufacture, and even agriculture stood at a very low ebb, and so it came to pass that England, not having had war carried unto its own soil, became for nearly fifty years the sole manufacturer and trader for the world, America, then too young a country, of course not being in the running. But, by-and-by, towards the year 1860, when the different countries of the Continent had recovered, then English people were astonished at suddenly finding not only a competition, but a successful competition, springing up, and it appeared that two nations in particular were the successful competitors, viz., the Germans and the Swiss. Whatever the popular outcry against this sudden interference with what many people considered their monopoly was, statesmen and people who looked a little deeper under the surface, saw clearly that the two successfully competing nations were the very ones who had paid special attention to education. That alone would clearly not have been sufficient to move the mass of the English people ; but when Prussia was so remarkably successful in her short and sharp struggle with Austria in 1866, and the cry went forth, " The schoolmaster has won the battles," then it was that men were moved. For be it remembered that, after all, nothing speaks so eloquently to the English heart as a successful fight. Then it was that the cry for education was raised in England, and within three years Mr. Forster had passed his Education Act. This having been in force only about twenty-four years, it can scarcely be expected that we have come up yet to the standard of people who have been at it a hundred years or more. Have we then time to throw away on experiments ? We should say emphatically, No ! On the contrary, we have no time to lose if we want to keep up our position in trade and manufacture. This is the real *crux* of the question.

But the clergy have their own axe to grind and, come what may, they will have us attend to that axe first. Unfortunately they are in this country still a power, and it behoves every thinking man

to fight tooth and nail against their domination. If they wish to persuade the people that the welfare of future generations depends upon the children of the present being brought up in a certain religion, let them by all means give religious instruction to which parents consent, but do not let them interfere with that secular instruction which in these times is indispensable for the struggle of life.

Now we think everybody is aware, or at least nobody will seriously dispute the proposition, that at the present time the Germans are our most formidable rivals ; and it is perhaps worth while to look into their mode of education, and how they arrived at their success. Let it not be thought that in their case the clergy did not make the same stand against and did not try to interfere in the same way with education, and the manner in which they were kept at bay is instructive and well worth considering.

To begin with, there is not, and never has been, such a thing as a general Education Act for the whole of Germany. Cult has always been treated as a home-rule question for each State of the Empire or Confederation. Of the Southern States, Wurtemberg and Baden have ever been to the front in educational matters, and Bavaria, although thoroughly Roman Catholic, has not been far behind ; in the kingdom of Saxony the religious question never stood in the way, by the curious circumstance that, while the inhabitants were for the most part Protestant, or belonged to some sect or another, the Court for more than 100 years has been Roman Catholic, and, as a natural consequence, all being anxious for the general education of the people, all had also to make mutual concessions, and between them the religious question fell into the background. In the smaller States of Mid-Germany the princes almost to a man lived only for art and science, and their people have been, and are still, at the head in education.

There remains, then, Prussia, which, although not long ago the weaker Power, successfully ousted Austria from Germany, and stands to-day powerfully at the head of all the States. Well, the history of education in Prussia, to which she undoubtedly owes her power, should be for us most instructive.

The first stimulus to education was given by the Great Elector, immediately after the Thirty Years' War—that is, about 200 years ago. His son, the first king, also patronised it to some extent, but the next king, the father of the Great Frederick, although in all other matters very niggardly, was the first monarch of Prussia who contributed £50,000 a year from the State coffers. Then came Frederick the Great, and, as soon as he found time, he attended to the educational requirements of his nation. He was led to this by a curious circumstance, which it is worth recording. Under his predecessors the Jews had been living under great disabilities, and

were not allowed to live in the capital, nor even stop there for a night. Moses Mendelssohn, the great philosopher, a grand-uncle of the composer, when arriving as a youth in Berlin had been obliged to leave the town every night, according to the law, like all other Jews. But Mendelssohn, although much grieved, was nothing daunted, and, instead of complaining, set to work to discover the cause of the restriction. The result of his investigation was the conclusion that only one means would lead to a quick alteration. Let his co-religionists be only better educated than their Christian neighbours, and they would soon reach equality of treatment. He at once set to work, and before long a good system of education amongst the Jews was everywhere established. The outcome was magical. Before many years were over one restriction after another was removed, until Frederick II., on ascension, put them on an equality, in accordance with his grand saying, "In my country every one may go to heaven in his own fashion!" But Mendelssohn's reputation and his doings had reached the ears of the King, who sent for the philosopher, in order to make the acquaintance of that remarkable man. The outcome of that meeting was that Frederick determined at once to introduce a general system of education. He instructed Haeckel, a pupil of Pestalozzi, to draw up a general Education Act; and, when approved of, to carry it into effect. But here arose the first difficulty with the parsons; the clergy up to then having been considered the only proper teachers, Haeckel naturally arranged his Act accordingly. But Frederick, being a pronounced freethinker, would have education first and religion afterwards. There was a block, and then a compromise to this effect: Clergymen might still be teachers, provided they went through a special training of four years' duration, and passed a proper special examination as teachers. As to religious instruction, Frederick thought too little of it to trouble himself about that, and said they might do as they liked.

Under his successors, and during the Napoleonic wars, education, like manufactures, had a bad time of it; but when, after the Treaty of Vienna, such great statesmen as Stein, Hardenberg, and Wilh. v. Humboldt (as Minister of Education) came to the front, matters took a different turn.

It had been noticed that during what was called the great Liberation War, that is from 1812-1815, the students of the universities and gymnasia had played a most important part; it had been found that they, like the educated and free Greeks of old, who were a match for Alexander's untutored hordes, were worth ten times their number without education, and W. v. Humboldt got a free hand to establish a more extended school system; there was only one condition, and that was, the best possible education, to be compulsory. He set to work, and before long towns and municipi-

palities vied with the State in the establishment of schools. Each wanted to have the best; the question of money and costs was considered as secondary. As to the religious question, that was quickly shunted, and left to solve itself. The principal features of the system were these:

All schools, public or private, were to be under equal supervision of the State, and nobody could be a teacher anywhere unless certified; parsons and priests might be teachers, but again under the same conditions as laid down under Frederick.

No private school could have assistance from public funds. Municipal schools had to be maintained by the towns to which they belonged.

Religious instruction was to be relegated entirely to the clergy, who might have the use of the schoolrooms after school hours, and no child could be compelled to attend. There were only two Christian sects to be acknowledged, the one Roman Catholic and the other Protestant, which should include Dissenters.

As to the Jews, they might have their own schools still, which, by-the-by, were of the best, or they might attend the others, which to a great extent they did.

Bible teaching was to be entirely excluded during school hours, but instead of that Biblical history was to be taught, the same as Greek or Roman history, but this was to be combined with general moral lessons.

Denominational schools might be kept up, but would be on no account subsidised by the State.

As school inspectors, only such men were eligible as had been trained as teachers, but clergymen were entirely excluded from that office.

As to universities, they were to have each a theological faculty, either Protestant or Roman Catholic; but in all other respects religion and religious tests were entirely excluded: no chapels, no chaplains, no prayers!

With regard to fees, they were one and all fixed at a very low rate, and any parent claiming exemption might have it for the asking. To do the people justice, it should be stated that few took advantage of this, for, as the lawgivers had rightly calculated, no man or woman, unless under great pressure, liked to present themselves as paupers, although not the slightest stigma would attach to parent or child for non-payment.

These measures were entirely successful, and all went well for more than a generation; but the year 1848 brought its troubles to education; after the revolution of that time came a reaction, and with it a reactionary Landtag and Ministry. In 1850 Stahl, Gerlach and Hengstenberg, surnamed the "Black Brigade," became successively Ministers of Education, and under them parsons and

priests raised their heads again and got the control of the educational establishments. Pietism, Ultramontaniam, and Despotism worked hand in hand, and from that time to 1872 may be considered the dark age of education in Prussia.

One thing should be mentioned here that is of great interest to all who value good education in England. From the time of Humboldt to 1850 it had been a special rule and instruction to teachers, in accordance with the teachings of Pestalozzi and Froebel, to cultivate principally the minds of the children, in fact in particular to improve and exercise their thinking powers; simply learning something by heart was tabooed. Froebel in particular brought all his great powers as a pedagogue to bear in that direction. But the first thing that the reactionary clergy did was to alter this into the cramming system; for nothing was so dear to their heart as to feed the children with learning Bible verses by heart, and to extend a similar system to other subjects.

Thus matters remained till 1872, and would possibly have remained much longer, had not, as luck would have it, the Roman Catholic priests roused Bismarck's ire by preaching and agitating against the unification of Germany and the assumption of what they called an heretic power as its head. Falk was called in as Minister of Education and, apart from other measures, all clergy, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, were bundled out of the schools. The history of the *Kulturkampf* is too well known to want a repetition, but, whatever was the result in other directions, the clergy have not been able to get any control of the educational system in Prussia again. And let it be remembered that the above does not only relate to the lower, but also to the higher grade schools, such as Realschulen, Gymnasias, and even Universities. The whole *raison d'être* of the so-called Ultramontane party, which is without doubt a power in the German Reichstag, is only to regain that lost control throughout the Fatherland; but as far as Prussia goes, which in internal matters is ruled by a rather reactionary Parliament, another special attempt was made for the purpose in 1892. The then Minister of Cult, v. Zedlitz-Neukirch, reported to the King that there was a general desire to see the Bible and religious instruction again introduced into the schools, and got his permission to lay before the Prussian Landtag a Bill containing measures in accordance with that wish. Count Caprivi, holding then besides the office of Chancellor of the Empire also that of President of the Prussian Ministry, himself introduced that Bill in a great speech, in which he laid particular stress on the fact that, in consequence of the Bible being excluded from the schools, the mass of the people had become atheistical, which to him meant socialistic; that such a state of things ought to be altered, and he therefore strongly

insisted on its acceptance by the Lower House. The above statement had no doubt a deal of truth in it, and it is difficult to say what the fate of the Bill might have been had not the unexpected happened. Scarcely were its contents generally known when an outcry arose among the people. *No Pietism again.* Meetings were held everywhere to protest, and petitions against it sent from all quarters to the astonished King. But the final quietus to the intended legislation was given by a petition against it from the professors of the University of Berlin; of the number of eighty-four no fewer than seventy-five had signed it, and they earnestly prayed that on no account should Bible teaching be introduced into the schools again, but the measure should be at once withdrawn. They stated that things had gone on first class hitherto, and an alteration would only lead to confusion. The remarkable thing about this petition was that its signatories included all the professors of theology, and its importance, in itself great enough, was still enhanced by the statement that the remaining nine also would have signed it but for the fact that they were in special State service and *on that account only* thought it their duty to withhold their signatures, while entirely agreeing with the contents of the documents.

The effect of this petition, added to the general uproar, was electric. The King immediately sent for the Minister of Cult and asked for an explanation, and the only possible excuse being that he had been himself deceived as to the people's wishes, he was ignominiously dismissed, and, of course, the Bill withdrawn. Shortly afterwards Count Caprivi relinquished the post of Minister-President, under the pretence of its being too onerous to hold two such important offices at the same time. It need scarcely be said that this occurrence put an end to all further efforts on the part of the clergy for a long time to come.

To show the line of thought which moves University men in these matters in Prussia, we may quote an utterance of Professor Ed. Zeller, Lecturer on Greek Philosophy at the University of Berlin, in a lecture on Church and State, given in 1873 during the Kulturkampf. He said: "The moral influence of the teacher on his scholars is so little attached to a dogmatic confession that, on the contrary, it must be marked out as a pedagogic demand of modern training, *to plant in them the moral feeling, the consciousness of right and the sense of universal love of man, independently of all dogmatic suppositions.*"

Switzerland long ago followed exactly in the footsteps of Prussia, and in many ways improved upon the Prussian methods of education, making it not only general and undenominational, but also entirely free to all from the lowest schools to Universities.

France adopted, after her defeat in 1870-71, a similar course, and has, as is well known, made the exclusion of religious instruction

from new schools, more strict than any of her models. Matthew Arnold was of opinion that the French method, although one of the youngest, was the most efficient, and to be highly commended.

Now, we may look at it from whatever point of view we like, there stand out clearly two lessons to all who will see, and they are (1) that wherever and whenever the clergy of any denomination have had the opportunity and the power to interfere in educational matters, then and there education has been checked; and (2) that the people whom we now most complain of as our competitors are persuaded that they have attained their present position principally in consequence of politely turning religious instruction out of their public schools, and relegating it to its proper place—viz., to special Church institutions.

If there are any number of people who are of opinion that their children can learn their three R's, or, for that matter, anything else, better by mixing a dose of religious matter of any kind with it, let them by all means have schools of their own, in which everything is taught in accordance with their predilections; but it is but reasonable that they should bear the cost of their idiosyncrasies themselves, and not require the State—*i.e.*, the people at large, many of whom disapprove of their methods—to help them in their peculiar ideas. This surely is but fair, and clear to anybody but themselves.

But then comes in the idea: Religion must be taught, and that religion must be the Christian faith. Yes; there just comes the *crux*! The question at once arises, What is the Christian faith which you mean? And over this point all the wrangling goes on.

Now I cannot do better than quote the utterance of a gentleman who is well qualified to give an opinion, and who cannot be suspected of being irreligious, on the matter.

It is well known that a number of Oxford men have, during the last few years, established a number of clubs for working boys, for the purpose not only of keeping them out of mischief during the evening by properly directed social intercourse, but also to instruct them in many things that may be useful to them in after life. Having had many opportunities to come into contact with these clubs, I can but affirm that they are a great blessing to the youngsters, and no amount of praise is sufficient to bestow upon the men who devote all their leisure and a great deal of their income, too, to so laudable a work. It so happens that nearly all these gentlemen are High Churchmen. Said one of them in a conversation on the religious difficulty in the Board schools:

"I have no patience with the people who will maintain that religion must be taught in the public schools. Here do we get boys joining us at all ages from ten to fifteen, and, as we think that they should be instructed in the tenets of the Christian religion, we give the boys every Sunday one half-hour's instruction in it. Well,

we find that, when they join for the winter season in September, they are perfectly ready by Easter to be confirmed. If, then, we can do so much with half-an-hour's instruction on Sundays in six months, what reason is there for *any* clergy to maintain that it should take years to initiate them in the schools, and that they should throw the task, which belongs to them, on the schoolmaster? They must surely have another ulterior object in view."

And I can but entirely agree with those remarks. It is surely time that common-sense should prevail, and education in the Board schools be dominated simply by the idea to turn the children out fit in every way in secular matters, by which they have, after all, to make their living. Religion, and the Bible with it, ought to be entirely excluded. It is clear enough that it must come to that in the end, and the Coxheads, Diggles, Rileys, &c., do their best to hasten the day. Anyhow, the time seems to have come when the so-called compromise is doomed.

A. G. HERZFELD.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonising with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

THE "ETERNAL HOPE" DELUSION.

IN the WESTMINSTER for August appeared an article by "A London Clergyman," entitled "The Case against 'Eternal Punishment.'" This reply takes exactly the opposite view of the subject, leaving it for the reader to decide which argument best commends itself to his intelligence, conscience, and—we may be allowed, perhaps, to add—his common sense.

It is gratifying to observe throughout the article above alluded to that the writer evidently believes in the Divinity of our Lord, and, consequently, holds—in common with all believers—the authority of Christ as final.

Were this not so, all further discussion would be hopeless. The authority of Christ, once admitted as common ground or basis for belief, the entire question must rest upon the teaching of Christ, what our Lord did, or did not, say upon this awful subject.

What, then, were the words of Christ, and the habitual teaching of our Lord and His chosen Apostles, who "were with Him from the beginning," and received the Holy Ghost and His commission to preach to all nations?

Instead of verbal quibbles as to Greek words, what are the general, sustained warnings of Christ on this dread subject?

Let us boldly confront the following, and let us see if there is in our Lord's teaching the slightest hint of "eternal hope" for the impenitent wicked to be found in them:

"Then one saith unto Him, Lord, are there few that be saved? And He saith unto them, Strive to enter in at the strait (difficult) gate ('agonise'—to enter, in the Greek); for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able, when once the Master of the house is risen up and shut to the door."—*Luke* xiii. 23.

"For the hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the

resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation."—*John* v. 28, 29.

"He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still."

Translate the Greek as we will, there is certainly no "eternal hope" for all, in this teaching of our Lord.

"The Son of Man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire; there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth."—*Matt.* xiii. 41, 42.

The writer of the article reviewed asserts as follows:

"Now He tells us in the Bible that His punishment of us in the next world *will* be corrective and remedial. Therefore, at some time or other, its purpose will have been effected. Therefore it cannot be 'everlasting.'"

What ground the writer has for the above assertion, in these awful warnings of Christ, must be left for the Reader to decide. *Where* is the "wrath of God" presented as "remedial"?

The "wrath of God" is alluded to some hundred times in the Bible. David, stumbling at the peaceful death of the wicked of his day, "who have no bands in their death," says:

"But as for me, my feet were almost gone; my steps had well nigh slipped, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked. Their strength is firm; there are no bands in their death; they are not troubled as other men."

[How should there be when God has departed, and conscience is dead?]

"Until I went into the sanctuary of God; then understood I their end. How are they brought into desolation, as in a moment! They are utterly consumed with terrors."—*Psalms* lxxiii.

Terrors? Terrors at *what*? Universal salvation to all sinners, ultimate "eternal hope"? Much rather the alarm and agony expressed in the Old Testament inquiry, "*Who among us!*"

"The sinners in Zion are afraid: fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites. *Who among us* shall dwell with the devouring fire? *Who among us* shall dwell with everlasting burnings?"—*Isaiah* xxxiii. 14.

"And I say unto you, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But fear Him, who after He hath killed hath power to cast into hell: yea, I say unto you, Fear Him."

"It is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire: where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched."—*Mark* ix. 47, 48. (Repeated three times.)

The next surprise to the reader is, that it is considered necessary to inform us at some length that there is no *material* fire in hell. But is there an intelligent Sunday-school scholar in 1896 who needs laboriously to be told *that*? We all perfectly understand—always *have* done—that our Blessed Lord used the expression, "furnace of

fire," &c., merely in condescension to our poor, finite, human comprehension, as conveying *some* idea of what the "loss of the soul" really means—by the figure, or symbol, fire—undoubtedly the most terrific form of physical pain we are acquainted with. We all know that—with death—for us mortals, everything "material" disappears: "This mortal must put on immortality!" But the Christian believer firmly believes that Christ teaches by these solemn expressions, that the impenitent, lost souls are banished *for evermore* from heaven—are abandoned to the society of "the devil and his angels"—in short, become devils themselves! Indeed, some of them *before* they (happily for mankind) *leave this world*, appear to be very little better than demons *already*.

"For we must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men."—2 Cor. v. 10.

"Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not enter the kingdom of God? Be not deceived! God is not mocked! Neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, shall inherit the kingdom of God."—1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

"And death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them; and they were judged every man according to their works. And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death. And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire."—*Rev.* xx. 14, 15.

"But the unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death."—*Rev.* xxi. 8.

The writer has the following remark upon this:

"Well,' perhaps some may reply to this, 'here are Christ's own words about the "fire." They seem plain and definite, and to admit of but one interpretation. If they don't mean what they certainly appear to mean, how are you going to explain them?' Why, easily enough. Christ was not talking about 'everlasting' fire at all. He was referring to something very well known to those whom he was addressing, as well as to every Jewish man, woman, and child of the time. He was speaking of the Valley of Hinnom, and that only *figuratively*. This Valley of Hinnom, this *Ge Hinnom*, of which the Greek equivalent is *Gehenna*, translated in our Bibles as 'hell,' was a precipitous ravine outside the south-west wall of Jerusalem, watered by the brook Kedron and 'Siloam's sacred stream.'"

Really we might, it is thought, be let off the old, old, worn-out "symbol" of the "Valley of Hinnom." It would seem incredible that in 1896 any one should attempt to persuade us that our Lord, in His awful warnings, is merely speaking to us Christians of a locality near Jerusalem!

That unfortunate "Gehenna" of some 2000 years ago has surely been "dragged in" in too obviously an absurd manner to require further argument.

"When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory. And before Him shall be gathered all nations, and He shall separate them one from another, and He shall set the sheep on His right hand and the goats on the left. . . . Then shall He say also to them on the left hand, Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels; . . . and these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal."—*Matt.* xxv. 31–46.

Upon this teaching of our Lord Himself as to His sentence to the impenitent wicked from His "judgment-throne," the writer of the article reviewed has the following:

"Christ then really says in verse 16 of St. Matthew xxv., 'The wicked shall go away into (or for) age-long pruning.' Words which are clearly capable of being thus paraphrased: 'The wicked shall go away, for a time, to be made better.' Now we know that a gardener prunes his trees for this very purpose and no other. He prunes them, that is to say, with the sole object of making them healthy and fruitful. As, then, an earthly gardener does this to his trees to improve and not to destroy them, so the Heavenly Gardener will prune *us* in the world to come."

Considering, for a moment, *who* the "goats" on the left hand *will be*, and the contamination inseparable from the *exclusive* companionship of all the *vilest*, most *virious*, *cruel*, *bloodthirsty*, *detestable monsters* that the world has ever seen—how the compulsory and exclusive companionship "through the ages" of "the devil and his angels," and of all the demon-like men who ever lived—is to "prune" and "reform lost souls," is, it is claimed, an idea *absolutely grotesque*; stultifying our common-sense, and opposed to the entire experience of mankind!

"For we must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men."—*2 Cor.* v. 10.

"Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in thereat. Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it."—*Matt.* vii. 13.

"If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?"—*1 Pet.* iv. 18.

"But the heavens and the earth which are now are reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men."

"For we know Him that hath said, Vengeance is mine, I will recompense, saith the Lord, and again, the Lord shall judge His people. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."—*Heb.* x. 30.

Yet the writer of the article criticised appears to have persuaded himself that he has "easily disposed" of our Lord's awful and repeated warnings. He has the following:

"Every other apparent assertion of everlasting punishment to be found in the New Testament can be as easily answered and disposed of as those I have thus treated in the present article. Things are not what they seem, and certainly many of the statements in the Bible are not. They are not

what they seem either when examined by the light of knowledge or by that of reason and common sense."

After perusing the article in question, it will be for the reader to judge whether he has, in the very faintest degree, "disposed" of a single one of the solemn teachings and words of our Lord. Instead of "disposing" of our Saviour's words, it is to be feared that the words ignored and rejected will judge and "dispose" of many :

"47. And if any man hear My words, and believe not, I judge him not : for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world.

"48. He that rejecteth Me, and receiveth not My words, hath one that judgeth him : the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day.

"49. For I have not spoken of Myself ; but the Father which sent Me, He gave Me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak."

"I placed you in a position, in which by My providence you obtained the ear of multitudes. Had you preached to them a full gospel—earnestly and faithfully presenting My solemn warnings, as given by Me to mankind—instead of being lulled to sleep by your addresses, many might have been roused, alarmed, awakened, and have fled to Me, their Saviour.'—woful words, indeed, to hear one day from Christ !"

It is only fair that the writer should know that the best Greek scholars have for ages taken, and still do take, an *entirely* different view, totally opposed to his renderings and assertions, as to the real meaning of the Greek. Take, for instance, the efforts to "wrest" the *very same* Greek word to mean a *limited* time for the eternal ruin of "the devil and his angels," with whom "the lost" will be associated, while it is to mean "everlasting" duration for the joys of the redeemed. What absurdities we should be involved in the moment we permitted any to *tamper* with the translation of the New Testament in order to support their delusions. The text altered to please them will have to read, "Depart from me ye cursed into"—(not *Aiōnios* "everlasting")—but "into ('transient,' or 'for a time,' for 'some ages,' or 'through the ages') fire, prepared for the devil and his angels ;" and these shall go away into (repeat the same substitutes) "punishment," but the righteous into life—*What ?*—Eternal ! Certainly *not* ! If the "Eternal Hope" writers alter the *very same* Greek word—used alike in this verse in describing both states—to advance *their* unscriptural teaching, the sceptic and others will insist upon altering, for the same substitutes, the word "eternal" to suit *their* views. *Alter the same* Greek in *one* place, many will, very logically, insist upon its being altered *wherever* it occurs.

Finally the writer, in conclusion—as might have been foreseen—avows himself a believer in the final salvation of all mankind ! We have the following :

"He died on Calvary not for a chosen few, not for an elect 'one hundred

and forty-four thousand,' but for all mankind. Will He, then, be content, as some assert He will, with a half, or even three-fourths, of the souls He made, and for whom He laid down His precious life? 'He shall see of the travail of His soul and shall be satisfied.' And what else *will* satisfy Him than the final and complete salvation of all?

"We do not believe that He is going to punish finite wrong-doing (wrong-doing often the result of the circumstances in which we were placed) with infinite retribution. We do not believe that for a brief wandering from His arms He is going to banish us for evermore from His presence. We do not believe that, for a short life perhaps of imperfection, and indifference to the voice of conscience, but certainly also, in the case of every one of us, of suffering and sorrow, He is going to say on that day, to trembling thousands of His children—'Prisoners at the bar, depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire!' No, we do not, we cannot, believe *that*."

Yet we read—in exact opposition to the above—

"And I saw a Great White Throne, and Him that sat upon it, from Whose face the Earth and the Heavens fled away! And the Sea gave up the dead which were in it, and Death and Hell delivered up the dead that were in them; and I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God. And the books were opened; and another Book was opened, which is the Book of Life. And the dead were judged out of these things which were written in the Book of Life, according to their works. And whosoever was not found written in the Book of Life was cast into the Lake of Fire!"—*Rev. xx. 10-15.*

Our Lord never taught the ultimate salvation of all mankind! Jesus Christ never taught that there exists such a thing as "the universal, and absolute, redemption of Christ." It never *was* taught! There is no such thing! If it ever could exist, it would prove Christ to be either *mistaken* or *insincere*!

"11. Ye are of *your* father the devil, and the lusts of *your* father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own.

"31. Ye shall seek Me, and shall not find Me. and where I am, *thither* ye cannot come.

"21. Then said Jesus again unto them, I go my way, and ye shall seek Me, and shall die in your sins: whither I go, ye cannot come.

"24. I said therefore unto you, that ye shall die in your sins: for if ye believe not that I am *He*, ye shall die in your sins.

"40. And ye will not come to Me, that ye might have life."

Ultimate salvation for all mankind? And yet multitudes "die in their sins," are the "children of the devil," "will not come unto Me that ye might have life," and "where" Jesus is in glory "they cannot come"? What does it mean? Jesus says, "He that hath ears to hear let him hear"! We have "ears to hear." What does Christ mean throughout His ministry if there is ultimate universal salvation for all men?

If there is, then our Saviour's teachings all through His ministry, upon this dread subject, are not merely unintelligible, they are

worse, they are designedly *false*! What about the "Judgment Day"? The books being opened? The dead judged? *Why* a Judgment Day at all? *Who* is going to be judged? If there is universal salvation for all the "Last Judgment" is rendered an absurdity!

"18. And to whom sware He that they should not enter into His rest, but to them that believed not?"

"19. So we see that they could not enter in because of unbelief."

"7. Again, He limiteth a certain day, saying in David, 'To-day, after so long a time;' as it is said, 'To-day, if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts.'"

"11. Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief."

God "swears" that they shall *not* "enter into His rest," and "limiteth a day" of salvation? And yet all *are* to enter at last into that "rest" alike? It is *false*! For, if the last day proves that there is ultimate salvation for all men, then that terrible day will also prove that there was *not one word of truth* in all the solemn texts selected in this article from the word of God; and that God and Christ have wilfully deceived mankind upon this subject for nigh two thousand years!

Are you prepared to commence Eternity upon *that* discovery? Prove God and Christ to be untruthful in *one* subject, *why not in others*? If the *warnings* of God and Christ are false, why may not their *promises* be equally so? Either the Bible, or the "Eternal Hope" must go! They are irreconcilable! They mutually destroy each other!

The "London Clergyman" should note the ominous, significant, result of such teaching in the increasing spiritual sleep and indifference to God, in which multitudes, in our day, are plunged. Another ominous sign is the hearty approval with which the unbeliever—the infidel—welcomes sermons on the non-eternity of God's judgments on the wicked. What the sceptic *warmly praises* may be "popular," "advanced," teaching, but it certainly cannot be of Christ! Let our modern preachers consider their responsibility, when crowds of "uneducated" persons—ready to swallow any error presented—are listening to them!

It is one more proof of the perfect free-will of the Soul, that the human mind, resolutely set upon not believing the truths of Revelation, can read these solemn warnings, and yet obstinately adhere to its own pleasing delusion! The candid Reader is asked to use his own *common sense*, and to say whether such teachers must not, sooner or later, come into sharp and direct antagonism with the words of God and of Christ?

"God is love?" Why, the "*wrath of God*" hereafter, is spoken of upwards of a hundred times in the Scriptures! God "loves"

the impenitent, obstinate, wicked, if once they go *too far*? *It is false!* The whole Bible, and Christ's solemn teachings, teem with warnings of *quite another*, and an awful, phase in God's character hereafter.

"And said to the mountains and rocks, 'Fall on us and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the *wrath of the Lamb*, for the great day of His wrath is come.'"—Rev. vi., 16-17.

God is certainly no "God of love" here!

"Because I have called and ye refused, *I also will mock* when your fear cometh! For they hated knowledge and did not choose the fear of the Lord. They would none of My counsel; they despised all My reproof!"

"The Wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God!"

"I tell you Nay! But except ye repent ye shall *all likewise perish*!"

True, we read, "The times of this ignorance God winked at." In cases where a terrible, utterly neglected, childhood, amidst crime, drunken parents, and awful surroundings, ripen into a ruined life—who dares to say that that indulgent eye does not wink still?

Who dares to say that God judges the *almost* irresponsible with the same rigour as the well taught, the well trained, and the rich? "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

Whatever may be the allowances the Supreme may choose to make—and we feel sure *does* make—in *those* sad cases, *be assured* that He will make *no such* allowances for *us*! Here lies the danger of deceptive teaching on this dread subject to audiences comparatively well off, and unquestionably responsible before their Maker! What we have to see to, dear reader, is *not* the responsibility of *others*, but *our own*! To test ourselves by *Christ's* standard, not *men's*—how *we* stand for Eternity—which course *we* are steering, the Christian or the Christless—the upward or the downward path—which home *our* steps are tending—to Heaven or to Hell?

Whatever may be the fate of multitudes around us, *we* who have long heard Christ's call of entreaty should *indeed* make haste to obey it!

As sure as there is a God *there is* a Heaven and *there is* a Hell.

But, from our childhood to our grave, the Blessed God is ever saying, "Come now, and let us *reason* together, saith the Lord! Though your sins be as *scarlet*, they shall be as white as *snow*; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool!"—*Isaiah* i., 18. And our Lord—though He abates not one word of His solemn warnings—is ever assuring the sinner that "there is more joy in Heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine who need no repentance!"

E. SHORTHOUSE.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

SCIENCE.

THE great progress which has been made of late years in the illustration of books has enabled the naturalist to portray the objects he describes with a degree of accuracy which would have been quite impossible even a decade ago. In his *British Birds' Nests*¹ Mr. R. Kearton has fully availed himself of the most recent advances in photography, and the numerous photographs taken by his brother, Mr. C. Kearton, of the nests and eggs of birds as they exist among their native surroundings, convey a more accurate impression of the objects described than could have been obtained by any other means.

Messrs. Kearton are evidently enthusiasts in their branch of science, and have spared no pains to secure accurate information. It is not every one that would travel more than five hundred miles by rail and drag a camera twelve miles up and down a mountain in order to secure a photograph of a single nest. And most of us would have been disheartened to find, as was the case with Mr. C. Kearton, that, after all, it was impossible to obtain a photograph owing to a thick mist coming on. Of the adventures met with on these photographic excursions Mr. Kearton gives us a few in the preface, just enough to make us wish for more; no doubt each of the 120 photographs has its little history. The title hardly does justice to the book, which is not only a description of birds' nests, but contains in each case clear and accurate particulars of the parent birds and of the eggs. We know of no work which gives better information on birds' nests, and no ornithological library will be complete without it.

As an attempt to interest children in the ways and doings of animals and to instil into their minds the habit of kindness towards beings even more helpless than themselves, Mr. A. Mulloy's *Four-footed and Feathered Friends*² is to be commended. But why did the author allow his work to be disfigured by such execrable illustrations? From a careful examination of one of the best of these we have come to the conclusion that they are intended for carica-

¹ *British Birds' Nests*. By R. Kearton. London: Cassell & Co. Ltd. 1895.

² *Our Four-footed and Feathered Friends*. By A. Mulloy. London: Jarrold & Sons. 1896.

tures; but the drawings are in many cases so bad that it is impossible to say what the blotches of printing ink are intended to represent. Some of the statements made by Mr. Mulloy are not altogether in accordance with modern science; for instance, no modern zoologist would consider that Tartary was the place of origin of the horse. The fossil remains of that animal in America show a far more ancient origin than former writers imagined. Again, although swallows certainly are very swift of flight, we doubt if there is any authentic record of their traversing three miles in one minute. As to the instances of animal intelligence, it must always remain a matter of opinion how much may be due to coincidence and how much to the reasoning power of the animals.

Another book which discourses, and discourses pleasantly, on Nature in her various moods, is Mr. J. W. Tutt's *Random Recollections of Woodland, Fen, and Hill*.¹ Mr. Tutt is evidently a most enthusiastic naturalist, who is not content with mere observation, but, note-book in hand, places on record all he has seen, weaving into his narrative an astonishing amount of information on various natural history topics. The rambles described are nine in number, eight of which are in England, one in the neighbourhood of Paris. Although entomology comes in for the lion's share, yet the author has much to say on general zoological and botanical subjects. The illustrations are numerous and excellent, and add much to the value of the work as compared with the previous edition.

Of all the organisms which attract the attention of the biologist perhaps the parasites are the most interesting. Their marvellous specialisation and the mutual relationship which so frequently exists between themselves and their hosts render their study as difficult as it is fascinating. From the human point of view some parasites are of special importance, being the cause of more or less serious disease; but we have now before us a book² in which it is sought to establish that almost every variety of parasite has its human or social analogue. In one respect the book is remarkable, being the result of the collaboration of a specialist in biology with one in economics. When we examine more closely into the supposed resemblance between certain human parasites and other organic ones we meet with a number of difficulties which Messrs. Massart and Vandervelde cannot be said to have solved. In the first place, it is not easy to define a parasite. Some organisms lead a life which is almost wholly parasitic, and yet, being of the same species as their hosts, we should hesitate to class them with the parasites. For instance, the diminutive males of *Bonellia viridis* live a parasitic life in the reproductive organs of the

¹ *Random Recollections of Woodland, Fen, and Hill*. By J. W. Tutt. Second edition. London: G. Gill & Co. 1895.

² *Parasitism, Organic and Social*. By J. Massart and E. Vandervelde. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1895.

much larger females, and in the well-known case of the drones of the honey-bee only one or two out of many hundreds perform even the slightest function which cannot be termed parasitic. Another difficulty, and from the biological point of view an important one, is that while the vast majority of organic parasites are hereditary, in the case of their human analogues heredity plays a very subordinate part, if any. While the progeny of *succulina* is always a *succulina*, it by no means follows that the offspring of thieves or prostitutes should themselves be thieves or prostitutes respectively. With human parasites there is, therefore, practically no embryology, its place being taken by the process of parasitic evolution of each individual. M. Vandervelde takes a decidedly socialistic, not to say communistic, view of society, and classes among the parasites capitalists and those who appropriate privately the means of production, as well as those who occupy useless public offices. Should the state of society which M. Vandervelde advocates be introduced into Belgium he would himself become a parasite, for science being taught to all alike in the public schools, the office of lecturer on political economy at a university would become useless, and the holder of it consequently parasitic. M. Massart's system of classification of organic parasites appears to be a good one, and the student of biology will find much to interest him in this part of the work.

The great impetus which has been given to the metallurgy of gold by the recent discoveries in Western Australia and South Africa has led to the issue of a new edition of Mr. Eissler's work on *The Metallurgy of Gold*.¹ As compared with the previous edition we notice the addition of five new chapters, dealing especially with the various cyanide processes. The illustrations also have been considerably increased in number, and some of the photographic views of South African reduction plant give an excellent idea of the most recent developments in this branch of applied science. Although we think the bulk of the work might with advantage be diminished by the omission of some of the older methods which are now quite obsolete, yet, on the other hand, the information with regard to the cyanide and other modern processes has been brought well up to date, and the mining engineer will find the book a useful and instructive companion.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

PROFESSOR KÜLPE'S *Outlines of Psychology*² is an important illustra-

¹ *The Metallurgy of Gold*. By M. Eissler. Fourth edition. London: Crosby Lockwood & Son. 1896.

² *Outlines of Psychology*. Based upon the Results of Experimental Investigation. By Oswald Külpe. Translated from the German by Edward Bradford Titchener. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

tion of the application of the scientific method to a department of inquiry which has until lately been almost entirely left to unassisted speculation. So far we cannot say that the results achieved have been very great, but they are valuable as probably forming the foundation of a new science. There appears no prospect at present of a complete explanation of psychical processes by the method of physical experiment, but a certain amount of light is thrown upon them as we get more decisive information as to their correlation. The range of the dependency of psychical processes upon the corporeal individual has, as Professor Kulpe says, become more manifest as physiology and psychology have advanced. It is further assumed that this dependency is always present, although in many cases its existence is merely hypothetical. Professor Kulpe, however, does not allow that this leads to materialism. We are prevented from regarding the physical and psychical relation as causal for two reasons: the facts do not require any such theory for their explanation, and the physical law of the conservation of energy appears to contradict it. We can therefore only speak of a parallelism of psychical and cerebral processes. The methods of psychological investigation are direct and indirect—the direct are introspective and experimental; the indirect are memorial and linguistic. The validity of the introspective method depends upon attention, impartiality, and accurate description. Though this method must form the base of psychology, by itself it is imperfect, as it is liable to error from subjective causes and it cannot construct a theory; the experimental method is therefore a necessary aid, by filling up gaps and checking description. Professor Kulpe claims for this method six peculiar advantages. (1) It renders possible a frequent repetition of the process which is to be described; (2) it enables us to vary particular constituents of the process under experimentation separately; (3) it also assists in the discovery of relations of dependency between stimuli and the psychical processes which they evoke, or between subjective phenomena and the bodily movements they occasion; (4) it further enables us to measure these relations; (5) it secures the most favourable disposition of the experiencing individual, and lastly, and this from a scientific point of view is perhaps the most useful of all, it has brought about a community of psychological work such as was previously impossible. It will be gathered from this very condensed summary that Professor Kulpe fully understands the value and proper application of the method to the exposition and illustration of which his work is principally devoted; but though the facts related are numerous and the results of experiments reported are fresh and striking, the conclusions to which they at present lead are few and uncertain. The amount of detail in this book is so enormous that it would be impossible for us to convey by analysis or quotation any just idea of the value of it to the investigator.

In the second part of *Der Geist der Neuere Philosophie*,¹ R. Schellwien traces its development from Spinoza and Descartes, with whom he dealt in the first part, through Leibnitz, F. H. Jacobi, Kant, Schelling, Hegel, &c., touching incidentally upon the realistic reaction. The new philosophy is a revival of transcendentalism, illustrating once again the inevitable swing of the pendulum.

The title of Mr. Goldie's book, *Missions and Mission Philanthropy*,² might lead one to expect a work on foreign religious missionary labours, which as the most popular form of Church enterprise occupies the attention of so many writers, but a sub-title, "The Poor and their Happiness," gives us a hint that we may find something different in these pages. And we certainly find something very different indeed, and much more lively reading than is usual in works on missions—in a measure the work may be considered sociological or ethical; but in a great part it is a criticism of the attempts of good and, according to Mr. Goldie, misguided people to try to make the poor happy. The "missions" of which this book treats are, therefore, such as are of the "home" or "domestic" variety. Mr. Goldie indulges in no little sarcasm in his desire to convince philanthropists that their methods are futile, and their aims mistaken. They do not succeed in elevating the poor to whom they devote their attention, and they fail in their attempts to make them happy. The poor, Mr. Goldie contends, are happy enough in their own way; but philanthropists desire to make them happy in *theirs*, and only succeed in making them miserable. The happiness of some people, he says, consists in trying to deprive other people of their happiness. The older philanthropists were of a sterner sort than the new ones, and at least gave the people good advice; the new school would make the poor less independent, and more helpless than they are. Many an amusing story of the weakness of philanthropists is to be found in these pages. The point of the book is to be found in the last chapters on the New Philanthropy; the author scouts the popular notion that the critic who denounces a bad system is bound to propose a better; nevertheless he is ready with suggestions, which contain a good deal of wisdom. The lack of initiative, however, stands in the way of reform, and Mr. Goldie thinks that until the "mission" is dead no new step can be taken. Another obstacle Mr. Goldie describes, and we may quote a sentence, which will illustrate the liveliness of a style which makes the book a delightful one to read—"The reformer, as a general rule, will undertake to reform anything upon earth but himself.

¹ *Der Geist der Neuere Philosophie*. Von Robert Schellwien, Zweiter Theil. Leipzig: Alfred Jansen. 1896.

² *Missions and Mission Philanthropy*. By John Goldie. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Only whisper self-improvement to him, and the joy and the hope die out of his eyes ; his hands fall idly by his side ; his enthusiasm turns cold to the shivering point ; he finds it is not the game he meant to play, and he can have no pleasure in it."

His first suggestion is, that the one thing needed to cure the division between rich and poor is strength. " Strength will cure all evils, it will banish distress, it will defy misfortune, it will protect against hunger, it will promote peace." But he goes on to say that if the poor are to be taught strength, their teachers, who are at present weaker than they, must first cultivate it in themselves—and this is not a pleasant look-out for the missionary. The poor in the future must be treated as men and not as women and children ; they must be taught to feel their own responsibility and to endure the consequences of their own conduct. It is Nature's way, and Nature is a wise though a stern educator. The writer would permit Government interference to the extent of finding remunerative labour for the unemployed, but no further. We should have liked to have given, but we have not space, the closing paragraphs of this able and trenchant book, in which the author sits in judgment upon popular schemes for removing distress amongst the working-classes, but which he thinks, and we agree with him, would only tend to increase it.

Dr. Granger, in his *Worship of the Romans*,¹ has produced a book that deserves to be popular. It is astonishing how little attention is paid to the subject ; every reader of the New Testament is familiar with the name of the Romans, but the generality are almost completely ignorant of the religious ideas of the people amongst whom Christianity found its cradle. Dr. Granger's book throws a great deal of light upon this subject, and probably upon the origin of many " superstitions " which Christianity has carried along with it. Dr. Granger describes, not so much the external worship of the Romans as the mental condition which accompanied it ; their conceptions of the world and nature, of the soul and its companions ; of dreams and apparitions, magic, divination, and prophecy, &c. &c. The writer endeavours to help us to understand the Roman in three aspects : his material self ; his social self ; and his spiritual self. We can do no more at present than cordially recommend this book to our readers ; the theologian and the philosopher will alike find it interesting.

We have received from Messrs. Nisbet two volumes bearing the same title, *The Apostles : Their Lives and Letters*,² but there is nothing upon the title-page to show that they are a single work, in two volumes, as they are in fact. The first volume covers the period

¹ *The Worship of the Romans, viewed in Relation to the Roman Temperament.* By Frank Granger, D.Lit. London : Methuen & Co. 1895.

² *The Apostles : Their Lives and Letters.* By Cunningham Geikie, D.D. LL.D. London : James Nisbet & Co. 1895.

from A.D. 30 (?) to A.D. 55; the second from A.D. 55 to A.D. 64. Each deals with the portion of lives of the Apostles, and the letters which are assigned to the different periods. For easy-going students of the early history of Christianity these two volumes will be useful; to the more critical they will not be of much service. We do not say they will be of no service, for Dr. Geikie's acquaintance with history, theology, and geography is by no means slight, and he is able to convey useful information in an interesting manner; but traditional and orthodox presuppositions compel us to class the books with a school that is becoming obsolete.

The lectures on the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*,¹ by the late Dr. Hort, were delivered for the benefit of the students in the Clergy Training School at Cambridge, in 1890. That they are able ones we need scarcely say, but they are very slight, and consist largely of quotations. They may serve to awaken curiosity about, and interest in, men whose lives and writings are generally less known than they deserve to be.

Though Dr. Fowler's edition of the *Life of St. Columba*,² by Adamnan, has only just reached us, we observe that it is dated 1894. This will not prevent us from expressing our high appreciation of this contribution to Church history. It is sufficient to say that the text, as the title informs us, is that of Dr. Reeve, which, to quote the preface, is "a truly monumental work, and has been of the greatest service to all writers on St. Columba, from Montalembert downwards." Dr. Fowler's notes and glossary will be of the greatest assistance to those who read the original. The charming simplicity of Adamnan's narrative is too well known amongst scholars for us to dwell upon; we should rather, therefore, direct attention to Dr. Fowler's contributions to the present volume. The principal of these are sketches of the Pre-Patrician period in Ireland, of St. Patrick, St. Columba in Ireland and in Iona, and of Adamnan, the writer of the *Vita St. Columbae*.

The Hon. Albert S. G. Canning, in *Religious Development: an Historical Inquiry* (London: Allen & Co.), traces some of the results of modern intellectual movements upon religion in a broad and liberal spirit, and comes to the conclusion "that no religion has ever ruled the votaries of so many others with the same success, wisdom, and charity now secured to mankind by Christian pre-eminence throughout the world."

The three principal discourses in the late Dean Church's *Pascal and other Sermons* (London: Macmillan & Co.) are on Pascal, Bishop Butler, and Bishop Andrewes. The rest are more general. It is

¹ *Six Lectures on the Ante-Nicene Fathers*. By Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

² *Adamnan's Vita St. Columbae*. Edited from Dr. Reeve's text, with an Introduction on early Irish Church History. Notes and a Glossary by J. T. Fowler, M.A., D.C.L. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1894.

rarely that discourses of such ability as those we have named are to be found described as sermons.

The title, *The Ecclesiastical Expansion of England in the Growth of the Anglican Communion*, the subject of the Hulsean Lectures for 1894-95, by Dr. Alfred Barry (Macmillan) sufficiently describes the contents of this volume. Dr. Barry treats the religious expansion of England as exemplified in the growth of the Anglican Church in three aspects—Colonial Expansion, the Mission of the Church to India and the East, and the Conversion of the Lower Races. Dr. Barry, who has had wide experience as a former Bishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia and Tasmania, is well qualified to deal with a subject of the greatest interest to English Churchmen, and indeed to all who wish to understand the extent of our influence in the world.

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

Russian Politics,¹ by Mr. Herbert M. Thompson, is, to a considerable extent, based upon M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu's great work on Russia, but at the same time Mr. Thompson shows such a thorough grasp of his subject that it is evident that this work is far from being his sole or principal authority, and indeed reference is made throughout the book to many other works, magazine articles, and papers. In the opening chapter, on the physical characteristics of Russia and the ethnology of her inhabitants, Mr. Thompson raises the question whether the stock is mainly Slav or mainly Turanian. And it is upon the answer to this question that the future of Russia as a progressive or a retrograde nation depends. On the whole, Mr. Thompson holds that the Slav, an undoubted branch of the great Aryan family, predominates; but although the interior of Russia is in process of Russification, the fringes are occupied by so many different nationalities at immense distances from the centre, speaking distinct languages, and following opposite religions, that the Government is confronted by enormous natural obstacles, and is scarcely likely to gain its object "by persecuting their religions, outlawing their languages, and depriving them of the scanty political privileges enjoyed by some localities."

The historical sketch comprised in the next two chapters is extremely well done, and then we get to practical politics in the account of the peasantry and their emancipation carried out by Alexander II., under the instigation and by the assistance of the Liberal party. A good account is also given of the connection

¹ *Russian Politics*. By Herbert M. Thompson. With Five Maps. London: Fisher Unwin. 1896.

between the bureaucracy and the mir, which partially explains the comparative failure of the emancipation.

We are then shown how Alexander II., apparently frightened at the reforms he had initiated, gradually whittled them away, or prevented their operation; how this policy was continued by his successor, and how little reason there is to hope that the present Tsar will raise a finger to prevent the bureaucracy from making itself the real master, and crushing the very life out of the nation.

The only hope Mr. Thompson sees is in the probable *rapprochement* of the Liberal party and the Socialists. The former, disgusted with the retrograde policy of Alexander II. and his successor, had simply acquiesced in what they regarded as the inevitable; the latter are becoming less extreme and more anxious to work with the Liberals. When the two forces really coalesce, Mr. Thompson seems to think something may be done. Local government, the Press censorship, religious persecution, and Nihilism all receive adequate treatment. We have read the book through from cover to cover with the deepest interest, and can thoroughly recommend it as a work giving the salient features of Russian politics in a highly readable form.

Les Grands Problèmes,¹ by M. Adolphe Francois, is pleasantly written, contains some interesting matter and some good observations. The subjects treated are supposed by the author to be intimately connected, but the connection, at any rate, has been very imperfectly shown. In the different branches of knowledge brought to bear upon the subjects treated of under the titles of "The Question of Happiness," "The Social Good," "The Beautiful," "The Soul," M. Francois proves himself to be very much behind the times. His historical views are deficient, as when, for instance, in summing up the factors of modern civilisation, he entirely omits the Renaissance; his economics are faulty when he utterly ignores free trade; his political morality below par when he extols might over right in the subjugation of uncivilised nations by the more civilised, and whitewashes the domineering career of Napoleon; and his scientific opinions are vitiated by his strong theological bias, which is responsible for such sayings as this: "The innate science of the heart and soul is superior to all science and philosophy." This book may be favourably received by devout Catholics, but will prove of little interest to the general public.

It is truly lamentable that the average law-student should be forced to commence his studies with the second volume of Stephen's *Blackstone*, and thereby imbibe entirely false conceptions of the origin of property. In his *Law of Property*,² Mr. Nelson has done

¹ *Les Grands Problèmes*. By Adolphe Francois. Paris: Ch. Noblet. 1895.

² *The Law of Property, including its Nature, Origin and History*. By Reginald A. Nelson, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Principal of the Law College, and Fellow of the University of Madras. Srinivasa, Varadachari & Co. London: Sweet & Maxwell. 1895.

good service by giving an introductory sketch to the law on this subject, treated on the historical and comparative methods. Lawyers are proverbially conservative, but it is a standing reproach that whilst so many valuable treatises on the law of property have appeared, no writer, so far as we know, has hitherto condescended to add to the law an adequate account of its nature, origin, or history. This reproach has now been removed by Mr. Nelson, and although his introductory sketch is not exhaustive, yet it contains a *résumé* of the most recent knowledge on the subject, and points out where further information is to be obtained. It is written upon very similar lines to an article entitled "The Origin and Evolution of Property in Land" (WESTMINSTER REVIEW, December 1893), by Mr. Hugh H. L. Bellot; but whereas the latter writer considered the matriarchal system preceded the patriarchal, Mr. Nelson appears to contend that this order is reversed, whilst arguing against the theory of promiscuity held by McLennan, Lubbock, Morgan and Spencer. At any rate Mr. Nelson adheres to Maine's patriarchal theory, and relies upon biology to support this system, as the origin of human society.

After the discussion on the origin of property we have its history, wherein its development is traced through the tribe, the village community, the mark and the manor, together with some account of the various conflicting theories upon those systems. The law is then stated under well-defined heads and in a clear and concise manner. We have no hesitation in strongly recommending this work to students, not as a mere cram-book, but as a book which shows that the law of property is not merely a thing of parchment and sealing wax, but a living institution that has grown up with society and become part of its being.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MRS. OLIPHANT'S book on *The Makers of Modern Rome*¹ is full of most interesting information on one of the most interesting subjects that can engage the attention of scholars and students. Byron calls Rome the "mother of the soul," and even still, in many respects, it is the centre around which civilisation revolves. Mrs. Oliphant exhibits a wide knowledge of the subject, of which a University Professor of History might be proud. Her early chapters on Marcella, Paula, and other remarkable women of the early Christian period, read like passages in a wonderful historical romance. The accounts given of

¹ *The Makers of Modern Rome.* By Mrs. Oliphant. London: Macmillan & Co.

Hildebrand, Innocent III., and other famous popes are very minute, perhaps, indeed, too elaborate. There is an excellent sketch of Rienzi's career, which forms one of the most attractive portions of the book.

The style is occasionally a little stilted, and many pages read like an unsuccessful imitation of Gibbon. It is not necessary to write history in a pompous or declamatory fashion, though the idea that simplicity is objectionable in a historian seems to be deeply rooted in some minds. We should read Mrs. Oliphant's work with more pleasure if she adopted a more natural style. The book is beautifully printed and illustrated.

It is noteworthy that Scotsmen have a strong tendency to exaggerate the ability of any of their own countrymen who happen to be successful in any department of human industry or research. We find a fresh example of this in Mr. H. A. Kennedy's book on *Professor Blackie: His Sayings and Doings*.¹ Professor Blackie was not a man of extraordinary talent. He was only a good, eccentric Scotch Professor. He was sound-hearted and honest, but many of his opinions were childish, and his erratic method of teaching Greek, as illustrated in Mr. Kennedy's book, is one that it would be dangerous for any instructor of youth to imitate. To speak of such a man as a "prophet," or to compare him with Carlyle, evinces obtuseness rather than intelligent criticism. Undoubtedly Professor Blackie did something for the cause of University education in Scotland; but he was not himself a good exponent of his educational theories. Neither did he possess the greater qualities of the Scotch intellect. Presumably he was a Celt at heart, and possessed no small share of the "hysteries" which generally accompany Celtic enthusiasm. His efforts were sometimes laudable and fruitful, as in the case of the movement to establish a Celtic chair at Edinburgh University. In other instances he was frequently engaged in the unprofitable operation figuratively known as "knocking his head against a stone wall." His theory about the Beautiful was most absurd. It assumed that there are no degrees in beauty; that all things possessing the quality of beauty are equally beautiful. Here is the worthy Professor's creed expressed in homely verse:

"Paris was a pedant fool,
Meting beauty by a rule:
Pallas? Juno? Venus?—he
Should have chosen all the three."

What would Mr. Ruskin say to this?

While Mr. Kennedy's book will be found exceedingly readable, it must be admitted that it betrays an indiscriminating mind. Pro-

¹ *Professor Blackie: His Sayings and Doings*. A Popular Biographical Sketch. By his nephew, H. A. Kennedy. London: J. Clarke & Co.

fessor Blackie was probably a charming acquaintance, but he was not a great man ; he was not even a great Professor.

The Empire of the Ptolemies,¹ by Professor Mahaffy, is a most valuable contribution to the history of an interesting period. Nearly all that is known about Ptolemaic Egypt has been compressed by the accomplished and erudite author within the comparatively narrow compass of 500 pages. If we may venture to criticise a writer so accurate and painstaking, we would be inclined to hold that Professor Mahaffy has underrated the importance of Alexander as a historical figure, and has magnified unduly the governing qualities of Ptolemy Soter, who, to some extent at least, was the creature of a succession of happy chances. The account of the literary life of Alexandria under the first Ptolemy, though not exhaustive, is luminous. The author has evidently consulted all the available authorities on the subject. In one chapter he introduces an interesting digression on the exact locality of Lake Moeris, a geographical question which has long puzzled the learned. With great ability the critical-minded Professor indicates the claims of Ptolemy Physkon to be regarded as a great ruler, in spite of the picture drawn of him by Greek writers as a monster of iniquity.

In the closing chapter of his admirable book, Professor Mahaffy gives a very readable account of the celebrated Cleopatra, the mistress of Julius Caesar and of Mark Antony. We really think he has done injustice to this extraordinary woman. In the first place there is no evidence to convict her of fratricide ; and she must not be too harshly criticised for her amours with Caesar and Antony. Passion was the atmosphere in which she lived. She was not mercenary, and there was a certain grandeur in her voluptuousness. The ultra-austere cannot appreciate Cleopatra ; and perhaps Professor Mahaffy is disposed to take sides with the "unco gude."

We must also take exception to some peculiarities in the Professor's spelling of ordinary English words. Why does he always write "sovrän." And in one place he speaks of "bataillons." Why use a French word when there is an excellent English equivalent ? But these are "blots on the sun," for *The Empire of the Ptolemies* is really a splendid historical work, well worthy of taking a place beside the author's work on *Greek Life and Thought*.

Messrs. Luzac & Co. have published a very beautiful book entitled *A History of the Deccan*.² The author, Mr. J. D. B. Gribble, dedicates the work to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Deccan is that portion of Southern India bounded by the Vindhya mountains and the River Godavery to the north, and by the Tungbadhra and Kishia Rivers to the south, the Ghäts mountain ranges forming the eastern and western limits. It embraces an area equal in extent to

¹ *The Empire of the Ptolemies*. By J. P. Mahaffy. London. Macmillan & Co. —

² *A History of the Deccan*. By J. D. B. Gribble. London : Luzac & Co. 1896.

that of Great Britain and Ireland. There existed an independent Mohammedan kingdom in the Deccan for more than 300 years. Materials for a history of the period are furnished by Ferishda and others. All the authorities have been drawn upon, and the present work is a curious and most interesting picture of a portion of India about which Europeans are unhappily very ignorant. The story of Hassan, who from the position of a field-labourer rose to be a king, reads like a realistic version of a story from *The Arabian Nights*. The history of the Gulburga Sultans is most romantic and adventurous. There are some excellent illustrations. An admirable portrait of the Nizam of Hyderabad faces the title-page. The absence of an index is to be regretted, having regard to the dimensions of the work.

A little volume of *Historical Essays*,¹ by the late Bishop Lightfoot, has been published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. In spite of his theological bias, this ecclesiastic was not narrow-minded. He does justice to the genuine services rendered by the monks of the Middle Ages as well as to the achievements of that great champion of liberty, Simon de Montfort. Indeed, we have nothing but praise for the study of "England during the Latter Half of the Thirteenth Century." There is a certain amount of romance about the account given of "Christian Life in the Second and Third Centuries." The "Christian martyrs" were not all exactly the kind of persons the Bishop seemed to imagine. We must deal tenderly, perhaps, with Bishop Lightfoot's fad about Gothic architecture; but none the less it is a fad. Ecclesiastics are rarely qualified to discuss architectural any more than legal or medical questions. However, as Sterne says somewhere, every man should be allowed his hobby as long as he does not ride it to death. The essay on Dr. Donne is sympathetic, though rather fanciful, and it is certainly a little ridiculous to compare this eccentric preacher and indifferent verse-writer to Saint Augustine. His poetry—the greater part of it—is deservedly forgotten, and his sermons, even judging by the extracts given in this volume, are theological rant of the worst description, smelling, as they do very strongly, of brimstone and charnel-houses. Dr. Donne may have been a "penitent," but he was not a man of culture or a person who at all deserves a niche in the Temple of Fame. The portion of the volume devoted to the subject of "Ancient and Modern Missions" is rather unsuitable for general readers, and might well have been omitted. Moreover, the comparison drawn between the conversion of the Goths and Vandals to Christianity and the attempts to Christianise Hindoo Buddhists at the present time is, in our humble judgment, quite misconceived.

We have received the first volume of J. R. Green's *History of*

Historical Essays. By the late J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan & Co.

England,¹ republished by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. in their excellent "Eversley Series." It is well bound in dark red cloth. The first volume deals with the history of England from 449 to 1216.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

THE primary object of Canon Tristram's visit to the Land of the Rising Sun was, he tells us, "to thoroughly master the position of missionary work in Japan, especially that of the Church Missionary Society, and to ascertain the practical working of Buddhism, as compared with the Buddhism of China and Ceylon." *Rambles in Japan*,² however, is a description of the author's experiences, with some account of missionary enterprise thrown in. Of the relative merits of the various phases of Buddhism we are not told anything. Innumerable works upon this country have recently appeared, but we do not recall any that we like so well as the volume before us.

Canon Tristram appears to have seen many places seldom, if ever, visited by Europeans, and his observations in zoology and botany should prove especially welcome additions to our knowledge of those branches of study.

Native customs and social habits, architecture, domestic and religious, the manners and dress of all sorts and conditions of men and women, art and agriculture, all receive more or less adequate treatment; and the brilliant descriptions of the enchanting scenery of this marvellous country almost fill our mind with envy of such opportunities of travel granted to so few.

We have always heard from travellers that the practical result of proselytising in Japan is infinitesimal, and Canon Tristram only confirms this by his figures. Again we ask, Is all this expenditure of energy and money worth it? Would it not be better employed at home?

Canon Tristram writes brightly, and never bores us with the usual interminable grumblings at the disagreeables incident to travel. On the contrary, his treatment of such is not devoid of humour. In the following anecdote this attribute would seem to have deserted the Canon. One Sunday turned out wet. "We went up," he writes, "to the other foreign hotel, where we found a number of fellow-countrymen, and, thanks to the storm, had a fairly numerous company for divine service." "Thanks to the storm" is really too funny.

¹ *History of England*. By J. R. Green. Vol. I. London: Macmillan & Co.

² *Rambles in Japan*. The Land of the Rising Sun. By H. B. Tristram, D.D. LL.D., F.R.S., Canon of Durham. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1895.

We notice that, upon the Canon's arrival at Nagoya, the population numbered 350,000; at his departure, only 125,000. We presume this discrepancy is a printer's error, and not the result of some terrible cataclysm. That a man of the Canon's intellectual attainments should, after seeing for himself the results of the progress of Japan from barbaric feudalism to modern civilisation, come to the conclusion that Christianity is the only root of all true civilisation, only shows how powerful religious bias may be.

The book is well illustrated from sketches and photographs by Mr. Edward Whymper.

Canon Tristram candidly confessed his ignorance of Japanese legendary lore. To those who are interested in this country, and in comparative mythology, *Old World Japan*,¹ by Mr. Frank Rinder, will be welcome. Many of the legends presented to us in a modern garb are taken from the *Records of Ancient Matters*, compiled in the eighth century of our era, but the tales have been selected, we are told, rather with a view to their beauty and of incident and colour than with the aim to represent adequately the many-sided subject of Japanese lore.

In the story of the creation of the world the same chronological order is maintained as in the Book of Genesis, an order which science has proved to be impossible.

If these legends, which the average man would reject as mere fairy tales, should cause him to pause in his acceptance of others in no way more credible, they will not have been written in vain.

In a Mule Litter to the Tomb of Confucius,² by Mr. Armstrong, would have been pleasanter reading if there were not quite so much cant in it. The average man, when he buys a book of travel, does not want this sort of thing on every other page—*e.g.*, "People were running from all parts to have a look at me. Oh! for the power to direct them to look off unto my Saviour!" Again: "Village after village, where the name of Jesus never had fallen from human lips!" What else did the good man expect? Upon presenting a New Testament to a native lad, Mr. Armstrong must needs inform us that he "prayed our God to bless the precious Word." This prayer seems to us to have been totally unnecessary, and its relation even more out of place. At Yaën-hsiang the reader will be pleased to hear that Mr. Armstrong "had splendid opportunities of preaching Christ. The people, as a whole, treated him well; some frowned; but, by God's grace, they smoothed away the frowns." And so on, and so on. If any one likes this sort of thing, this is just the sort of thing he will like.

¹ *Old World Japan*. Legends of the Land of the Gods. Re-told by Frank Rinder. With Illustrations By T. H. Robinson. London: George Allen. 1895.

² *In a Mule Litter to the Tomb of Confucius*. By Alexander Armstrong, F.R.G.S. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1896.

The Story of the Expansion of Southern Africa,¹ by the Hon. A. Wilmot, is, if possible, even a more readable book than Mr. Worsfold's *South Africa*, which we noticed last month. Although not so full of information it is written on the same lines, and perhaps in a more popular style. At the same time, since Mr. Wilmot is an old resident and a leading politician in the Cape Colony, he writes with a fuller knowledge of events, especially the political. Generally speaking, both these writers are in agreement. For instance, of the Boers Mr. Wilmot says: "The Government in Pretoria is really more an oligarchy than a republic. As a clique of prejudiced men, while grasping all the pecuniary advantages they can, at the same time, refuse the franchise to the taxpayers and freedom to the people." It is not improbable, he thinks, that the British flag may once again wave over the public offices in Pretoria. In spite of the recent abortive insurrection at Johannesburg and Dr. Jameson's ill-advised expedition, this event, although indefinitely postponed, may well take place when the Outlanders have obtained by constitutional means equal political rights with the Boer burghers. The Report of Mr. John Hays Hammond on the mineral resources of Mashona and Matabeleland in the Appendix should prove useful to investors in the "Kafir market." We shall look forward to the third edition of this excellent book, which is promised shortly.

BELLES LETTRES.

ANYTHING written by the late Mr. Walter Pater is well worth reading for the sake of that delightful critic's style, apart from the subject matter. The volume of *Miscellanies*,² just published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., contains an admirable essay on Prosper Mérimée, with which, however, we do not agree in its merely critical aspects. Mr. Pater overrates Mérimée, who, though a very original writer, was tainted by an incurable artificiality. Mérimée is not so much impersonal as affected. His so-called "impersonality" is entirely different from that of Flaubert, an incomparably greater artist. The essay on Pascal is exceptionally interesting. For beauty of expression as well as intense tenderness in its view of human life and destiny, we must commend "The Child in the House." Mr. Pater has a unique manner, less catholic than Mr. Ruskin's style and less forcible than that of Carlyle, but withal extremely fascinating.

¹ *The Story of the Expansion of Southern Africa*. By the Hon. A. Wilmot, Member of the Legislative Council of the Cape Colony. Second Edition, with Supplementary Chapter, Index, Special Map, and New Appendix. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1895.

² *Miscellanies*. By Walter Pater. London: Macmillan & Co.

The edition of Horace recently published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co.¹ is one which ought to be acceptable to every admirer of the celebrated poet, whose philosophy is considered by some the essence of worldly wisdom. The text is carefully revised, and the various readings are given at the end of each page. The book is portable, and is not swollen out with notes which, as a rule, are only needed by ignorant schoolboys. The introduction by Mr. T. E. Page does ample justice to the strong points of Horace's character: his love for his father, his staunchness towards his friends, and his delight in rural simplicity, which, though very different from the spirit of Burns, and from that of Wordsworth, prove that Horace was a true child of Nature, in spite of the associations which tended to make him a mere man of the world. A better appreciation of the Roman poet than that embodied in this introduction it would be hard to find. We have no doubt that Mr. Page's edition of Horace will have a wide circulation amongst all lovers of classical literature.

It is always a pleasure to read something from Mrs. Molesworth's pen, and we are very pleased with *Opposite Neighbours*,² and the three following stories. We think them one and all very good. It is difficult to say which of the four we prefer, for they are all so perfectly life-like and natural. If parents wish to give real pleasure to their children we advise them to give them a copy of *Opposite Neighbours*, and, indeed, we feel sure the parents themselves will derive pleasure from the perusal of this charming book.

Of the issue of books for boys there is no end at this time of year. There is always a fascination for the young in reading a true story, somewhat akin to the delight which children always feel in doing something "really useful," and the straightforward narrative of William Shotten's unparalleled feat, written by Mr. Metcalfe, under the title of *The Boy Skipper*,³ will appeal to boys far more than the most cunningly invented tale of mere fiction. Mr. Metcalfe is seen at his best in this volume; but we cannot compliment him equally in his story called *Nailing the Colours*.⁴ In seeking to contrast good and bad he has palpably overdrawn the virtues of the hero and the wickedness of his messmates. The nautical lingo is managed well, but the constant moralising savours somewhat of cant.

In *Under the Lone Star*⁵ Mr. Herbert Hayens strikes new ground in selecting the comparatively little known State of Nicaragua as the scene of his boy hero's exploits. It says something for the writer's powers that, besides interesting us in his hero's exploits, he has been able to invest with a certain halo of romance his narrative of one of

¹ *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*. Edited by T. E. Page, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

² *Opposite Neighbours, and Other Stories*. By Mrs. Molesworth. London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

³ *The Boy Skipper*. By W. C. Metcalfe. London: Jarrold & Sons.

⁴ *Nailing the Colours*. By W. C. Metcalfe. London: Jarrold & Sons.

⁵ *Under the Lone Star*. By Herbert Hayens. London: T. Nelson & Sons.

the miserable episodes of bloody civil strife which have so long disgraced the history of the Republics of Central and South America. Like all Messrs. Nelson's books of this class the volume is both handsome and substantial.

In Mr. Overton's *Far From Home*,¹ the story of a runaway, Donald Carrington sees enough adventures by land and sea (including a brush with bushrangers, a death-struggle with pirates, a couple of fires at sea, and a highway robbery) in his few months' absence from home to satisfy even his restless spirit and reconcile him to a stool in his father's office.

It is in the same useful and timely co-operation of Nature that Mr. Fergus Hume relies to extricate the party who share in *The Expedition of Captain Flick*,² from their apparently inevitable doom. We must add that in this case the reader is quite prepared for the eventual assistance rendered by the volcano both to the crew of the *Carmen* and the author in cutting the Gordian knot of their entanglement. The story, apart from this, and so far as regards the manner of its telling, is well handled.

We have also received what may be termed an authorised and revised version of the work which first brought this author into notoriety, *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*,³ and the mystery of that famous "boom" is cleared up in an interesting preface. It would appear from this that an Authors' Society is badly wanted in the Antipodes to befriend and advise young and unknown writers. If only in justice to the author's pocket, we hope that this edition will fulfil the publishers' anticipations by reaching a hitherto untouched stratum of the reading public.

Still another volume received this month from the same author, entitled *The Masquerade Mystery*,⁴ shows that the true scope of his powers lies in the weaving and unravelling of criminal mysteries of the Gaboriau type. Those who favour this type of fiction will find themselves skilfully lured on a dozen false scents by the author's ingenuity before they find themselves, in company with the keen-nosed amateur detective Mr. Spenser Tait, on the track of the right solution.

Mr. E. R. Sufling confesses in his preface to a collection of tales "of the weird and wild," entitled *The Story Hunter*,⁵ that his pride was somewhat ruffled by a critique on his last volume to the effect that the writer was somewhat "lacking in high invention." Mr. Sufling boldly takes up the challenge and successfully clears his fair fame as a writer from the imputation cast on it by his anonymous critic. One or two of the stories are not unworthy of being named

¹ *Far from Home*. By Robert Overton. London : Jarrold & Sons.

² *The Expedition of Captain Flick*. By Fergus Hume. London : Jarrold & Sons.

³ *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*. By Fergus Hume. London : Jarrold & Sons.

⁴ *The Masquerade Mystery*. By Fergus Hume. London : Jarrold & Sons.

⁵ *The Story Hunter*. By E. R. Sufling. London : Jarrold & Sons.

along with those of Edgar Allan Poe for their imaginative realism.

In so far as the adventures of Mr. Coxwell's *Knight of the Air*¹ are concerned with his balloon voyages and experiments, the writer, aided by his enthusiasm, expert knowledge, and a certain gift of vigorous description, makes them interesting and readable. Mr. Coxwell's forte lies in aeronautics, not fiction.

A charming gift-book for girls is Messrs. Seeley's prettily bound and illustrated edition of Miss Mitford's *Country Stories*,² and a fresh charm is added to the perusal of these masterpieces of rural portraiture by so dainty a presentment.

"To help to banish depression and add to the sun of human happiness is the one desire" of the Rev. Frederick Hastings in issuing his collection of short sketches giving peeps of the worries which beset various classes in their various avocations. *Don't Worry*³ he has aptly used as a title, and by pointing out to his readers what others have to bear, the writer hopes to enable them to bear their own worries with more equanimity. The Gospel of Content is all too seldom preached nowadays, and we wish Mr. Hastings every success in his modest enterprise.

Of the historical novels received this month, the most noteworthy is Mr. Charles Lowe's *A Fallen Star*,⁴ a tale of the Scots who served in the armies of the great Frederick in the Seven Years' War. The intrigues of the Young Pretender at the Court of Potsdam serve the writer as an admirable means of displaying the great qualities of the Hohenzollern hero by contrast with the pusillanimity of the Stuart drunkard, and his accurate knowledge of the events of the period, political, diplomatic and biographical, wedded to literary gifts of no mean order, has enabled him to present us with a combination of fact and fiction, the relative claims of whose twofold charms it is difficult to decide upon. His portraits of the chivalrous Marshal Keith, of collie-loving Captain Grant and doughty Private Burnes, show types of whom their king and the countries, both of their birth and their adoption, may well have been proud.

Yet another to the long list of romances which centre round the oft-told tale of Girondin heroism and ineptitude! This time it is from the Huguenot standpoint. A book to be thoroughly appreciated by students of this period, rather than by the general reader, is *The Veil of Liberty*.⁵ Unlike too many of those who have ventured to depict the social side of life in Paris during the momentous five years which followed the calling of the States-General, Péronne has gone to the original sources for information. He has been as

¹ *A Knight of the Air*. By Henry Coxwell. London : Digby, Long & Co.

² *Country Stories*. By Mary Russell Mitford. London : Seeley & Co.

³ *Don't Worry*. By the Rev. Frederick Hastings. London : Jarrold & Sons.

⁴ *A Fallen Star*. By Charles Lowe. London : Downey & Co.

⁵ *The Veil of Liberty*. By Péronne. London : A. & C. Black.

careful to avoid rhetorical exaggerations of style as to refrain from any fanciful amplification of the horrors of the period to add to the pathos and tragedy of the straightforward narrative.

Equally pathetic is the subject of Mr. John Saunders' work entitled *A Noble Wife*,¹ which deals with many of the chief actors and sufferers in the great drama of the Reformation of the Church in England, and centres round the personalities of Archbishop Cranmer and his "noble wife." As a truthful and life-like picture of the times the volume deserves unqualified praise.

Another semi-historical novel is that entitled *By the North Sea*;² the scene of the story is laid chiefly in and about Yarmouth. The recital of Albinia Ellis's mild adventures and simple courtship with Curate Frankland serves as a foil to bring out the rugged individuality of the historic character.

The civil strife that raged in France between Catholic and Huguenot in the Sixteenth century forms the background of two first-rate historical romances, *The Lord of Lovendale*,³ by R. D. Chetwoode, and *Le Tournoi de Vauplissans*,⁴ by Maurice Maindron. The pitiless savagery of this sectarian conflict is painted by both writers in lurid colours, but while Mr. Chetwoode uses the lawlessness of the times as a field whereon to show how luck and pluck may bring a hero of romance safely through a thousand dangers, M. Maindron, in the tragic fate of the hapless Madeleine de Gardefort and the fruitless quest of the quixotic De Morguen, points the sterner truth of the helplessness of innocence and virtue in an age where might was right and law existed but in name.

Geoffrey Connisterre, successful artist and self-contained man of the world, by a strange sequence of mischances connected with a letter addressed *Poste Restante* and opened in error, finds himself at once thrown over by his fiancée and burdened with the charge of the cast-off wife of another. He marries the latter in the end only to find the truth of the adage which couples matrimony with the beginning of troubles. Both style and construction are excellent.

Messrs. Jarrold & Sons have supplied a much-felt want in issuing a *Dictionary of British Musicians*, by J. A. Crowest, the author of several works on music and musicians.

Two Little Pilgrims' Progress is a charming story of two love-forsaken children, living with an aunt farmer, "more like a man in woman's clothes than a woman," to quote the little girl's words. Their determination and desperate efforts to see the World's Fair is

¹ *A Noble Wife*. By John Saunders. London: Jarrold & Sons.

² *By the North Sea*. A Tale of the Protector's Granddaughter. By Mrs. Marshall. London: Jarrold & Sons.

³ *The Lord of Lovendale*. By R. D. Chetwoode.

⁴ *Le Tournoi de Vauplissans*. By Maurice Maindron. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

⁵ *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*. By Mrs. Hodgson Burnett. London: F. Warne & Co.

very touching and beautifully told. The book is exceedingly well illustrated by W. R. Macbeth.

Messrs. Allen & Co. have just issued a new edition of Sir E. Arnold's *Book of Good Counsels*.¹ It was published thirty years ago, and passed out of print, and, as the author tells us in the preface, it seems a pity that the pretty forest fables and curious quotations from Indian poetry which it contained, should be lost. The book is therefore republished in another and more popular form.

In *Old Maids and Young*² there is plenty of smart epigrammatic conversation, and too much irrelevant small talk. The book shows potentialities of better work in the future from the same pen.

Dr. Quantrill,³ a strong believer in the doctrine of heredity, had grave doubts as to the wisdom of the course he adopted in furthering his friend's marriage with his housemaid. How and why we will leave our readers to find out for themselves, for the plot is cleverly invented, and the interest never flags.

ART.

In the historical studies which this century has pursued so happily a desideratum has long been the application of the comparative method to Art. Comparative philology has become something akin to science, and comparative mythology is already more than a speculative grouping of symbols and legends. As the remains of the art of different peoples keep their permanent character, they may be regarded in some ways as the fossils of human history and be treated by the biological method which is used with the fossils of geological history. This modification of the comparative method has been adopted in some specimen studies published by Professor Alfred C. Haddon under the title, *Evolution in Art*; as illustrated by the Life-Histories of Designs.⁴ The book is issued in the "Contemporary Science Series," edited by Mr. Havelock Ellis. It is of 364 pages, with 8 plates and 130 figures in the text (about 350 objects), and has a careful index of both matter and illustration.

After an introduction explaining the meaning and limits of his subject, Professor Haddon treats, in four principal sections—(1) The Decorative Art of New Guinea, as an example of the method of study, locally in five districts, with relation to ethnology, and specifically of scroll designs; (2) The material of which patterns are made, in the decorative transformation of artificial objects (imitation of the structure or technique of textiles transferred to pottery, of wooden

¹ *Book of Good Counsels*. By Sir E. Arnold. Author's autograph edition. London: Allen & Co.

² *Old Maids and Young*. By Elsa D'Esterre Keeling. London: Cassell & Co.

³ *Dr. Quantrill's Experiment*. By T. Inglis. London: A. & C. Black.

⁴ *Evolution in Art*: as illustrated by the Life-Histories of Designs. By Alfred C. Haddon. London: Walter Scott. 1895.

buildings to stone, &c.), and in the representation of natural objects ; (3) The reasons for which objects are decorated, reduced to art, information, wealth, magic and religion ; and (4) The scientific method of studying decorative art. The systematic gathering and grouping of examples under all these heads shows the training of the biologist by profession ; but there is no lack of the artistic erudition required by the purposes of the book.

The work of Professor Haddon is satisfactory, considering the present state of our knowledge of the art-history of man ; and it is of value as foreshadowing future discoveries. In 1857 John M. Kemble pointed out the importance of differences in ornamentation when judging of the tendencies of races. This ethnological study is so far the least advanced, but it promises much for the future. A series of art-remains, of which the dates should be ascertained with what our author calls the " life-history " of their designs, might disclose the prehistoric routes of the Aryan emigration—an extreme result ; or, what is less difficult, finish the mapping out of early Phœnician commerce. To help to this, it is necessary to gather all those details of the racial life which can throw light on the imitations and the symbols of art, and—which is not less important—can prevent false identifications. The wanderings of the lotus, after Professor Good-year and his critics, and the distribution of the " fylfot " (*svastika*), treated by Count Goblet d'Alviella, are good examples from this book. The comparative method proper, which, with all due respect to the gospel of evolution, should not be confused with the biological, had an epoch-making treatise in the work on " style in technic and ' tektonic ' arts," by Semper, published at Munich in 1860. He urged, perhaps too exclusively, that the basket-maker, the weaver, and the potter originated the combinations of line and colour which the ornamentist turned to his own use. In his horribly technical volumes, M. J. Bourgoïn identified in their geometric forms many racial characters of ornament. Dr. H. Stolpe, of Stockholm, is credited by our author with being the first to attack the ethnological aspect, where, of course, diagrams of designs are useless, but the ornament must be taken as it exists, imperfect and envired characteristically. Dr. H. Colley March unites archæology with psychology in his valuable writings. Professor Flinders Petrie, in his own branch of Egyptian art, furnishes specimens of the completest comparative archæology, just as Professor Haddon has given us a taste of unmixed biological study of art. Evidently, we are by way of receiving a new branch of knowledge, which may do little to advance art, but will enlarge immensely our vision of man's artistic and social past.

Perhaps a single criticism should be made of Professor Haddon's method. It seems to recognise in race action only one distinction—that between the blind, necessary, " natural " working out of tendencies, inherited or acquired, and the more or less deliberate

following of the guidance of individual leaders, there is a third intermediate mode of collective action, more important than either—the “spontaneous,” which is conscious and voluntary, but not self-conscious or deliberate. This is peculiar to man and singularly limits his biology.

Book and newspaper illustration has been almost entirely changed during the present generation. “Process” engraving in conjunction with photography has made the illustration of each passing event rapid and cheap, resulting in a profusion of pictures which comes like the art of printing after parchment books. Even the artist often finds himself suppressed by the new mechanical inventions, in which “you turn the button and we do the rest.” It is these modern systems, and especially the methods of drawing for “process,” which Mr. Henry Blackburn explains, very lucidly and with good examples, in *The Art of Illustration*.¹

The experience of the practical teacher of “drawing for the Press” is evident on every page. The book also appeals directly to all concerned with writing that has to be illustrated. And it is very attractive and interesting to the general reader who speculates at all on the new aspect of literature. Everything is explained in a way easily understood by those who have no technical knowledge in the successive chapters on elementary and artistic illustration, on the various processes (gelatine, half-tone, photogravure), on wood-engraving, and the “decorative page,” with a few final entertaining pages on author, illustrator, and publisher.

A publishers’ note is issued with the third volume of *English Minstrelsie*,² of which we have already noticed favourably the two former volumes. It promises with the eighth and last volume “a full Chronological Index in addition to an Alphabetical Index.” The present number contains a pleasant sketch of the history of the English Opera, besides the lively notes which the reverend editor has prefixed to the collection of songs. The arrangement of the airs we persist in liking in spite of some too archaeologically inclined musical critics. The selection also seems good, comprising “Buy a Broom,” with its romantic history; “My Mother bids me Bind my Hair,” naturalised from Haydn; “The Gallant Poacher,” first a folk and then a music-hall song; “The Jolly, Jolly Breeze,” by Eccles, a rival of Purcell, with others from that arrested development of a truly national music; “While pensive I thought on my Love,” by the Michael Kelly of Dublin who was a chum of Mozart in Vienna; and “Much I loved a charming Creature” (in which “it has been absolutely necessary to rewrite the words”). *E va dicendo*.

¹ *The Art of Illustration*. By Henry Blackburn. Second Edition. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1896.

² *English Minstrelsie*. A National Monument of English Song. Edited by S. Baring-Gould, M.A. Volume the Third. Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. 1895.

A JUDICIAL SCANDAL—ARE JUDGES ABOVE THE LAW ?

PART I.

THAT such a question as this should be seriously raised at the end of the nineteenth century in this country will come as a surprise to the general public. The judges in this country have, to their great and lasting honour, proved themselves to be above suspicion. The immaculate integrity of the English Bench and its lofty conceptions of its judicial functions has become one of our most glorious traditions. Even during the Wars of the Roses the public respect for and confidence in the judges was not shaken, and in spite of the distractions of this troublous period they quietly and courageously discharged their duties. "The independence of the judges during this period," says Mr. Inderwick, Q.C., "with the courage of Sir William Gascoigne in the reign of Henry IV., and of Chief Justice Markham in the reign of Edward IV., are among the landmarks of English history." I do not forget the period of servility, oppression, and corruption through which the Bench passed under the last of the Stuart sovereigns ; but this was happily only temporary, and up to then and since has been without parallel.

The high integrity, then, of the English Bench has been taken as the model and as the foundation of the dispensation of law and justice in our Indian Empire, our colonies and dependencies, and amongst all English-speaking communities. The average Englishman will therefore receive a rude shock when he learns that in one of our Crown Colonies a grave departure from these traditional principles has been taken, and that in this country the doctrine has been enunciated from the Bench that a judge can do no wrong.

This question has been raised in the case of *Anderson v. Gorrie and Others*, which, owing to the natural reluctance of the Press to credit such a scandal, failed to attract that public attention it undoubtedly deserved.

The principal defendant was Sir John Gorrie, the late Chief Justice of Trinidad and Tobago, who pursued a systematic policy in those colonies of encouraging and promoting litigation ; instigating unfounded claims and accusations ; receiving suitors into his presence

and advising them upon their course of action ; obtaining counsel and solicitors for them upon the understanding of " no cure no pay " ; excusing them court fees, and allowing others, who could well afford to pay, to sue *in forma pauperis*. Whether this policy was prompted by a desire to champion the cause of the native population, or by self-interest, or by a combination of these two motives, is not known, and is, moreover, immaterial.

The fact remains that in Trinidad nearly 2000 such suits, almost all illegal, vexatious, or frivolous, were brought in two years, and in Tobago, with a population of only 18,000 inhabitants, 143 similar actions were entered in three days.

In one instance nineteen actions utterly groundless were brought against one gentleman, mulcting him £250 in costs ; in another, thirty actions costing the defendant £500 ; in another, fifty actions, the cost of defence amounting to £2000. In fact the majority of cases were nothing more or less than mere blackmail. Notwithstanding petition after petition to the Secretary of State this sort of thing went on for four years.

Dr. Anderson, the plaintiff, in *Anderson v. Gorrie*, had the misfortune to own a plantation in Tobago. In January 1889, this island was brought within the jurisdiction of Trinidad. There is not the slightest suggestion now that Dr. Anderson acted otherwise than fairly and humanely to the natives upon his estate. Here Dr. Anderson, F.R.C.S. Eng., a J.P., and a member of the Local Government, had practised as a medical man for sixteen years in the enjoyment of the respect and esteem of his neighbours, and he was one of the first to fall a victim to Sir John Gorrie's extraordinary and monstrous policy.

The Chief Justice assuming here, as in Trinidad, that every one who made a complaint against a planter must be in the right, formulated a series of these pauper actions, tried them himself, and, with the assistance of Mr. Justice Cook, in the Court of Appeal, upheld his own illegal decisions, and, in short, practised every improper device within his power.

Several such actions instigated by Sir John Gorrie were brought against Dr. Anderson. In these Dr. Anderson was not allowed to give evidence ; verdicts against the weight of evidence or by perjury were obtained ; improper judgments were delivered and damages and costs were illegally found and given against him. When Dr. Anderson in the exercise of his undoubted right petitioned the Crown, the Chief Justice put in force against him—notwithstanding the qualms of conscience of the inferior judges who sat with him—the terrible machinery of contempt. Excessive bail being demanded, Mr. Justice Cook committed him to prison in default, and when this was forthcoming, at first declined to accept it and refused his application for a writ of *habeas corpus*.

Having failed to avert these illegal proceedings in Trinidad and Tobago, Dr. Anderson was sent by the inhabitants of the colony to England, to represent to the people of this country this terrible oppression and to endeavour to obtain relief from the judgments hanging over his head and redress for the injuries he had sustained. On his arrival Dr. Anderson at once commenced an action in the High Court against Sir John Gorrie, Mr. Justice Lumb, and Mr. Justice Cook for damages for their illegal acts.

In the meantime, however, a Royal Commission of Inquiry was appointed and sent out, consisting of Sir William Markby and Sir Frederick Pollock, two jurists of world-wide celebrity.

The Royal Commissioners issued their Report in 1892, and it was ordered to be printed and laid upon the table of the House of Commons.

Upon the proceedings *in forma pauperis* the Commissioners reported as follows:

"The next subject of complaint was as to the improper admission of suits *in forma pauperis*. The Rules in this Colony relating to this subject are much the same as elsewhere. English procedure is generally followed. They are contained in Order 61 of the Rules of Court under the Judicature Act. They require, as a condition of being allowed to sue as a pauper, that the petition should be supported by the affidavit of the petitioner that he is not possessed of property of £10 in value, except wearing apparel and the subject of the suit, and they further require the production of a certificate signed by a barrister that the petitioner has a good cause of action. . . .

"In the case of *Frank v. Anderson*, one of the objections taken by way of Appeal was that the plaintiff had been improperly admitted to sue *in forma pauperis*. Upon this point the Chief Justice gave judgment in the Court of Appeal. He seems to think, as we understand his judgment, that the judge has power to dispense with the affidavit of poverty if he thinks it necessary to do so, 'in order to hear and determine the causes which the Queen's subjects desire to bring in her Majesty's Court,' and for this purpose to make the Rules of Court 'his aids,' and not 'his masters.' This looks to us very like claiming a general power of dispensation over the fixed Rules of the Court established by the Legislature. . . .

"Reading Paragraphs 47-81, it seems impossible to doubt that the Chief Justice did systematically at the time there spoken of admit persons to the privileges of suitors *in forma pauperis* although he knew that they had not made, and had reason to believe that they could not make, the necessary affidavits of poverty. . . .

"This certainly seems to support the general evidence, that at the time when the first return was asked for, there was irregularity, and to lead to the inference that subsequently to that return being made the irregularity was corrected; and if this is so, the further conclusion is inevitable—that many persons were admitted to sue *in forma pauperis* who were not entitled to that privilege; and it is unnecessary to point out the evils which such an irregularity is likely to produce.

"Courts of Justice by ample experience have found it needful everywhere to take strict precaution against the too facile admission of speculative and vexatious claims. We cannot say that these considerations have been duly, if at all, regarded by Sir John Gorrie."

In all his cases Dr. Anderson was illegally deprived of his right to give his own evidence.

On this the Commissioners say :

"The case of Dr. R. B. Anderson's imprisonment in default of finding excessive bail, which has been separately dealt with in the first part of this Report, arose out of a group of actions in which there were other and distinct matters of grievance. Dr. R. B. Anderson now brought these matters before us as a witness. His evidence is that of a person who has for some time been on hostile terms with the Supreme Court of the colony, and in fact has an action pending against its judges in the Queen's Bench Division in England. Dr. Anderson's evidence, especially in the absence of cross-examination, must therefore be received with a certain measure of caution. But we feel bound to say that he gave it in a fair and temperate manner, and without any apparent desire to exaggerate the facts.

"The first point of complaint was that Dr. Anderson had not been allowed to give his evidence in several cases in which he was a party and appeared in person. . . .

"Dr. Anderson accordingly left the witness-box and did not give his evidence. Other cases were tried shortly afterwards before the Chief Justice, in which Dr. Anderson was defendant (*Marshall v. Anderson*, *Douglas v. Anderson*, *McKnight v. Anderson*, *James v. Anderson*) and one in which he was plaintiff (*Anderson v. Fraser*). In each of these cases Dr. Anderson asked the Chief Justice whether his ruling on this point was the same as in *Frank v. Anderson*, and, being told by the Chief Justice that it was, he did not give his evidence on his own behalf as he otherwise would have done. Taking the matter as it stands here, we are clearly of opinion that the course taken by Sir John Gorrie in all these cases was contrary to law, and involved a substantial denial of justice."

Of the illegal imprisonment of Dr. Anderson and the excessive bail required the Commissioners observe :

"It appears, however, that Dr. Anderson was on the 23rd of January, 1891, ordered by Mr. Justice Cook, upon adjournment of his examination, to give his security in £500, and also to find bail in £500, for his appearance at the adjourned hearing of the summons, and in default of giving such security was committed to prison. We repeatedly asked for some explanation of the hearing and examination on this and subsequent occasions being adjourned at all, but no intelligible explanation was forthcoming. No evidence was before us as to Mr. Justice Cook's conduct on the 23rd January. Dr. Anderson remained in prison until the adjourned hearing was resumed on the 30th January. On that day Mr. Justice Cook (who, as has been stated, was not sober the night before) took the business of Chambers or, according to the term in local use, the Practice Court. He again adjourned the hearing after some examination, and required Dr. Anderson to find security for his appearance as before, in two sums of £500. Five well known and highly respected residents, three of whom were members of the Legislative Council, being aware of this, and considering (we are not prepared to say wrongly considering) that a grave injustice was being done, went in a body before the judge to offer the required security. After some discussion, the security of Dr. De Verteuil, C.M.G., the oldest, and in some ways the most distinguished of the party, was accepted. . . .

"We have already had occasion to state in our Report on the charges against Mr. Justice Cook, the incident of Dr. Anderson's examination on

certain summonses before that Judge, the adjournment of the hearing, and his commitment to prison in default of finding bail in the sum of £500 for his appearance, in addition to his own security for the like sum; the total amount of the judgment debts, including costs, being £42 2s. These summonses were taken out without any affidavit whatever to show even that the debts were unpaid. . . .

"Mr. Justice Cook's orders were affirmed by the full Court of Appeal in Trinidad. . . .

"We do not find a suggestion anywhere that Dr. Anderson was concealing his property. His probity stands altogether unimpeached. There is no affidavit whatever upon the proceedings in support of the summons to examine Dr. Anderson, and he had already been examined as to his ability to pay in Tobago. . . .

"Although these Rules have been in force many years, this appears to be the only case in which the power of imprisonment in default of finding security is known to have been exercised in the Colony. No ground whatever was shown for supposing that Dr. Anderson would fail to appear. . . .

"Even if there had been ground for taking security at all, there was no possible justification for requiring security and bail to such an extent as £500, more than twelve times the whole amount of the judgment debts. . . .

"We are not surprised that the course taken by Mr. Justice Cook excited great indignation at the time among the most respectable citizens of the Colony. . . .

"We repeatedly pressed Sir John to point to any evidence at all that Dr. Anderson intended at the time to leave the Colony (Order XLII., Rule 3), or that there was any reason for doubt as to his appearance at the adjourned hearing of the summons (Rule 6). All that Sir John Gorrie could say was: 'Here is a debtor who has been braving the Courts of Justice for a long period of time. We had seen him, and we had seen how he wrangled over matters.' These are his actual words uttered in our presence. . . .

"What the Chief Justice calls 'braving the Courts of Justice' was in reality for the most part a determined resistance to a judgment of the Court, which a Commission of Inquiry had reported to be wrong, and which the Secretary of State has since authorised to be annulled by legislation. Neither in the record, nor in Sir John Gorrie's multifarious remarks, nor in anything that came before us in the course of the inquiry, could we find any trace of reasonable grounds upon which a case would have been made for exercising the power given by Rule 3. . . .

"Viewing these proceedings in regard to Dr. Anderson as a whole, and endeavouring to estimate the blame which attaches to the Chief Justice, we submit to Your Excellency that he has throughout dealt with the case without any regard to the provisions of the law applicable to it, which provisions, it is needless to say, ought in such a manner to be strictly adhered to. We have no reason to doubt that Sir John Gorrie thought he was acting for the public good in this judicial persecution (for so we must call it) of Dr. Anderson. . . .

"When, therefore, the Chief Magistrate of the Colony gives the weight of his sanction—and even his encouragement—to such proceedings as these, we think the due administration of justice in the Colony is in serious danger, because no litigant will feel sure that in the vigorous prosecution of his case he may not expose himself to the displeasure of the Chief Justice, and have to incur consequences similar to those which, for no other fault, Dr. Anderson incurred in the case under consideration. . . .

"The case of Dr. Anderson has disclosed a disregard of the rights and

liberties of the subject which, though proved and exemplified in a single case, appeared to us so wilful and deliberate as to be fraught with public danger. . . .

"If he (Sir John Gorrie) seeks to justify himself by saying that in his opinion the result has been beneficial to the community, the answer is, that in a civilised community the first duty of judges, as of other citizens, is to obey the law."

The immediate result of this Report was the removal of Sir John Gorrie and Mr. Justice Cook from office in June 1892.

The statement of claim in *Anderson v. Gorrie and Others* having been delivered, the defendants (February 10, 1892) applied to the Divisional Court before Cave and Charles, JJ., to strike it out as disclosing no cause of action.

The application was refused, and Mr. Justice Cave told the defendants' counsel that although he had been arguing for half an hour the Court was further from thinking there was no cause of action than when he began. Upon another application to the Divisional Court (December 15, 1893) before Coleridge, C.J., and Collins, J., their Lordships took the same point, that the judges could not issue a rule for contempt, *ex proprio motu*, against a litigant for complaining of them to the Queen.

Before this application, however, was made Sir John Gorrie died.

The case came on for hearing on April 19, 1894, before the Lord Chief Justice (the late Lord Coleridge) and a special jury. The plaintiff appeared in person, and is acknowledged to have conducted his case most ably. Mr. Bingham, Q.C., Mr. Joseph Walton, Q.C., and Mr. Synnott were for the defendant Lumb; Mr. Adam Walker and Mr. H. Hodge for the defendant Cook. In the course of the plaintiff's opening statement his Lordship observed :

"You state that the judges have given a decision against you, which you considered wrong, and that in consequence the judges treated this as a contempt of Court, and threatened to deal with you for such contempt. Now, if all this on their part was a mere misapprehension (assuming the facts to be as you have stated them), then, however outrageous it might appear, I am of opinion that it would not maintain an action. But if the Bench of Judges conspired together to oppress the party by a misuse of the process of their Court, then I am of opinion that that would be evidence of malice. And if the jury should find that there was malice, then I should leave it to the Court to say whether judges thus guilty of abusing their powers for the purpose of personal oppression are liable to an action."

It appeared in the evidence that Dr. Anderson having brought an action for libel against Sir John Gorrie, Mr. Justice Lumb struck out such passages as were libellous, and Mr. Justice Cook on appeal allowed a demurrer for the absence of such passages and gave judgment against the plaintiff. Lord Coleridge declared that if the plaintiff could bring this home to Mr. Justice Lumb it would have a very serious aspect, adding that these appeared to be the facts.

Nothing further upon this point, however, appears in the reports,

and, finally, the jury found that "there was no evidence against Mr. Justice Lumb of wilful judicial misconduct, or perversion of justice, or malice, or improper motive in relation to the proceedings in which Dr. Anderson was concerned." Judgment was entered accordingly in his favour.

On the seventh day of the trial—

"Lord Coleridge proceeded to sum up the case to the jury, observing that, though it had taken up a long time, it raised questions of very great importance, which he should first leave to them as issues of fact and then upon their finding he should take such course as might appear to him proper—either determining the case at once or reserving it for the Court. The action was brought originally against three gentlemen lately judges at Trinidad, for alleged acts of gross and malicious persecution of the plaintiff in their office, by perverting the course of justice maliciously and for the purposes of oppression. Now, no doubt the conduct of the judicature in these distant colonies was a matter of the greatest importance. . . . And above all, it was important to maintain the absolute independence of the judges. It might seem strange that actions should not be maintained against judges for acts done as judges within their jurisdiction; but it did not follow that there was not a remedy, and a speedy and effectual remedy; for, as Lord Knutsford had stated, the Governor could at once suspend a Colonial Judge and the Secretary of State could remove him. And in this very case the Governor had suspended a judge, and after an admirable inquiry two judges were removed; so that there was speedy and effectual redress. His Lordship proceeded to read passages from the judgment of Lord Mansfield in the great case of *Mostyn v. Fabrigas*. 'If,' he said, 'a judge be sued for an act done by him as judge, he may plead that he did it as a judge.' That law had been often upheld and acted upon, and a few years ago was acted upon by the Court of Queen's Bench in the case of *Tracy v. Blackburn*, an action against Lord Blackburn, then Mr. Justice Blackburn, where it was laid down 'that no action will lie against a judge of a superior Court for a judicial act, even though it be alleged to have been done maliciously and corruptly.' So it was laid down by Sir William Erle and the Court of Common Pleas in the case of *Kemp v. Nerille* (12 C. B. Rep.). That being the law, the only question was whether defendant was liable if, in what he did, he acted perversely and for the purpose of oppression. There was no direct authority, but in one case the late Lord Chief Justice said he was reluctant to hold that if a judge used his judicial office maliciously and corruptly he would not be liable. There was, however, no direct decision on the question, and the inclination of his own opinion was that the action would not lie even in such a case. It might seem monstrous that a judge might abuse his judicial office to the oppression of a suitor and yet not be liable to action. But, on the other hand, the case could not be known without trial, and malice and oppression might always be alleged, and the mere allegation would make the judge liable to action and the whole object of the rule of law would be defeated; and then the dread of an action might induce a judge to be less firm than he ought to be in resisting oppression perpetrated by others. The question, therefore, was not one to be easily decided, and was one fit to be reserved—if it arose—for the Court. It had never yet been decided; the late Chief Justice, though he had an opinion, had never been called upon to decide it; and, in his own view, the weight of judicial authority was against such an action. Now, as to the present case, no doubt the plaintiff had sustained some injuries, and as to which the Chief Justice had been removed. As

to Mr. Cook, the question was now to be dealt with. Certainly the plaintiff had sustained some wrong; the jury would have to decide as to its nature. It was, no doubt, alleged that the acts complained of were done by the defendant 'maliciously and without jurisdiction and with knowledge that they were without jurisdiction.' The two great points were these—first, that delays having been interposed in the trial of certain actions against him, the plaintiff sent to the Governor a petition to the Queen complaining of the delay (in perfectly proper terms), and, the Governor having sent it to the Chief Justice, the Court at once issued proceedings for 'contempt of court.' Now, proceedings for contempt of court were serious, for they might lead to imprisonment; and Mr. Cook concurred with the Chief Justice in issuing the process for contempt. Mr. Cook had stated that Sir J. Gorrie was very strong-willed and declared that, if the others did not concur, he would issue the process himself. Well, it was hardly possible for the Chief Justice to do so without the concurrence of his colleagues, and he could not understand how it could have been done. It was quite unjustifiable to issue such process against a suitor who had merely petitioned the Queen complaining of delay. He could not understand it! Then judgments having been obtained against Dr. Anderson to the amount of £42, or, with costs about £100, and not being able to pay at once, he was brought before Mr. Justice Cook to be examined as to his means; and on an adjournment for a week the Judge held him to bail for £1000—that is, himself in £500 and a surety for £500. But in the afternoon of the same day five persons offered themselves as bail and the Judge accepted one of them whom he knew to be sufficient. There was here, indeed, a great conflict of evidence (though not of importance), for Dr. Anderson said the Judge rejected several of them, but Mr. Cook said he at once accepted one of them. Mr. Cook had stated that he had acted within his judicial power and that he had exercised his judicial discretion in holding the plaintiff to bail for £1000. He confessed he could not understand how an English judge could have so acted, and insisted that he had the power to do it. In one sense, no doubt, he had; he had the power to hold the man to bail for £10,000; but was it a fair exercise of judicial power and discretion? These were the two matters in question, and as to which the plaintiff complained that he had been oppressed. Now, the jury had yesterday handed him a paper, in which they stated that 'the defendant acted oppressively and, either maliciously or unaccountably under the influence of drink, over-strained his judicial powers to the prejudice of the plaintiff and for the perversion of justice.' Gentlemen, said his Lordship, I presume you are still of the same opinion? (The jury said they were.) Then I shall take that as your verdict in the case. (They assented.) I observe that you say 'maliciously or unaccountably under the influence of drink.' Now, gentlemen, it may now be stated that it appears from the report of the Commissioners that Mr. Cook was dismissed from his office on that ground. Now the question of damages must be for you. But damages may in such cases sometimes be 'vindictive,' and as to that head of damages perhaps you might think that the defendant in this case has been already punished enough and that he is unable to pay large damages. You must remember that we are not trying Mr. Cook for having been drunk.

"Mr. Walker said there was no evidence of it before the jury. But even on their finding he claimed a verdict.

"Lord Coleridge said nothing remained for the jury but the amount of damages, and that is a question emphatically for you, and which I leave to you.

"A juror asked why they might not give exemplary damages indicating their feeling as to the wrongs done to Dr. Anderson, even though the defendant might be unable to pay them.

"Lord Coleridge said he could not fetter the right of the jury to give such damages as they might think proper; he had merely expressed his own opinion.

"The jury deliberated some time, and then gave their verdict for the plaintiff for £500.

"Lord Coleridge then said he would suggest to the jury that in the sentence in their finding 'or unaccountably under the influence of drink,' they should substitute 'and' for 'or.'

"Mr. Walker said this would quite alter the nature of the finding.

"Lord Coleridge: I should not have suggested it if I had not thought that it would make some difference.

"The jury said they had been discussing it, and intended to ask to be allowed to strike out altogether the clause referred to.

"Lord Coleridge assented, and then said: Now, gentlemen—and you will understand from what I have already said that it is with no disrespect to you, but because I consider that I am bound by the authority of decided cases—notwithstanding your verdict, I must direct the judgment to be entered for the defendant, leaving the plaintiff to move to enter it for him for the amount of damages you have found. I do not think that I am at liberty to set aside the decisions I have adverted to, and which appear to establish that no such action can be maintained.

"Judgment accordingly entered for the defendant."¹

From this judgment Dr. Anderson appealed. The appeal was heard on August 7, 1894, by the Master of the Rolls, Lord Justice Kay and Lord Justice A. L. Smith.

In reply to Dr. Anderson, his Lordship assented to the proposition that if a man were brought in custody before him, and his Lordship struck him in the face, such striking would be a judicial act.

In the course of the argument Lord Esher is reported to have said: "If I were to order a barrister in court to sit down and he did not, and I shot at him and killed him, I much doubt if proceedings for murder would lie against me."

In giving the judgment of the Court, Lord Esher said:

"Could a private person maintain an action against a judge for having done something within his jurisdiction maliciously and contrary to good faith? Unless there were overruling reasons of public policy, no one could say that such an action ought not to lie. But the authorities showed that such reasons existed, and that such an action would not lie." His Lordship then referred to various authorities, and said that "the law clearly was that no action lay against a judge of a superior Court for any act done, or anything said in the performance of his office, even though it was done or said maliciously for the purpose of gratifying ill-feeling. The action, therefore, could not be maintained, and the appeal must be dismissed."²

From this judgment the Civil Rights Defence Committee desires to appeal to the House of Lords. From the judgments and orders of the defendants which are still in force with ruinous effect against Dr. Anderson, in Tobago and Trinidad, an appeal is to be brought before the Privy Council.

¹ *The Times*, May 5, 1894.

² *Ibid.* August 8, 1894, and L.R. (1895) 1 Q.B. 668.

This Society, under the presidency of the Earl of Stamford, is largely composed of representatives of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, the British Medical Association, and other English and Colonial bodies, and has been expressly constituted in order to ascertain if it really be the law that acts done by a judge, wilfully and maliciously contrary to law and outside his jurisdiction, are judicial acts for which no action lies, and if so, then to proceed to petition Parliament for remedial legislation to protect the rights and liberties of the subject.¹

Here I have merely endeavoured to place the facts of this case clearly and impartially before the public. In my next article I propose to discuss the question whether this decision is in accordance with the facts and with the law, and if such be the case, whether or not the law should be altered.

Such an alteration may seem unnecessary in England itself. But that it is absolutely essential in the Crown colonies, the case of *Anderson v. Gorrie* alone proves up to the hilt. In fact, in the course of the argument in this case Lord Coleridge observed "that not long ago he sat at the Privy Council to advise the Crown as to the case of a colonial judge who had sent to prison a person who had not written a libel, but would not tell the Court who had written it. After that he should not be surprised at anything done in a colonial Court."²

That the administration of justice in our Crown colonies should be as pure and as above suspicion as in this country is, I submit, a matter of national concern, and a matter touching our national honour. A "judicial scandal" such as this is just one of those things which weaken the natural ties between a colony and its mother country.

HUGH H. L. BELLOT.

[N.B.—Further information upon this case can be obtained from the Secretary of the Civil Rights Defence Committee, 5 Mitre Court, The Temple, London, E.C.—ED. W.R.]

¹ There are, however, further complications. When Lord Esher decided *Anderson v. Gorrie*, he was himself defendant in an action for slander. Relying upon this decision, Lord Justice Lindley gave judgment in Lord Esher's favour. Thereupon Dr. Anderson served notice of motion to set aside the decision in his case as voidable on the ground of Lord Esher's interest. The motion was struck out, but ultimately the Court (of which Lord Esher formed part) refused to form a Court without Lord Esher and to entertain Dr. Anderson's motion. Thus the further question is raised whether Lord Esher had such an interest as to disqualify him from sitting to hear this appeal.

² *The Times*, April 25, 1894.

(To be continued.)

CURRENT EVENTS.

SOUNDS other than peaceful ushered in the New Year. In the Far East one of the oldest of Christian peoples was suffering cruel outrage at the hands of the pitiless Turk. A boundary dispute in the middle of the Western hemisphere threatened to plunge men of the same race and language in fratricidal war. An ill-judged Imperial message in reference to a conflict, as yet imperfectly understood, below the Tropic of Capricorn caused the Queen of the Seas to display her iron walls and bid her rivals pause.

It cannot be denied that the young German Emperor is a picturesque and remarkable figure. He seems to possess something of the heroic spirit of his Hohenzollern forefathers, such as the Great Elector or even Frederick the Second. Marshal Blumenthal, one of the few surviving commanders who bore a great part in the Franco-German War, is said to have expressed surprise that one who had never been under fire should understand military details so unerringly. Jules Simon admires his grasp of social and political questions, and Ernest Renan regretted that he would have to leave this delightful world without knowing what would become of him. But the spirit of the times is undoubtedly opposed to absolutism, however brilliant the qualities of the monarch may be.

A desire to possess a larger sea-board exists in many Germans. At one time the idea of recovering the Baltic Provinces, where more than a million of their race chafe under Russian rule, found ample sympathy. But the German tongue has been expelled from the schools of Dorpat, and the process of making Livonia more completely Russian is still in operation. England can afford to regard this matter with comparative indifference, but ought not to allow Germany to get possession of the Netherlands by Royal marriage or otherwise. For the Dutch were once a formidable rival at sea in consequence of their position, and cost us many years of anxious effort before their fleet "took its leave of history" (to cite Lord Rosebery's words) at Camperdown. Luckily, they have become more French in their sympathies of late, and would be likely to resist any attempt to absorb them in the German Empire.

The language of the Continental Press, à propos of the telegram to President Kruger was not altogether pleasant. But this is, after all,

an old story. Even those who admire our intelligence most find our character unattractive. Whatever limitations we may have, no other modern nation has displayed the same genius for government, for colonisation, and for commerce, and those whom we have outstripped in the race are jealous of our wealth and grandeur. But the Germans are perhaps more unpopular still, and many would have been delighted to see the two most masculine nations of Europe wear each other out in a long and barren struggle.

Yet any such struggle would have been only a degree less stupid and scandalous than an Anglo-American war. For the two Protestant Powers have more points of sympathy than palpably conflicting interests. What Englishman can read without some thrill of pride the passage in the Memoirs of the poet-patriot Arndt, recording how he drank the health of Arthur Wellesley as he heard of his first victories in Spain, at a time when his own country's annihilation had plunged his soul in grief? It would, perhaps, be well for Germans and Englishmen alike to think with more mutual gratitude of the old struggle in defence of the liberties of Europe against the terrible Corsican. It is deeply to be regretted that so many petulant and unworthy expressions have been let loose in this country with regard to her Majesty's royal grandson and his brave and thoughtful subjects. If the Jingo journalists in both countries who recklessly stirred up hatred and bitterness had been forced to settle the matter by a limited hand to hand duel, their language might have been more temperate.

Many Liberals are willing to echo Lord Rosebery's advice, and sink party spirit in considering foreign affairs. Now that the more fantastic views that prevailed in Conservative circles twenty years back have ceased to be so fashionable, the two great parties may be said to differ less in matters of foreign policy. On the other hand, the old Radicalism which talked of discarding the colonies has largely given way to a new school of thought, which sees the best chance of permanent peace in a closer alliance of all the scattered members of our single British State. It is perhaps consoling to find the other British State, which felt constrained to sever itself from us a century ago on account of the folly of our rulers, expressing more sympathy with the sufferers in "the purple East" than most Continental Powers. But is the whole British world prepared to baptize itself with fire, and put an end to the Armenian horrors by bringing pressure on the Turk?

The Duke of Argyll (the only surviving member of the Cabinet that decided on the Crimean War, except Mr. Gladstone) has clearly pointed out our national responsibility. If we had not stepped in, the Turkish Empire would have fallen a prey to Russia forty years ago. The Government of the Czar might have been equally despotic, but could hardly have been equally loathsome and cruel. If our

Government is unwilling to embark on a struggle where consequences cannot easily be foreseen, would it not be the noblest course to ask the Russian monarch to intervene and put an end to the hideous chronicle of Turkish lust and crime? No other Power is near enough at hand to absorb and govern the province of Armenia, and those who believe in the divine origin of the Christian faith, and confess that faith with their lips, should be the first to welcome a feasible solution of the problem. Nor would such a result be really ruinous to our interests.

Mr. Chamberlain has displayed promptitude and vigour in dealing with South African affairs. Englishmen are often liable to forget that Cape Colony was Dutch in the first instance, and only fell into our hands by the terms of the Congress of Vienna at the end of the war with Napoleon. According to J. A. Froude (whose opinion the Prime Minister is likely to weigh, as he made him, a few years ago, a Professor of History), the Boers are altogether a pattern of stern piety and virtue. Yet, so little have their position and rights been understood, that only one member, Mr. Courtney, protested in the House of Commons when the Transvaal territory was annexed. But even Lord Randolph Churchill latterly came to admit Mr. Gladstone acted wisely in making peace, after the battle of Majuba Hill, and restoring the Boers their independence. The rant about British humiliation is now chiefly confined to third-rate Jingoos and adventurers. At present it is perhaps premature to express a judgment on the late lamentable struggle, beyond praising President Kruger for his obvious wisdom and moderation. To place the Chartered Company under closer Government control would seem to be more expedient than to revoke their privileges altogether. It remains for Mr. Rhodes to plead his case in England.

To make up for the pressure of exciting events abroad, comparative quietude has prevailed at home. Even the eternal Irish question seems to have become dormant for a while. But any one who handles the school problem is likely to get his feet burnt by the fire that lurks beneath deceptive ashes, if the metaphor of the Roman poet may be cited afresh. All genuine Liberals are bound to resist sectarian outbursts. Just at present it is not needful to discuss whether it is expedient to force a certain miraculous circumstance (of which the New Testament says very little) down the throats of "little children" in a specially formulated shape.

The appointment of Alfred Austin as Poet Laureate and the foolish verses he subsequently perpetrated in the *Times* lend no fresh lustre to the Premier. If Swinburne was impossible on moral and other grounds, why was a man of genius like George Meredith capriciously passed over? Apart from the poetic powers displayed in his prose descriptions, his *Poems and Lyrics of the Joys of Earth* yield to no verses of any living poet. On the other hand, Lord

Salisbury may have taken a useful step after all in rendering the office (against which Edward Gibbon protested more than a hundred years ago) unutterably ridiculous.

The death of Prince Henry of Battenberg has evoked sincere expressions of sorrow. Even those who were once inclined to agree with Mr. Labouchere that it would have been well to create him Duke of Heligoland before the restoration of the island, sympathise with the Sovereign in her bereavement. If his existence could not well have been eventful, he seems to have left a favourable impression on those with whom he came in contact. Ever since the days when the pious and tender Virgil scattered his purple flowers on the grave of the young Marcellus, the loss of a prince in his prime has become a favourite theme for hosts of schoolboys and journalists. But the secret of the tomb remains as obscure as ever.

The return of Mr. John Morley to the political arena will be welcome to all believers in progress. Like his philosophic master, John Stuart Mill, he has served to raise the tone of public life itself by his exceptional honesty and courage. Some who know little of his writings scornfully term him a mere litterateur, but no one who has seriously mastered their contents can fail to detect the note of a man of action. His first speech at Arbroath was the best and most inspiring comment that has been made on the perplexing tendency of events. If the moral forces by which the world is moved are the essence and property of liberalism, no one incorporates them more manifestly than the late Irish Secretary, on whom no small portion of the lost leader's godlike fire has been suffered to descend.

THE NEW POET LAUREATE.

SOME unwise admirers of the late Lord Tennyson appear to be exceedingly indignant at the appointment of Mr. Alfred Austin as his successor. Certain newspapers, which certainly have very slender claims to the functions of criticism, have disparaged Mr. Austin in vulgar and wholly unwarrantable language. No doubt the author of that volume of trenchant essays entitled *The Poetry of the Period* has had the courage to express a very unfavourable estimate of Tennyson, and it must be confessed that his want of reverence for the poet who enriched English literature with *Locksley Hall* and *Maud* is calculated to arouse the ire of over-zealous Tennysonian enthusiasts. There is unquestionably much difference of opinion amongst good critics as to Tennyson's merits. The man who wrote *Locksley Hall* was a genuine poet; but his attempts to produce dramatic poetry were ghastly failures. Even Mr. Irving's painstaking acting and elaborate stage-effects have not succeeded in galvanising *Becket* into life, for it is a play which came into the world still-born, and which presents to us a number of talking puppets instead of characters.

Why, then, should not Mr. Austin, or any other student of literature, be at liberty to express his views about Tennyson? Surely we are not going to resurrect the Inquisition for the purpose of muzzling critics? For my part, I have read with delight Mr. Austin's *Poetry of the Period*, and I agree thoroughly with much—though not all—that he has written about his distinguished predecessor. The *Saturday Review* may fume about “Alfred the Great” and “Alfred the Little,” but the use of exaggerated phrases of this sort with reference to poets only proves the incompetence of the ill-tempered writer who penned the very funny article entitled “Poetry and the Barbarians,” in that smart though by no means sound medium of latter-day pseudo-criticism.

I would be sorry to think that Lord Salisbury (whose politics are not mine) can be as ignorant of literature as the writer in the *Saturday Review*. That individual apparently imagines that he has only to fling the word “Philistine” at the head of the *Times* and a number of other tolerably competent authorities to establish his own infallibility. Now, the truth is that Lord Tennyson is not a poet

of the highest order, and the same remark applies to Mr. Austin. But, if they both fall short of the first rank, they are, I venture to submit, both admirable poets of the second rank. Some people profess to see marvellous things in *The Idylls of the King*. I confess that, while I appreciate the late Laureate's fine description of King Arthur's death, I have found the perusal of the so-called Arthurian epic a dreary and unenjoyable experience. *In Memoriam* may help to win sincere admiration for the sombre power which Tennyson certainly possessed—a quality in which he resembles Gray; but compared with Shelley's *Adonais*, even *In Memoriam* is a feeble effort. Indeed, didacticism was Tennyson's bane, and the shadow of the preacher is over all his lyrical efforts.

Not so Mr. Austin. His lyrical poems are essentially spontaneous, and have a freshness and tenderness which is unsurpassed by the work of any other living English writer of verse. They breathe the air of English rural life; they furnish a parallel in contemporary poetry to Mr. Thomas Hardy's splendid prose descriptions of English scenery. Mr. Austin has also the merit of having felicitously associated English scenes with a vigorous love of country. English fields are identified, to his mind, with the national life, as it has been pointed out in a review of his *Lyrics*. Here are four lines whose virile ring contrasts favourably with the puling strains of some of his pretentious rivals:

“ Yes, this is England, frank and fair;
I tread its turf, I breathe its air,
And catch from every stalwart lung
The music of my mother tongue.”

Some people have ridiculed the new Laureate's verses about Dr. Jameson. Well, they are rough, but, in spite of their Jingoism, they are not ignoble; and Lord Tennyson wrote far more feeble verses in his time. We must not judge a poet by his hasty effusions or his ineptitudes. If we did, would not Byron's contemptuous estimate of Wordsworth be generally adopted, which, fortunately owing to the sanity of critics, is not the case?

I could quote many beautiful passages from Mr. Austin's works which would prove his title to rank as a true poet. I will, however, merely refer very briefly to the extent and importance of his work in the domain of poetry. He has produced a great deal during a comparatively short period. *The Human Tragedy* alone would be enough to place him above the great crowd of minor poets. The fault of this work is that its scope was too wide. It is, at the same time, a narrative and a philosophical poem. Yet it contains a number of passages which border on sublimity. Even the opening lines are singularly beautiful—they might have been written by Shelley:

“O Love, undying Love! eternal star,
That, risen ere the dawn of earthly suns,
Dost never set! That, as now near, now far,
Its fickle course each paler passion runs,
Burnest on high, fix'd where the Immortals are,
Beacon and bourne of us wayfaring ones!
Elder than all the Nine! descend, and give
Soul to my strings, that they may breathe and live!”

Having quoted the first stanza, now let me also reproduce the exquisite lines with which the poem closes :

“But whether the unsetting day shall rise,
For which the downcast weep, the sanguine pine,
Or, but as hitherto, in fitful skies,
Dawn must to dark, fair must to foul decline,—
For gentle hearts and steadfast-gazing eyes
Thou, thou at least, wilt never cease to shine,
'Mid wreck of things that were, or things that are,
O Love! undying Love! eternal Star!”

Mr. Austin has written some dramatic poetry, which “those who run” can scarcely in this headlong age be expected to “read,” and which, if they do read in the way they skim through their daily newspaper, they cannot successfully “digest.” Students and scholars, as well as critics in the real sense of that misused word, will, however, turn with interest to *Savonarola* and *The Tower of Babel*, two five-act dramas of Mr. Austin, which may be favourably compared with the somewhat whining tragedies which Tennyson produced.

Neither the late Laureate nor his successor can lay claim to Browning's dramatic power. But surely only a literary fanatic can call *Bothwell* or *Chastelard* great dramas. Those who fancy they display cleverness by dragging Mr. Swinburne's name into the controversy about the Laureateship should have first asked themselves—Is Mr. Swinburne a great poet? Wherein does his greatness as a poet consist? Is it in his turgid repetitions which disgust the intelligent reader? Or is it in his senseless slavery to mere sound? Indeed, Mr. Swinburne is a poet in the same sense that an organ-grinder is a musician. His poetry is harmonious, after a fashion, but it is painfully, terribly automatic.

It is possible that Mr. Austin is not the best English living poet (it is idle to talk of *great* poets now-a-days, for none such in the true sense exist), but he has done work as a poet which will live, and both as a poet and a critic he exhibits consistency, lucidity, and a wealth of ideas of which Mr. Swinburne is absolutely devoid. The latter gentleman is a mere poet of sounds. As a critic his utterances are grotesque, for, though evidently an omnivorous reader, he has no moderation, no judgment, no capacity for either seeing or saying

anything save in the most exaggerated fashion. Mr. Austin's criticism, at least, is sane; even his "Byron-worship" is explained by the essential masculinity of his mind. But Mr. Swinburne can only praise or blame in a style vitiated by hysterical extravagance.

I venture to predict that the shallow criticasters who to-day combine to cry down the new Laureate will, in ten years' time, if they are still living, give their own words the lie, for Mr. Austin's poetry is sure to find responsive chords in the hearts of his own countrymen, and, if he never wrote another line, he would at least stand on a level with the late Lord Tennyson, Mr. William Morris, and Mr. Coventry Patmore.

Furthermore, his previous achievements—for he is not yet old—afford good ground for hoping that he may ere long produce a work which will place him among poets of the first rank. He is one of those men—rare in this century of unrest and perpetual self-advertisement—who have "scorned delights and lived laborious days." He has fairly "won his laurels," and his ultimate title to poetic fame must be decided, not by the clamour of newspaper-writers, who have no time or inclination to read poetry, but by the well-considered verdict of those who possess the taste, the culture, and the leisure to enable them to determine properly the real merits of a poet.

D. F. HANNIGAN.

EDWARD FITZGERALD.

DURING his lifetime the translator of *Omar Khayyam*, who cared very little for fame, was comparatively unknown beyond a small circle of cultured friends and admirers. But his peculiarly charming letters, published since his death, seem likely to give him a permanent position not so very far removed from that which Horace Walpole or even Charles Lamb enjoy by consent. The mere fact that he did not write for the world, but for his friends, gives his remains a greater charm in an age of babble and advertisement. They are, indeed, a striking instance of, what has been happily termed, "the value of reserve in literature."

He was not, perhaps, a profound thinker or even an accurate scholar (in the technical sense of the term), but certainly owned an imaginative and delightful nature. To quote his own words, "I am an idle fellow, of a very ladylike turn of sentiment; and my friendships are more like loves." But the sort of idleness in which his years were past was less manifestly vain than most forms of activity. He inherited means enough to satisfy his modest wants, and lived altogether for his books and his friends. But the mass of our countrymen, who toil, and travel, and drink beer, and read daily papers, are not disposed to be tolerant of a purely contemplative life.

Edward Fitzgerald was born in an old Jacobean mansion in Suffolk on August 31, 1809. At the age of seven his father took him across the Channel, to reside at St. Germain and Paris. Five years later he went to the grammar school at Bury St. Edmunds, within easy reach of his friends and home. From Bury he passed in due time to Trinity College, Cambridge. There he enjoyed the friendship of the future novelist, W. M. Thackeray, and the scholar, W. H. Thompson, chiefly known at present by reason of his sharp sayings. He did not become intimate with Tennyson till some years later.

When his Cambridge days were over he wandered a little for a while, but settled in Suffolk for good after a few years. It is, perhaps, rather curious that a man of such an emphatically romantic temperament should have stirred himself so little in later life when travelling had become so easy. He never set foot in Spain, the land of his chief literary affections, but thought it was worth while learning the language for the sake of *Don Quixote* alone.

The life which he led in his quiet country-home, varied by visits to the sea-side, can hardly be called eventful. He cared little for society save that of a few superior friends, and rough sailors and fishermen of the east coast whom their more refined Cornish brethren find unbearable. According to his own view, he possessed "taste the feminine of genius," and was content to develop it. He "drew a high prize in the lottery of life" (to apply the words of Gibbon), and managed to overstep the proverbial three score years and ten. His body rests in the little churchyard of Boulge.

One unhappy circumstance has been wisely veiled by his biographer. Being by nature more suited for solitude he made the mistake of marrying a woman whose temper was incompatible with his own. He quitted her almost at the church-door, but made her a generous allowance. It has been her fate to survive him, and witness the growth of his fame.

His letters, which practically extend over half a century, reveal his mind and character. Those that have been recently published in *Temple Bar* belong to the last two-and-twenty years, and do not fall short of the others in interest. According to Fanny Kemble, one of his most privileged correspondents, he was at once a poet, painter, and musician, "who might have achieved a foremost place among the eminent men of his day if he had not shunned notoriety." But the fact that he wrote so little caused him to enshrine his best thoughts in his letters, which seem almost a survival of an antique art "perishing for want of repose."

The three greatest men whom he knew were, in his own judgment, Carlyle, Tennyson, and Thackeray. To have enjoyed the friendship of three so dissimilar men of genius would be enough of itself to make his letters interesting. But if we put his heresy on the subject of Goethe aside (for which his ignorance of German may be pleaded in excuse), few, if any, critics of the present century have displayed a sounder judgment. Nor is his mere persiflage less pleasant in its way than his literary criticism and gossip.

As a specimen of his delicate taste it may be well to cite an extract on the merits of Burns and Béranger :

"Béranger, no doubt, was the artist ; which still is not the highest genius—witness Shakespeare, Dante, Æschylus, Calderon, to the contrary. Burns assuredly had more passion than the Frenchman, which is not genius either, but a great part of the lyric poet still. What Béranger might have been, if born and bred among banks, braes, and mountains, I cannot tell. Burns had that advantage over him. And then the Highland Mary to love, amid the heather, as compared to Lise the grisette in a Parisian suburb !"

Take again his tribute to two other singers far removed in age and time :

"If you have not already read, buy Keats' *Love Letters to Fanny Brawne*.

... It happened that just before they reached me, I had been hammering out some admirable notes on Catullus—another such fiery soul who perished about thirty years of age 2000 years ago; and I scarce felt a change from one to other. From Catullus' better parts I mean; for there is too much of filthy and odious—both of love and hate. Oh, my dear Virgil never fell into that: he was fit to be Dante's companion beyond even purgatory."

His view of his illustrious poet-friend at any rate bears witness to the virility of his own mind and is perhaps not far removed from that which after-ages will accept:

"Had I Alfred's voice, I would not have mumbled for years over *In Memoriam* and the *Princess*, but sung such strains as would have revived the *Μαθηρομαχους ἄνδρας* to guard the territory they had won. What can *In Memoriam* do but make us all sentimental?"

The following is still more emphatic and seems to coincide with the attitude of foreign critics:

"When Tennyson was telling me of how *The Quarterly* abused him (humorously too) and desirous of knowing why one did not care for his later works, &c., I thought that if he had lived an active life as Scott and Shakespeare; or even ridden, shot, drunk, and played the devil, as Byron, he would have done much more and talked about it much less."

Few men ever took more pleasure in flowers, perhaps the best test of a genuine poetic nature.

"My garden still shows some geranium and that grand African Marigold, whose colour is so comfortable to us Spanish-like paddies. I have also a dear oleander which even now has a score of blossoms on it, and touches the top of my little greenhouse. . . . Don't you love the oleander?"

Among the works which he published in his lifetime his fame must principally rest on his rendering of the *Rubaiyat*. The great unbelieving astronomer-poet of Persia possesses a special interest for children of the modern world, but did not attract readers at once on the appearance of an English version. According to an account which has been published, the accident of a stray copy falling into the hands of Rossetti, Swinburne, and Burton, first saved it from neglect. If it is fair to argue from the free manner in which he handled the text of *Æschylus*, his version of *Omar* is probably far from literal. The first stanza was entirely his own, and two grand lines at the beginning of the thirty-third were borrowed from Hafiz:

"Earth could not answer; nor the seas that mourn
In flowing purple of their Lord forlorn."

The editor of his remains and his friend Professor Cowell admit that he allowed himself great liberties. But a free rendering may sometimes be more faithful than an accurate one, and Fitzgerald was specially qualified to penetrate his poet's meaning. It is, perhaps, rather curious to reflect that Omar was drinking and doubting

in the midst of maidens and roses when William the Conqueror received his consecrated banner from the head of mediæval Christendom. For Agnosticism, which is often regarded as a child of yesterday, is really a perennial element in human thought. A dean of the Established Church, who handled the book of Ecclesiastes with consummate taste and skill, drew attention to the striking resemblance between Koheleth, Omar, and Heine in their poetical genius and views of life. But Omar seems to have persisted in his obstinate ways to the last, unlike the other two, who fell back on something more hopeful and sustaining before their days were over. Yet, an attitude of suspense is frequently more devout than easy going acquiescence in current formula and practises :

“ I sometimes think that never blows so red
The Rose, as where some buried Cæsar bled ;
That every Hyacinth the garden wears
Dropt in her lap from some once lovely head.

“ The revelations of devout and learn'd
Who rose before us, and as prophets burn'd,
Are all but stories, which, awoke from sleep,
They told their comrades, and to sleep return'd.

“ Oh, threats of Hell and hopes of Paradise !
One thing at least is certain—This life lies ;
One thing is certain and the rest is lies ;
The flower that once has blown for ever dies.”

In his affectionate lines, which “ Fitz ” did not live to read, the late Poet-Laureate spoke of the “ golden Eastern lay ” as “ a planet equal to the sun which cast it,” and knew no better version of a foreign poet in the English language. To what extent Omar was himself a lover and a bacchanal, whether his words are to be interpreted in a literal or mystic sense, is a question impossible to answer. Our knowledge of his life is too slight and uncertain beyond the curious circumstance that he combined poetry and mathematics. The rhythm of his English translator is absolutely perfect.

A few words may be said concerning the dramas of Calderon, which few besides Fitzgerald have attempted to render. For his studies in Spanish and Eastern literature were closely connected, inasmuch as Eastern modes of thought, dating from the occupation of the Moors, are a part of the Spanish temperament. Goethe declares, in an epigram in the *West Ostlicher Divan*, that an acquaintance with the Persian poet Hafiz is necessary to a right understanding of Calderon. Just at present there seems to be a revival of interest in Spanish masterpieces among educated Englishmen. Positive philosophers are not infrequently attracted by the offspring of a fanatical Catholicism untainted by the inquiring spirit of the Renaissance and quickened to more passionate life by the revolt of the Northern nations.

Like his predecessor, Lope de Vega (who served in the great Armada), Calderon knew life from many sides—as a warrior, a poet, and a priest. The genius of chivalry, which never took deep root in Italian soil, found its best expression in his plays. The words, “Speak no evil of women ; I tell thee the meanest of them deserves our respect ; for of women do we not all come ?” convey the force of its triumph. If the realistic passion of the Spaniard cannot well be compared with the divine yearning of the Florentine, it has, at any rate, managed to survive in what Gibbon happily terms “the polite attention, the gallantry without hope or design, interwoven with the texture of French manners.”

According to a note of the translator, the speech of Isabel in the wood, at the commencement of the third act of *The Mayor of Zalamea*, is “almost the most elevated and purely beautiful piece of Calderon’s poetry,” and “worthy of the Greek antique.” The sorrow of the daughter of the yeoman, who has been outraged by a brutal soldier, seems as fresh as the sorrow of Tess in Mr. Hardy’s romance, and points to one of the permanent dark spots in human existence. Did not an old Spanish king declare he would have liked to suggest a few improvements if he had been consulted at Creation ?

The life of Calderon was contemporaneous with that of Velasquez, now deemed the greatest master of portraiture and colouring, but few details have come down to us. Yet it is pleasant to think that his home was open to every one in distress, like that of Goldsmith’s preacher. For, in spite of their love of grandeur and display, few people can boast so much genial intercourse between men and women in different classes of life as his badly governed countrymen. The kindness of the Spanish peasant—whose temper has changed but little in the course of centuries—has been celebrated in modern times in the stirring pages of Borrow.

Like the author of *The Bible in Spain*, Fitzgerald passed his days in the prosaic Eastern counties. Probably nowhere in the United Kingdom is the nature of the people more completely devoid of anything approaching to romance. For that reason his spirit constantly turned to the golden realms of the South. He never could get any pleasure out of Jane Austen or George Eliot, because they handled commonplace English country life, which he found “rather insufferable in practice” around him. Perhaps romanticism is to a certain extent the opposite of common-sense, and appears somewhat exotic in an age of railways and steamships. It has been sometimes supposed to weaken the moral fibre, and lead to fantastic illusions. But it has blossomed brilliantly of late, and no one surrendered himself with less remorse to its charms than the quiet “laird of Littlegrange,” who fed on the food of Pythagoras.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND 'CHRISTIAN REUNION.

"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I came not to send peace but a sword."

PERHAPS no text of Scripture has been less frequently quoted than this verse, for, as Matthew Arnold long ago pointed out, "the mass of men take from the Bible just what suits them, and quietly leave on one side what does not." And yet how pregnant with truth are the words! The most protracted and desolating war—the most cold-blooded massacre—the most refined and excruciating tortures—have all been the work of men who thought they were doing God service. It needs but the change of a word to make the dying apostrophe of Madame Roland to liberty as true of the highest and most sacred of human emotions. "Religion, how many crimes have been committed in thy name!"

And now all this is to be changed. "Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo." We have it on the high authority of the Archbishop of York that there is "among all religious denominations an increasing expression of friendly feeling, suggesting a growing desire for a better understanding and a mutual reconciliation." Another eminent English Churchman, Lord Halifax, writing on Christian reunion in the *National Review*, goes much further, and boldly asserts that "the question of the reunion of Christendom, which a few months ago was a smouldering fire, has become a living flame, the light of which is making itself manifest, not in England only, or in Europe, but in America, in Australia, in India, and, in a word, in the whole world."¹

Exaggerated as this language is, there can be no doubt that of late years the various Churches and denominations which divide Christendom have shown an increased desire to understand and an increased disposition to tolerate—perhaps to respect—one another. Goethe once said that "a man had only to grow old in order to become tolerant," and it certainly looks as if what was true of the

¹ Viscount Halifax on "Christian Reunion" (*National Review* for November last, p. 415).

individual was becoming true of the race in general. Protestants and Catholics no longer hack each other to pieces or burn each other over slow fires, and the Thirty Years' War, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition have become almost as much things of the past as the Mastodon, the Cave bear, and the Neolithic man. Among ourselves, perhaps, the most striking illustration of this growing tendency is to be seen in the changed attitude of the Church of England towards questions which half a century ago would have thrown the whole country into a frenzy of excitement. It is difficult to realise the fact that little more than forty years have elapsed since the passing of Lord J. Russell's once famous "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill," and little more than thirty years since the publication of the *Essays and Reviews*. Yet we have learnt to look back on the Bill with a smile, and to read the book, if we read it at all, with an even pulse. Every now and then, indeed, some incident, like the recent opposition to Mr. Lecky in the Dublin University contest, crops up to remind us that the old spirit of intolerance still lingers in our midst. But such cases are the exception, not the rule. Of one thing I am sure, that if the sermons which may now be heard from some London pulpits on the Creation, the Fall, or the Noachian deluge had been preached when I was a boy, half the congregation would have walked out of church. Unfortunately our treatment of the Darwins and Huxleys of our generation is not always consistent. We stone our scientific prophets while they are with us; we erect national memorials to them or bury them in Westminster Abbey when they are gone.

It is the fashion in some quarters to ascribe the tolerant spirit which is so marked a feature of the age to the decay of religious fervour and the growth of that "sleepy indifferentism" of which we hear so much. But it would be an obvious mistake to attribute the desire for reunion which is said to be in the air to any such influences. A glance at the list of speakers who took part in the "Grindelwald Conference" will suffice to show that the movement of which it was the outcome was the work of men of strong religious convictions and true apostolic zeal. While the list contains the names of several eminent Nonconformist divines and laymen, it seems probable that the movement itself received its main impulse and direction from the clergy of the Established Church. Nor need this surprise us. Among the Anglican clergy, whatever may have been the case in former times, there are, it is hardly necessary to say, many men of wide and warm sympathies, who, instead of thanking God that they are not as others are, have learnt to view the great religious problems of the day rather by the light of the spirit which giveth life than by that of the letter which killeth, and who are always more ready to welcome points of agreement than to detect points of difference even in an avowed opponent. At the

same time, the ecclesiastical Chauvinism, so caustically satirised by Cardinal Newman, which held that truth, like trade, "followed the flag," and that genuine Christianity could only flourish under the Union Jack, has given place to that craving for Catholicity which was so marked a characteristic of the Oxford movement. As might have been expected, therefore, the most passionate appeal for unity has come from the theological school which has imbibed the teaching, if it has not inherited the genius, of Newman and Ward, of Pusey and Keble. The grounds upon which that appeal is based are stated with characteristic fervour by the President of the English Church Union himself in the article from which I have already quoted. After recapitulating the forces which are drawing Christian men and women together, he exclaims :

"What can we say, in the face of such facts, but that more has already been accomplished than the wildest hopes would have considered possible, and that we are in the presence of one of those tides and currents in the affairs of men which carry all before them, because they are due to the inspiration--not of men, but of God. Can any one, indeed, doubt that the desire for union is from God? The fact that He has permitted it to fix itself in so many minds, and in such different quarters, is in itself an earnest of its accomplishment. And because this desire for reunion is from God, we can neither be discouraged by censures nor disheartened by mistakes. Nay, hindrances, difficulties, misconceptions, oppositions are, if we look at them aright, only reasons for encouragement."¹

It is impossible not to respect the childlike faith which sees in "mistakes and misconceptions" only an encouragement to remove mountains. But lest there should be any doubt or ambiguity as to the nature of the "reunion" for which he pleads, Lord Halifax goes on to say :

"The kernel of the reunion of Christendom consists in the admission of the Roman claim--the claim, that is, that the Pope is the head of the Christian Church by a distinct act of our Lord Jesus Christ, the founder of the Christian religion."

Is it highly probable that, if these views were to find general acceptance in this country, the wandering sheep of an heretical Church might be received back again into the fold from which they have so long strayed, under the joint auspices of the "Head of the Christian Church" and the President of the English Church Union. But does any sane man, who calmly and dispassionately reads the signs of the times, believe that it would be possible for the Church of which Lord Halifax is nominally a member to absorb and assimilate this somewhat indigestible "kernel" and yet to remain, in any sense of the word, the National Church of England?

To most of us it would seem a sufficient answer to say that a Church cannot be National and Catholic at the same time, and that

¹ *National Review* for November, p. 146.

the "insularity" in matters ecclesiastical as well as political, which is one of the causes of our present isolation, would prove an equal bar to future assimilation or "union." But, as this kind of reasoning is not always convincing, it may be worth while to consider in detail whether there is the very slightest chance of the three great religious bodies, to whom this appeal is addressed—the Eastern Church, the Roman Church, and the Free Protestant Churches throughout the kingdom—"reuniting" with the Church of England upon any terms which would leave that Church in possession, if I may be permitted the expression, of its personal identity.

Let us take these three bodies in the order in which I have named them. To any one who has studied its history, past and present—indeed, to any one who has spent a week at Moscow, or a month in travelling about Russia, the case of the Eastern Church will scarcely seem to bear discussion. Half a century ago, indeed, the Rev. William Palmer, a brother of the late Earl of Selborne, thought he had discovered some elements common to the Greek and Anglican Churches, out of which, by a judicious process of mixing, something like a fusion might be evolved. But his excursions into ecclesiastical history were generally regarded as the aberrations of a learned but eccentric enthusiast, and nothing more was heard of the matter, until some twelve years ago, when a correspondence on the subject took place between the late Archbishop of Canterbury and a Russian gentleman of the name of Plato, or Platoff, which ended, if I recollect rightly, in an interchange of mutual compliments. But, before we can usefully discuss the question of the reunion of the Church of England to the two great Churches, which between them divide the larger portion of Europe, we ought at least to have some grounds for believing that these two Churches can themselves be reunited. What prospect there is of our being within measurable distance of any such *entente cordiale* may be gathered from the recent squabble over the baptism of the unfortunate Prince Boris, as well as from the following passages in an apparently inspired article lately contributed to the *Nouvelle Revue* by General A. Kiréeff, the aide-de-camp of the Tzar :

"Jamais l'Orient n'acceptera la tyrannie que lui propose l'encyclique de Léon XIII. sous le titre de liberté—tyrannie plus terrible que toutes celles qui ont jamais existé. . . . Par l'union ou re-union des églises, il faut entendre la reconstitution de l'ancienne unité de l'église Chrétienne, telle qu'elle existait autrefois jusqu'au schisme."

It will be seen that, *mutatis mutandis*, these are almost the identical words in which Cardinal Vaughan meets or rejects the

¹ "La Réunion des Églises," *Nouvelle Revue*, tome xevi, pp. 160-162. The article is an answer to one in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* advocating submission to the Pope. The reply of the Patriarch is even more emphatic. It is, in fact, identical with that returned half a century ago to the overtures of Mr. W. Palmer.

advances of Lord Halifax. Translated into plain English, they mean that the Patriarch of Constantinople looks upon the Pope of Rome very much as the Pope of Rome looks upon the Archbishop of Canterbury—as a heretic and a schismatic. What the schism of the sixteenth century is to Rome, that the schism of the ninth century is to Russia. Disguise it as you will, it is the old story over again, “Orthodoxy is my ‘doxy; heterodoxy is everybody else’s ‘doxy.”

When we turn from the Eastern to the Western Church, the prospect at first sight looks, it must be confessed, a little less hopeless. The advanced wing of the High Church party are never tired of telling us that the Reformation made no real change in the relations of the Anglican Church to the Pope, and that the great rupture of the sixteenth century between Rome and England was little more than a lovers’ quarrel. But, alas! there must be two parties to a reconciliation as well as to a difference, and upon this point the language of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster leaves no room for a shadow of doubt:

“The reunion of Christendom means a return to the constitutional union which existed before the break up of Christendom in the sixteenth century.”

This, at least is plain speaking. Reconciliation with Cardinal Vaughan means submission, absolute and unconditional. Reunite with us if you will, but it must be upon condition of your surrendering everything and obtaining nothing. Abjure your heresies, repent of your errors, as so many of your countrymen have done, and we will fold you to our arms. Abide in them and you will be to us *Anathema maranatha*.

That such an answer to Lord Halifax’s overtures was only to be expected—indeed that no other answer was possible—must, I think, be obvious to any one who has studied the allocutions of the last two Popes and has realised to himself the attitude of the Holy See towards the ecclesiastical and political questions which are agitating the modern world. It needs not the genius of a Carlyle to see that any *rapprochement* between Protestantism and Catholicism, such as was sketched out by some of the members of the Grindelwald Conference, is only a beautiful dream. So long indeed as the advocates of that *rapprochement* confine themselves, as some of them propose to do, to praying for its realisation, no great harm is likely to ensue, even though their intercessions may appear to the profanely minded as hopeless and unavailing as a prayer for rain when the wind is in the east. But it would be a matter for serious regret if (as some recent letters to the *Times* seem to indicate) Italian Liberals were to be deluded into regarding the somewhat ill-advised ebullitions of a few English clergymen and laymen as a popular manifesto on behalf of the Temporal Power. With any such agitation the bulk of the

English people, it may safely be said, have as little sympathy as they would have with an attempt to bring back the worship of *Jupiter Olympius* to the Capitoline Hill.

But let us look at the question from a more practical point of view. With the exception of the clique of which Lord Halifax is the spokesman, and which at present finds a vent for its energies in the disturbance of marriage services and similar petty breaches of the law, is there a single English Churchman, properly so called, who would accept reunion with Rome upon the conditions on which alone Rome would entertain it? To the Anglican hierarchy, in the peculiar position which they occupy, a reunion of this kind would mean something little short of absolute effacement. It is not surprising, therefore, that the whole episcopal bench have, without exception, thrown cold water on the movement, while one of the most popular of our Church dignitaries, the newly appointed Dean of Canterbury, has denounced it, root and branch, with a fervour and intensity worthy of John Knox himself.¹ But the resistance which it would encounter throughout the country would be far more formidable in its character. While what is called Ritualism has undoubtedly made great progress among certain sections of society, I believe it would be impossible to exaggerate the dormant strength of the "no-popery" sentiment among the middle and working classes of England and Wales. At present it may be, to borrow Lord Halifax's metaphor, "a smouldering fire." Stir it up, or trample it down, and it will become not only a "living flame," but a devouring conflagration.

Under these circumstances it is only natural that the heads of the Anglican Church and the leaders of public opinion in ecclesiastical matters should look rather to the Nonconformist bodies of England for the realisation of any hopes which the Grindelwald Conference may have revived or awakened. The grounds upon which these hopes are founded are thus stated by the Archbishop of York in the presidential address which he delivered at the opening of the York Diocesan Conference last October. After denouncing as "unsound, unhealthy, and untrue," the Roman Catholic books of devotion used by some of his clergy, "he turned to the present relations of the Church of England to the great body of Nonconformists, and the question as to what hope there might be, and by what means, of bringing them back into the communion of the Church of England. There was surely no one of them who did not earnestly desire that happy consummation, if only it could be accomplished safely and wisely according to the will of God and without any sacrifice either of evangelical truth or apostolic order. They were indeed met at the outset by one very serious difficulty. So far as they could learn

¹ Dean Farrar in the *Sunday at Home* for November last, "Union True and False."

there was not among the Nonconformists generally any desire for such reunion, or indeed any sense such as Churchmen felt of the evil in the sight of God of the present state of division. And yet it was difficult to suppose that they could really believe it to be according to the mind and desire of Jesus Christ that in this country there should be a multitude of communities standing separate one from another, and all from the ancient National Church, often engaged in controversy and contention one with another, or in a common assault upon the mother from whom they sprung. Might it not be said that the Church still had for these communities the affection of a mother and she longed for their return? There was much that ought to make that possible."¹

Unfortunately there are two obstacles, at least, which, if I rightly understand the views of the Nonconformist Churches, make such a return impossible, and it is a striking proof of the difficulty which we experience in "seeing ourselves as others see us," that not a single bishop in a single diocesan charge has alluded to either of them.

I may be mistaken, but I believe that until it was pushed into prominence by the Tractarian movement, the doctrine of "Apostolic Succession," as it was generally understood and received, was rarely put forward as one of the cardinal dogmas of the Church of England. How far the XXXVI. Article and the Ordination Services have made it obligatory on the clergy is a matter upon which many Churchmen have been and still are divided. Probably even now the doctrine of the gift of apostolic grace by the laying on of hands is viewed with anything but favour by many clerical as well as lay members of the Established Church. To the ordinary mind, indeed, there is something almost grotesque in the assumption that the descent of the Holy Spirit and the personality of its Episcopal recipients should depend upon whether Lord Salisbury or Lord Rosebery happens to command a majority in the House of Commons. But be this as it may, it is certain that to the English and Welsh Nonconformist—looking as he does upon the whole question from an entirely different standpoint—this doctrine, now openly insisted upon by an important and increasing party in the Anglican Church,² can never be anything else than a stumbling-block and rock of offence. For with him it is the congregation which inspires the minister—not the priest who sanctifies the congregation. His ideas of Church government are based not on tradition or authority, but on the inherent right of every Christian community to govern, as well as upon its inherent duty to maintain itself. It is the old antagonism between

¹ The report is taken from the *Daily News* of the following day.

² "The Church is a society which holds and teaches the Catholic faith, and in which there is the Apostolic Ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons,"—Canon W. Knox-Little on *Sacerdotalism*, p. 81. The Canon does not tell us when and by whom these three apostolic orders were instituted.

prelacy and puritanism, reproduced under nineteenth-century conditions.

But there is another and more insuperable bar to the Nonconformist's acceptance of the Archbishop of York's invitation. Let us try to place ourselves in the position of a conscientious Dissenter who is pressed to return to the "mother from whom he sprung," but whose solicitude for her offspring has not always been of a very maternal kind. Let us assume that he is able to forget the somewhat tainted and turbid origin of the Anglican Establishment, to blot out from his memory the latter half of the reign of Henry VIII. and the unlovely episode which converted that amorous monarch from the antagonist of Luther, "the Defender of the Catholic Faith" and the champion of Papal supremacy, into the despoiler of monasteries and the father of the English Reformation. When he has done all this, he is still confronted by the fact that the "ancient National Church" which he is asked to re-enter is bound by law to regard the reigning Sovereign—*i.e.*, the Prime Minister of the day, the creation and servant of the House of Commons—not only as the fountain of ecclesiastical patronage, but as, in some sense, the visible head of Christ's Church on earth. When he turns to the machinery by which this religious community is regulated, he sees side by side with Parliament, a body which has not inaptly been described as "a caricature of self-government"—playing at legislation, but unable to change a line of its ritual, an article of its creed, or a shred of its constitution, without the sanction of an assembly in which Jews and Agnostics, English Nonconformists and Irish Roman Catholics, men of all religions and of no religion, sit to legislate for a Church to which some are hostile and more indifferent. Is it surprising that many loyal members of this Church (while proud, and justly proud, of the work which it has accomplished and is accomplishing) should be unable to view this strange anomaly and anachronism—the shadowy survival of an age when the Church was the nation—without some searchings of heart, and that disestablishment should be making converts even within the pale of the Establishment itself?

But perhaps the most singular plea for the suppression of Dissent is that which is put forward by a very thoughtful and accomplished writer, Mr. W. S. Lilly, in a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review*.¹ Mr. Lilly is, I believe, a devout Roman Catholic, and it may be that in his case "distance has lent enchantment to the view," yet there is something almost comical in the pictures which he draws of the unity of a Church on which some of his co-religionists would, I fear, look with far less friendly eyes. "Can Liberalism," he triumphantly asks, be "carried further than in a Church where Dr. King, the Bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Ryle, the Bishop of Liverpool, Dean Paget

¹ "Illiberal Liberalism," *Fortnightly Review* for November, p. 647.

of Christchurch and Dean Fremantle of Ripon, Canon Fleming of York and Canon Newbolt of St. Paul's, all live together in unity effectively maintained by the Act of Uniformity?" When the portals of an Establishment are so conveniently wide, surely there may be room for any number of outsiders!

Perhaps the less said about the unity of this "happy family" and the means "by which it is maintained," the better. But cannot Mr. Lilly see that his argument is somewhat two-edged, and that the very comprehensiveness of the Church of England may be a source of weakness as well as of strength? It is not very long since the *Times* itself was compelled to admit that "a clergyman of the Church of England may teach any doctrine which only extreme subtlety can distinguish from Roman Catholicism on the one side, Calvinism on the other, and Deism on the third"; and we are all familiar with the old story of the Esquire Beadel at Cambridge, who, having for thirty years heard every conceivable doctrine preached from the University pulpit, "thanked God that he was still a Christian." But it is not necessary to go back so far. At the recent Church Congress at Norwich, the question of Christian Unity was discussed at very great length. Yet when we turn to the papers read and the speeches delivered at that Congress, we find that unity illustrated in a somewhat remarkable manner. They cannot be better described than in the words of the writer whose contributions to journalistic literature are signed with the *nom de plume* of "Verax": "Their most striking characteristic was the diversity of views expressed or implied on questions that are deemed of the highest importance. Lord Halifax, who is at the head of an influential party, has lately had an audience with the Pope, for the purpose of seeking to promote the reunion of the Church of England with that of Rome. The Dean of Norwich denounces him in vigorous terms, chides him with not having sought the advice of the bishops, and declares that he is, himself, the greatest obstacle to the unity which he desires. Professor Sayce inculcates what passes for the orthodox view of the Pentateuch, and maintains that it is real history. Canon Bonney declares that the stories of the Creation, the Fall, the Flood, and the Tower of Babel, are mere allegories, while Father Ignatius flouts them both."

But to return to Mr. Lilly. Surely so devoted a champion of the Holy Catholic Faith may fairly be asked whether a Church which is distracted by such an excess of cross lights, and which is held together by bonds so elastic or so loose, deserves to be called a Church at all.

It is refreshing to turn from these shadowy visions of a mock uniformity to the manly and straightforward address of Mr. Greenough, the President of the Baptist Union, delivered at Portsmouth on the 9th of October last. "Unity," he boldly asserts, "if by Unity is

meant the effacement of Denominational lines, is impossible until it pleases God to re-create all men in the same mould." No doubt, he goes on to say, "a far nobler unity is within our reach—a brotherhood of hearts amid a diversity of forms and administrations." Not less emphatic is the Archbishop of Canterbury's declaration that "the real obstacle to the progress of the Gospel lies not in our divisions themselves, but in the spirit that divides us." Just so. But are we making any real approach to this "nobler unity?" The subject is not a pleasant one, and I have no wish to dwell upon it. But in such a case a man can only speak from his own personal experience. We have lately passed through a General Election in which ecclesiastical questions occupied a very large share of public attention, and in which the men who are pleading for reunion not unnaturally took a prominent part. In the course of an experience extending over nearly half a century I never recollect a time when party spirit was so rampant, when party passions were so rancorous and envenomed, when charges of mendacity and dishonesty were so recklessly and so persistently bandied about, and when that "brotherly love" of which we now hear so much was so conspicuously absent from the speeches and writings of those who now somewhat ostentatiously parade it. I make no complaint of this—nor do I say that the faults were all on one side. When, however, one of the chief measures on which the verdict of the country was challenged was denounced from half the pulpits in England as a "Robbery of God"—"the offspring of envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness"—what other results could be expected? And when at the close of such a struggle the highest praise bestowed by a leading Unionist Peer upon the bishop of a Church that calls itself "non-political," is that no living man did more to drive Lord Rosebery from office; while, on the other hand, a Primate of England solemnly adjures the "Separatist bodies" (as he calls them) to resist the influence of "political pressure," and "to keep in their hearts a real desire for unity as a thing intended by God," a Nonconformist may surely be pardoned for replying with M. Alphonse Karr, when he was asked to sign a petition against capital punishment, "*Volontiers, mais que MM. les Assassins commencent!*"

But it may be said that with us all these things are merely incidents in the great political game which was played out last summer, and that, as soon as the country has recovered from the excitement of the General Election, the combatants on both sides will let bygones be bygones, forget their differences and settle down into their accustomed grooves. It may be so; but I doubt it. The recent electoral contest has left many angry memories behind it, and during the Session which is just commencing, Parliament will be more or less occupied with a question which of all others is calculated to arouse party animosities and to inflame political and

religious passions to fever heat. The clergy of the Established Church did yeoman's service for the present Government during the recent conflict, and it is only natural that they should seek to be paid for their exertions. "The Church Parliamentary party," as their Chairman tells us, "have found out their strength." Elated by their success at the polls, they are sharpening their swords and unmasking their batteries. On the other side, the National Education League, strong in the support of the great Nonconformist bodies, and of a large contingent of Liberal Churchmen, is preparing to defend the settlement of 1870. Is it possible to conceive a moment less favourable for the accomplishment of that "Reunion" about which Archbishop Maclagan dogmatizes, and of which Lord Halifax dreams? Meanwhile, if we cannot be "re-united," let us at least be honest. "Even brotherhood," to quote Mr. Greenough again, "must not be purchased at the cost of Truth."

GEO. OSBORNE MORGAN.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

THE correspondence between Mr. Olney and Lord Salisbury, as Foreign Ministers of the United States of America and Great Britain, and the recent Message to Congress of President Cleveland, have brought into prominence the Monroe doctrine, originally enunciated in 1823, the fate of which, it has been well said, has been "to be perverted at home, and misunderstood abroad." For the right understanding of it, and its relation to the present crisis, it will be necessary to inquire into (1) the circumstances under which President Monroe's Message to Congress in 1823 was published; (2) how far the doctrine may be said to be binding in international law; (3) how far it is applicable to the present dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela.

I. Before the fall of Napoleon in the year 1814 the principal nations of Europe—England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia—had, by the Treaty of Chaumont, combined and established a concert among themselves, for the purpose of resisting the aggressions of that monarch, who, in his endeavour to establish a world-wide empire, was threatening the liberties and existence of them all. It was this concert which finally crushed and overthrew Napoleon, and then proceeded to resettle the boundaries of the different States of Europe. While engaged in this task, at Paris in the year 1815, the Holy Alliance was formed between the Czar of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria. The parties to the Holy Alliance most solemnly bound themselves to exercise their power according to the principles of justice and Christianity; to afford each other aid and assistance whenever it might be required, and to rule their subjects with paternal care. As usual, however, in the affairs of nations, as in the affairs of individuals, these high-sounding principles were merely put forward by the contracting parties as a cloak under cover of which they might further their own interests. In fact, the Holy Alliance constituted, not so much a league of Christian fraternity among nations, as a confederacy of interference with the affairs of other nations in the interests of absolutism. Great Britain had been invited to become a member of the Holy Alliance, but had declined, in reality because its objects were suspected by our statesmen to be inconsistent with our national policy, and with the historical development of our own institutions, though nominally on the ground that

the King, owing to his mental condition, and the Prince-Regent, on account of the forms of our Constitution, were unable to become parties to it. At the Congress of Aix-La-Chapelle in 1818 France, thanks to the diplomatic skill of her representative, Talleyrand, had been admitted into the European concert as one of the five great Powers—a position which her power, wealth, and history fully entitled her to claim. Louis XVIII., then King of France, at once became a member of the Holy Alliance. It was soon after this time that the full meaning and importance of this movement was shown. The disturbing forces called forth by the French Revolution had not yet spent themselves, and revolutionary movements had broken out in many parts of the Continent, particularly in the Spanish and Italian peninsulas. At the congresses held, in quick succession, at Laybach, Troppau, and Verona in the years 1820, 1821, and 1822 it was resolved by the great Powers, in spite of the strong protests of Great Britain, to suppress by means of armed foreign intervention these democratic outbursts. Thus, through the armed intervention of France, the Constitution of the Cortes was overthrown in Spain, and Ferdinand VII. restored to the throne of his ancestors in the full plenitude of absolute power. The democratic movement had, moreover, spread to the Spanish colonies in Central and South America, in most of which provisional Governments, Republican in form, had been established, able to resist effectually the arms of Spain. The members of the Holy Alliance desired to interfere in this struggle also, and again to reduce the revolted colonies to the sway of the restored autocrat. The British Government, which owing to its state of isolation had been unable to prevent the forcible interference in Europe, determined to check a similar result in America. With a view to this, communications passed between Mr. Canning and Mr. Adams, as representatives of Great Britain and the United States. It was a result of this correspondence, and at the instigation of Mr. Canning, that President Monroe published his famous Message to Congress on December 2, 1823. The full text of the Message may be found in the *Annual Register* for that year. It will be sufficient for our purpose to quote that portion of it which is embodied in Mr. Olney's despatch to Lord Salisbury. After stating that it did not comport with the policy of the United States to take part in the wars of the European Powers, President Monroe proceeds to say: "We owe it to candour, and the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we

have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." The Message also declared (says Mr. Olney) that the American continents were fully occupied, and were not the subjects for future colonisation by European Powers.

Mr. Canning had previously informed the Allied Governments that Great Britain could not recognise any right in them to interfere forcibly between Spain and her American colonies, and the President's declaration, following upon this intimation, at once put an end to all ideas of armed interference. The Message, although a triumph for Canning, who could boast that he had "called a New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old," undoubtedly went further than what he was prepared to assert. As Lord Salisbury says in his despatch, President Monroe in effect laid down two propositions—(1) That America was no longer to be looked upon as a field for European colonisation; (2) That Europe must not attempt to extend its political system to America, or to control the political condition of any of the American communities which had recently declared their independence. The latter of these propositions, as applied to the circumstances of the time, Canning welcomed and accepted, but the former, as a European statesman, he felt himself bound to dispute. While denying the right of any European country to reconquer for Spain her revolted colonies, he as resolutely denied the right of the United States to take offence at the establishment of new colonies from Europe in unoccupied parts of the American Continent.

II. Having sketched the circumstances under which the Monroe Doctrine originated, we must now consider how far it may be said to be a part of International Law. The contents of International Law may be defined as those principles and rules which States agree to regard as obligatory. There is no legislature to lay down such rules, no executive to enforce them; they can only originate from, and can only be enforced by, the common sentiment of nations. A rule or doctrine only becomes a part of International Law when it is recognised either expressly or tacitly as binding upon them, not by some nations merely, but by all. So far from the Monroe Doctrine having been accepted by all nations, it can hardly be said to have been accepted by any single nation. The Doctrine may indicate a course of policy for the conduct of foreign affairs frequently acted upon by the United States, but it has never before been definitely laid down by them as a canon of International Law. As Mr. Olney admits, it has never been formally affirmed by Congress; nay more, as Lord Salisbury says in his reply, it has never before been advanced

on behalf of the United States in any written communication addressed to the Government of another nation. Moreover, it is not accepted by writers on International Law, including even some of the best known American publicists, such as Wheaton and Woolsey.

But it may be said that though the Doctrine has not been explicitly admitted as binding by any nation, yet the principles upon which it is based are so eminently reasonable and consonant to the common sentiment of nations as to make its observance incumbent upon all. It is, no doubt, an admitted canon of International Law, based upon each State's right to self-preservation, that a nation may intervene whenever anything is done or proposed to be done "which is a serious and direct menace to its own integrity, tranquillity, or welfare." Upon this principle the first proposition of the Monroe Doctrine cannot be defended; the second must at least be materially modified. The matter cannot be summed up better than in the words of one of America's greatest publicists, the holder of the Chair of International Law at Yale. "To lay down the principle," says Professor Woolsey, "that the acquisition of territory on this Continent by any European Power cannot be allowed by the United States would go far beyond any measures dictated by the system of the balance of power, for the rule of self-preservation is not applicable in our case: we fear no neighbours. To lay down the principle that no political systems unlike our own, no change from Republican forms to those of monarchy, can be endured in the Americas, would be a step in advance of the Congresses at Laybach and Verona, for they apprehended destruction to their political fabrics, and we do not. But to resist attempts of European Powers to alter the constitutions of States on this side of the water is a wise and just opposition to interference. Anything beyond this justifies the system which absolute Governments have initiated for the suppression of revolutions by main force."

III. It still remains to consider whether, admitting the Monroe Doctrine to be binding, it could by any means be made applicable to our present dispute with Venezuela. Though other matters are in debate the boundary question is no doubt the principal one. The facts are briefly as follows. In 1814 the Netherlands transferred to Great Britain the three colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice—the country now known as British Guiana. These territories had fallen into the possession of the Dutch during their long war of emancipation, and were ceded to them by Spain when formally recognising their independence by the Treaty of Munster, signed on the 30th of January, 1648. In 1830 the Republic of Venezuela assumed a separate existence and was recognised by England, but it was not till 1845 that it was formally recognised by Spain. By virtue of the Treaty of Madrid, signed on the 30th of March, 1845, the

Republic of Venezuela claims to have succeeded to Spain in all her rights over the Captaincy-General of the same name. The question, therefore, is whether or no the disputed territory was included in the Captaincy-General of Venezuela. It arose originally about 1840, and has been pending ever since. In that year Sir Robert Schomburgk was sent out by the British Government, and after most careful investigation, traced out a boundary-line, not the one which Great Britain claimed as of right, but one which she was willing to accept in order to come to a speedy arrangement with a weaker and friendly Power. During the protracted and intermittent negotiations our Government has at times offered still further concessions, though Great Britain now insists upon the Schomburgk line as the very least to which she is of right entitled. "If," in the weighty words of Lord Salisbury, "as time has gone on the concessions thus offered diminished in extent and have now been withdrawn, this has been the necessary consequence of the gradual spread over the country of British settlements which her Majesty's Government cannot, in justice to the inhabitants, offer to surrender to foreign rule, and the justice of such withdrawal is amply borne out by the researches in the national archives of Holland and Spain, which have furnished further and more convincing evidence in support of the British claims."

This is the dispute which Mr. Olney, in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, demands shall be submitted to arbitration, and which the British Government, acting as all States and all individuals act when they believe they have an indisputable claim, refuses to settle by such means. It is difficult indeed to see how, by any kind of reasoning, this case can be brought within the Monroe Doctrine; there is no danger of a new European colony being planted on any part of the American continent, nor of a political system being imposed on any part of it against the wishes of its inhabitants. It is only by the most extraordinary special pleading that the Doctrine can be stretched to include such a case, and such special pleading it is the duty of our Government to reject and ignore.

H. S. Q. HENRIQUES.

GERMAN COMPETITION.

"MADE IN GERMANY," AND HOW TO AVOID IT.

THE encroachment of German competition upon the trade of these Islands has increased of late years to such an enormous extent that it is important seriously to consider any practical means whereby its progress may be stemmed. Already there are signs of wavering in the great corner-stone of British political faith. It may be that, in the near future, *Free Trade*, upon which so much hope was centered, will fall to the ground and will be superseded by some form of *Protection*. But upon this it is hard to prophesy : political shibboleths die hard. Reforms, moreover, under a popular Government sometimes arrive so slowly that their relief comes too late. Experience teaches us, however, that while political parties are wrangling over formulas and forming commissions and otherwise trying to set their complex machinery in working order, much real and rapid good may be effected by the energy of the individual. We have had an example in Ireland of the value of such effort in the case of a series of movements made by different persons and at different times for the development of the Irish woollen industries. These industries which had all but died out, have of late years made a most active and steady progress, for which those who helped to stimulate them have every cause to be proud.

I am fully convinced that the success of German manufacture over our own does not arise from any superiority of the German over the British artisan. Many causes produce it : the protection of industries in foreign countries, a cheaper transport, a State-supported system of technical education, more perfect machinery in some cases, and, lastly, the public desire for a cheap article, without regard to quality.

All these might be neutralised by a vigorous onslaught of well-directed public opinion. The root of the whole matter lies, however, in the phrase *well-directed* ; for, let it be marked and noted well that individual voices may be raised for centuries from north, south, east, and west, and, be the ideas represented by the voices never so wise, there is nothing gained unless they be so organised as to join together in one strong chorus.

The wished-for results might be partially achieved directly, and

wholly achieved in a little time by the formation of such an organisation as I now propose humbly to suggest.

The name is of course a small matter, although an attractive title is desirable. The following might be suitable :

“A Society for the Maintenance of the Supremacy of British Trade.”

This society should embrace all classes: the employers, the workers, and the consumers, and it could work in two ways, directly and indirectly—directly by the individual exertions of every member to encourage to the utmost of his power the industries of his own country by buying home-made goods in preference to those made in other countries, and indirectly by the promotion of measures for the improvement of our manufactures. Such, for example, as a more extended system of technical education, a readjustment of railway rates in the interest of home manufactures, and, above all, by an endeavour to bring about a better feeling between employer and employed, whereby “strikes” and “lock-outs” should be looked upon as but a little less disastrous than war and pestilence, and those who rashly promoted them as enemies of their country.

In most cases individuals will buy what they want indiscriminately, without ever thinking of inquiring where it was manufactured—take, for example, a penny box of matches. But the oft-repeated purchase of foreign matches by a great number of individuals, in preference to those made at home, may mean the shutting up of an English factory, and the putting out of employment of hundreds of English women. Surely the slightest reflection will show that one’s duty is first to feed the hungry in one’s own land, and afterwards to extend kindness to other countries. At present the balance of benefit diverges towards the foreign worker.

Before going further, I would like to guard myself from a possible misinterpretation, by defining the limits within which home-made articles should be used by the home consumer. It is not to be expected that, where a specific article is the specialty of a foreign country, and cannot possibly be so well or cheaply made at home, that the foreign article should not be used; but I do earnestly think that, where any commodity has for long been extensively manufactured in one’s own country, and where there never has been any fault to find either with the material or workmanship, any lover of his country should at least pause before he encourages the importation of a similar article from abroad.

Very recently a delegation was appointed by the British Iron Trade Association, to inquire into the cost and conditions of the manufacture of iron and steel on the continent of Europe. That such a step has been taken is a sign that manufacturing England is no longer content to slumber in fancied security while rivals, whom he could once afford to despise, quietly surpass her in the struggle

for existence. We are now aware that, while in this particular branch of industry England has remained almost stationary, Germany has advanced with leaps and bounds. Amongst other things, it is mentioned that German workmen have the advantage over Englishmen of more skilled overseers, and more perfect machinery. They also, we are told, work longer and are more docile. We also learn that, "If English manufacturers enjoyed the same railway rates and royalties as those on the Continent, foreign competition could be defied in neutral markets."

How these unpromising prospects in this great industry are to be made better is a subject for the wise consideration of statesmen, but in the case of retail trade, the public have the control in their own hands. The following extract from *The Economist* of January 22, 1896, will show how much trade can be affected by public sentiment :

"In Berlin the manufacturers state that their business with England is paralysed greatly, partly on account of the political sentiment in England, and partly for other reasons. Makers of ladies' cloaks report little selling."

No better example than this could be given of the extreme sensitiveness of trade ; of how easily it is made or unmade. A little more of such sentiment might drive away much of the foreign usurpations of old established British trade.

But such spasmodic exhibitions are in the nature of things only transitory in their results ; what we require is an honest and permanent interest in our own manufactures, and a desire of every citizen to further them to the best of his power. A development, too, is required of a spirit of altruism between employer and employed, and a more far-reaching sense of their own self-interest, whereby they may learn that a trade dispute prolonged to a certain period, may have the effect of permanently diverting the trade to a foreign country. Thus, when the battle is ended, the combatants may find to their sorrow that the cause of their contention is at an end.

At the present time such a society might easily be formed, consisting of a central organisation and of various local branches in all parts of the United Kingdom. In the first instance, every individual would pledge himself to support home manufactures to the best of his power. A register might be kept of all the retail traders who were members of the society, and the society should be able to give information as to the goods manufactured at home, and where they could best be procured, and also to inquire into the grounds of any complaints against the quality or durability of any articles already purchased by a member of the society. In the cases where foreign manufactures were considerably cheaper than those made at home, the British manufacturer might be communicated with

for the purpose of ascertaining if he could not supply a similar article at an equally low rate.

The indirect benefit upon home industries which would spring from such a society can easily be imagined. A strong sympathy would be evoked between wearers, workers, and employers of labour. The idle would learn something of how the busy world around them is carried on ; the workers would feel that others sympathised with their labours—the moral gain on both sides would be considerable. The writer is convinced that such a society as has been here dimly outlined would produce enormous improvement in many of our languishing industries.

GEORGE NEWCOMEN.

COUNTY POLICE.

EVERYBODY knows the county policeman, but few are aware of the temptations and trials to which he is subjected. Taken, in most cases, from the ranks of the country-side lad, he is placed in a position of great trust, if not responsibility, at an early age, and equipped with a training, by no means adequate to the importance of the post, he is cast out upon the county, to make or mar his future.

The temptations of the county policeman are many, and we give the leading ones, thus :

The chief stumbling-block is the public-house. P.C. Smith is stationed at a certain village, and for a time all goes well. He has a sergeant not far off, but that makes very little difference, especially if of the old school. After a year or so, during which time the publican is scarcely known to the constable, save for an occasional nod, matters begin to alter. From a nod to a friendly conversation is an easy transition, and from a friendly conversation springs an invitation inside. He need not mind the sergeant, for he was in here last night, and the young constable soon finds himself within the bar, but not alone. Here are a few choice friends, amateur poachers, men of doubtful character, and it is to these that the young officer owes his fall. They are respectable men in the daylight, small farmers as they call themselves, but at night they lapse into doubtful pursuits. Rabbits, stray fowls, and other such things, interest them much. Of course, the sergeant knows, but the young constable does not. The former has been winking at these men for years, the latter has yet to learn the process. The present of a rabbit or two occasionally, and in close time a pheasant, and the power of P.C. Smith is weakened. He is instructed to watch these same men, and unless he be a man of great courage he collapses utterly, and makes a lying report as to their innocence. The sergeant has, of course, made similar reports in the past, having been fattened on the spoils of poaching. Dare the young officer tackle these men he would be secretly denouncing his superior, with the usual result. He prefers keeping the rabbits, and his own counsel, the wisest course under such circumstances, and the sergeant and constable become great friends. You will notice, if you happen to

call in at the house of the latter, a curious fact, and it is the presence of rabbit skins behind the door, or rabbit bones upon a plate, but one or other you are sure to see, that is, if you walk in with your eyes open, and your visit is very abruptly made. We have known cases in which a squire has been unable to get rabbits for the table, while the keepers and policeman live upon them almost daily. And the allusion to gamekeepers brings us to remark upon the connection that often exists between a dishonest keeper and the village policeman. If the former is up to the average standard of honesty, which means that he is not strictly honest, then the policeman will probably become degenerate, and accept presents of game and other offerings in the shape of hush money. How do the keeper and the village constable get together? In various ways, and they are these :

(1) The constable may be assisting the keepers by occasional night watchings.

(2) They become familiar, and the former must be admitted to the fellowship of the keepers, in case any irregularity has been noticed, such as a pheasant in a trap, which should have been sent up to the Hall, but finds its way instead to the policeman's cottage.

(3) Then comes the public-house, and frequent meetings thereat, as a convenient rendezvous prior to night watching, and the policeman is now becoming demoralised. We will briefly sketch the influence of the publican and its results, then deal with the complications that arise between keeper, publican, and village constable.

If the publican be an average man he must try to keep on good terms with the constable, and he will not be above practising various arts upon the latter so as to ensure success.

We remember a certain village publican who was not sure of the policeman, and the following anecdote was told me by the latter.

"I had just left the supper-table, and thought I would have a look round at the 'Sheaf.' Jones saw me hanging about outside, and asked me in. After a bit he gave me a drink of rum, and I got up to go, and when outside of the door I felt giddy, and down I fell, just as the opposite publican came out and had a laugh at me."

Now this is a very true story told to myself, and I had no reason to doubt the man's statement, which asserted that his rum had been drugged. The most curious fact was the appearance of the rival publican at the very time of the policeman's collapse, and the subsequent presence of the other publican who picked up the constable. The deduction to be drawn from this anecdote is that both publicans were in league to destroy the officer's credit, and to free themselves from his prying observation as to who got drunk at either of the houses, past or future, it may be.

The moral is very plain. A village policeman should avoid the offer of drink at any public-house in his beat ; but so very few avail themselves of this doctrine that we need scarcely expect to find many conversions to it, rather the reverse. What happens then is this. After a village policeman has been stationed in the district for some months he gradually drops the uncompromising attitude which he assumed at first, and allows himself to be drawn into friendly chats with the publican. If he does not get as far as this the keeper will certainly help him, unless both of them are abstainers, so that the young constable now finds himself drawn into friendly conclaves with keeper and publican. Which of the two will master him ? Both, in all probability. Neither can live comfortably without the other, and all three should be harmonious to make a satisfactory combination. Once this is done, then keeper, publican, and constable form a happy trio. The keeper gives the publican and policeman odd game and many rabbits, getting drinks innumerable out of the second, and an everlasting wink from the third, as to various speculations, generally committed at night. The keeper is told to shoot as many pheasants as he can for presentation, and brings back to the hall just what he chooses, especially if the squire be old and infirm. The surplus usually finds its way, some to policeman and publican, and the rest to a certain dealer in game who has a standing account with our honest keeper. One great inducement to dishonesty on the part of our keeper is the absence of supervision that prevails in most cases, the master being entirely to blame in this respect. Servants who work principally in the dead of night require a stricter, if not a sterner supervision than do those who work under the sun.

Now, having brought the trio into harmony, let us inquire as to the supervision exercised over the policeman by his superior officer. A county police sergeant may be a sound man, but in some cases he is as frail as the constable ; and we have all seen the stout sergeant who has run to seed in the hot-house frame of the publican. Can we wonder at this when the sergeant has himself been a constable and run the same road as keeper and publican ? Not necessarily, of course, but very probably, if he be of alcoholic tastes. What then happens ? The constable knows well when to expect the sergeant (as the latter is not desirous of being met unexpectedly in the public) ; and as a matter of fact the sergeant, in his turn, knows where to meet the constable and where *not* to meet him, *i.e.*, in the village public. So a merry game of Box and Cox goes on from year to year, and the constable is given a good character by the sergeant, by the publican and keeper alike. So that our trio really consists of a quartette, all working discreetly together. It is on large estates that we expect to find corruption at work, rather than on small and personally supervised lands, managed by the owner. A man who has but one keeper and a limited supply of game will be sure to

look after his own, rather than a man who has more game than he can count. The question now is, Who looks after the sergeant? There is an inspector living many miles away, or a superintendent, who may drive up some night just to have a look round. These officers have, no doubt, the benefits of long experience, but they can not be always on the spot to catch sergeant or constable in sin, and, as a matter of fact, they do not. Then there is the chief and the deputy chief constable, officers far removed from all personal knowledge of what goes on at night in the hundreds of villages belonging to their sway. One instance of this came to our notice some years ago, where a constable had been stationed in one village for some years and had got into the habit of drinking openly in the public-house, fell into debt, and was put into the county court. Yet this man was left where he was for at least a year after, when he was transferred some twenty miles away. We speculate as to whether the chief constable knew anything about the man. Another constable we knew had got mixed up with publicans and poachers, yet this man led a charmed life. On one occasion some pigeons were missing, and this constable brought his inspector to the house of an amateur poacher, thoroughly searched the premises in the presence of the suspected man, but found nothing. That same night we chanced to hear the policeman and suspect laughing together, and then we solved the mystery! In most villages of any size will be found one or two bad specimens of idle loafers whose means of existence is a problem. Take this case:

A. keeps a pony trap, a few fowls, has an outdoor licence for beer, and drives about apparently doing nothing in the daytime.

B. is one of the village publicans, and a friend of A. At night the pair go rabbiting, or snaring hares, sometimes visiting a distant fowl-house, as fancy dictates. I happened to notice a pile of rabbit bones outside the village policeman's house, and the mystery was solved. Further, my two dogs were fond of running into this man's garden and scrunching rabbit bones, until I had to stop the practice.

Who looks after the Chief Constable? Nobody! There is a committee, it is true, but given the election of a chief constable, and the office, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, is terminated but by old age or death. There are Government inspectors, but their duties are almost formal, and if the police force under inspection look smart generally, and the police cells are sanitary, then the inspector's report is satisfactory, and in most instances, complimentary. Military men like smartness in dress, and so on; but neither inspector nor chief constable know anything of the private life of these men. The former is not required to; but the latter ought to have some personal knowledge of the men under him, just as much as a prison governor knows his staff and their failings.

Difficulties arise when the area of a county is considered, and it may seem almost hopeless for the chief constable to know the virtues and vices of the small army under him. A head constable of a city would have just as many men to control as the average county chief, and being continually amongst his men, naturally enough he gets to know them well. It is not numbers in the present case, but rather is it the broadcast way in which they are stationed, every county policeman reckoning to walk from ten to fifteen miles daily. There are certain fixed points for meeting on the beat, but no circumscribed streets of limited extent, and a sergeant dropping suddenly round a sharp corner at any minute of the day or night, with an inspector after him and the constables on the beat. This is city, but not country practice.

Do the county chiefs really try to know their men? Our observation would point to an excessive use of red tape, the sergeant reporting upon the constable, and the inspector reporting to the superintendent, and so on, until the chief constable gets a favourable report upon some very doubtful character, simply because it may be agreeable to the peace of mind of some dubious sergeant, who is mixed up with the constable and the publican, to report favourably.

Do the county chiefs ever pay surprise, or formal visits even, to their men at a distance? Do they ever visit the homes of constables, on a driving tour it might be, almost as a labour of love?

Perhaps they can tell us.

Suggestions.

(1) The chief constable should endeavour to know all his men as best he can.

A keen observer could judge of a man's character by five minutes' talk, and it would be easy for the chief to visit all his men once a year, going to their homes without notice of any kind. Of course, the question of travelling expenses comes in here, but if there is any difficulty on this point the County Committee ought to allow sufficient for the purpose. The system of taking reports, which may pass through half a dozen hands prior to their reaching the chief constable, is a bad one. It is the young constables who are the real force in every county, and from their ranks the sergeants are drawn, inspectors and superintendents, and in many cases the deputy chief constable also. It is at the impressionable age of the first few years of police life that inspection is needed, not so much when the men have run to seed in demoralisation, ruined by the wiles of publicans and unprincipled keepers. Such constables are absolutely useless, if not centres of infection to the villagers around.

(2) No constable should be allowed to remain in the same district more than two years.

The reason for this rule is obvious. A man cannot get into the confidence of unprincipled persons all at once. Country people are often very suspicious of strangers, much more so than townspeople, and for the first year the good and bad alike regard the new policeman with reserve. In many cases men would be benefited by removal earlier than this, especially in suspicious districts where there is a large estate carefully preserved and publicans and keepers flourish. The practice of sending young constables to such districts is a pernicious one and involves demoralisation. Objectors to this scheme will find increased expenses their leading cry, the removal of married men having to be borne by the ratepayers, it being unfair to move a man every two years at his own cost. Efficiency is the first principle, economy the second, and they should both work together, as seen in the English Prison Service. Again, there is a growing tendency for military men to look upon these appointments, well paid as they are, but as comfortable retirements for declining years, rather than as an important branch of the public service, carrying with it the morality of the masses.

As in other branches of life, the best men are not always appointed, personal friendship and influence often determining the final selection, or, to put it plainly, jobbery looks out from pillar to post.

(3) The sergeants should be removed every three years, and should be closely watched, for if they be not sound in all respects their influence is evil to an extreme, and an unprincipled sergeant in a game-preserved district is a public nuisance, his constables being certain to glide gracefully and uncomplainingly into the vices of their superior.

(4) The inspectors can be left to themselves, and the superintendents as well, having worked their way up. There can be no doubt, however, but that the chief constable sees much more of the superior officers, who need but little repentance, than of the frail constable of a few years' service, who has a hard fight to keep straight, with the publican on one side and the keeper on the other.

G. RAYLEIGH VICARS.

“MERRIE ENGLAND” :¹ MR. BLATCHFORD'S SOCIALISM.

“MERRIE ENGLAND” is the title of a small pamphlet of some two hundred pages by Mr. Robert Blatchford, editor of the *Clarion* newspaper, and published by him at the phenomenal price of one penny. Whether it be due to the lowness of the price, the attractiveness of the title, the popularity of the doctrines taught in the book itself, or all three combined, there can be no doubt that an enormous circulation has been attained. More than half a million copies of the people's edition of this book are stated to have been sold ; a new edition at 3*d.* is now on the market, and commanding a ready sale, and the work is, so we are given to understand, being translated into half a dozen European languages. *Merrie England* is not, as most people would suspect, a novel on the Harrison-Ainsworth model, or a historical picture of the good old times when the adjective “merrie” had a living significance, but a series of tracts on “the dismal science,” written in sturdy, home-spun Anglo-Saxon, in no uncertain temper, and addressed to a fictitious “John Smith,” who is described as a cotton-operative at Oldham. So that, even allowing for the inevitable rush of readers who bear the widespread patronymic, there is a big margin left for the Browns, Joneses, and Robinsons who want to know all about Mr. Smith's affairs. Nor would it be right to check their curiosity. I do not suppose either Mr. Blatchford or his correspondent will view the matter as a breach of confidence. And, as a matter of fact, even a child knows that whatever is good for John Smith must be good for all England, while, on the other hand, if John Smith should be fooled or misled, so much the worse for England.

Mr. Blatchford's proposal is simply this : “Give me my way, allow me to abolish private property, and to wind up the principle of competition, and the law of supply and demand, and I will do the rest. I will make you such an England as you have never seen before in your lives ; an England where the inhabitants will be healthy and happy, and where vice and poverty will be no longer known.” The problem which he sets himself to solve is, to use his own words, “Given a country and a people, to find how the people

¹ *Merrie England*. By Robert Blatchford (“Nunquam”). London : Walter Scott. 1895.

may make the most of the country and of themselves." Now, I have given his pages a patient perusal in the hope that he would redeem his promise, and as I will proceed to show, I regret to find that he has done nothing of the kind; that what he has shown is: "Given a country and a people, to make short work of that country and that people."

But first let me notice one or two palpable absurdities which appear in Mr. Blatchford's pamphlet:

"The present code of commercial ethics is, in my opinion, opposed entirely to reason and justice. Nearly all our practical economists of to-day put the consumer first and the producer last. This is wrong. There can be no just or sane system which does not first consider the producer and then wisely and equitably regulate the distribution of the things produced."

Here Mr. Blatchford loses sight of the fundamental principle in all industrial operations—viz., exchange. One man exchanges the product of his labour with another man through the medium of money. In such a transaction there cannot be any room for priority. Both meet on equal terms, and to demand priority for one of them is about as reasonable as to suggest that when two men fight a duel with pistols one of them should be nearer to the other than that other is to him.

Again, in the same chapter, he says:

"There are one hundred families in a small State. Ten are wood-cutters, ten hunters, ten shoemakers, ten tailors, ten fishermen, and so on. Suppose the wood-cutter works fifteen hours a day, and only receives half as much food and clothing in return as is received by the rest of the community who work ten hours a day. That means that fuel is cheap to ninety families, but that all other things are dear to ten families. It means that ten families are suffering for the advantage of ninety families. *It means that the public of that State sweat and swindle the wood-cutters.*"

Such is the explanation which this new philosopher gives of industrial depression. He must know that all trades are not equally necessary to the community; he must know that wood-cutters are not as necessary as farmers, and that the men who are engaged in the production of a commodity in excess of the ratio of its necessity to the community are simply wasting their time. They are making their products too plentiful—in other words, too cheap. What, then, should they do? Should they be encouraged in the over-production of an unnecessary commodity? Mr. Blatchford holds that they should, for there is the labour expended, which is all he looks to, not caring whether the labour has been well-directed or misdirected. But common-sense would suggest that when they can no longer exchange the wood for the necessities of life, they should turn their hands to the production of the necessities of life them-

selves—viz., to become farmers, and thus restore industry to its normal balance. And although Mr. Blatchford in another place advocates the nationalisation of the land, he has not a word to say here about the land monopoly being the root of the evil. No, it is the rest of the community—the hunters, shoemakers, tailors, fishermen, &c.—that “sweat and swindle the wood-cutters.”

Listen to this recipe for the depression in the salt trade :

“Half the domestic salt is wasted. Double the price, and *save half the salt*. Then only half as much would be bought.

“Therefore only half as much would be made. *Therefore the salt-makers, who now work twelve hours a day, need only work six hours a day.*”

This is the remedy he proposes for the waste which takes place when salt is too cheap. Now, the situation clearly points to a transfer of labour from the salt industry to the agricultural industry, or to any others that may be open, as determined by the demand for their respective products; but instead of recognising this truth he proposes to create an artificial scarcity of salt by paying men full wages for half-time. That is to say, more people would be induced to become salt-workers, and if they could not get employment as such, they would have a real grievance, because they would have to continue working twelve hours a day, as compared with the salt-workers' six. Then, to be fair and consistent all round, a six-hours working-day ought to be established with wages the same as before, the result of which arrangement would be that only half as much bread, half as much meat, and half as much of everything would be produced; the population would be half-starved, in spite of their doubled prices, and all in consequence of this vulgar and vicious attempt to substitute statutory laws for natural ones.

Cheapness, according to Mr. Blatchford, is a national curse, as will appear from the following paragraph :

“*All commodities are produced by labour, therefore to drive commodities down to their cheapest rate must result in cheap labour.* And you know that as soon as ever prices begin to fall the capitalist begins to talk about lowering wages. And you know that bread and coal and clothing and salt and matches and very many other things are simply cheap because the people who produce them are not half paid.”

Now, cheapness is only another word for plentifulness. When an article is cheap it is plentiful, as compared with other articles, for cheapness and dearness are relative terms. When we say that bread and coal and clothes are cheap, we mean that they are plentiful. The cheaper we make them the easier it will be for everybody to get them. If they could be had for nothing, the whole problem of industrial remuneration would be solved, for they are the necessities of life, and it is for them that everybody works directly or indirectly. Yet he uniformly counsels dearness as a remedy for all industrial ills,

because, as he says, "in a country where some of the users are not makers, it is to the interest of the makers that prices should be high." For instance, he expends much eloquent indignation upon the poor matchmaker trying to exist on 4s. per week; upon the shirtmaker having to live on tea and toast, while the purchaser may be able to afford champagne and oysters; upon the poor collier trying to keep body and soul together on 12s. a week; and so on. Yet what does he propose? Simply to relieve the matchmaker by making the shirtmaker and the collier pay more for their matches; he would relieve the collier by making the matchmaker and the shirtmaker pay more for their coal; and he would relieve the shirtmaker by making the matchmaker and the collier pay more for their shirts! Surely the famine-stricken islanders who made a living by taking in each other's washing might have found the above plan much simpler, and certainly more philanthropic.

This hole-and-corner method of inquiry—this failure to grasp each fact in its relative significance—is observable throughout Mr. Blatchford's pages. Each phase of industrial hardship is dealt with as if it were an isolated fact standing on its own basis and requiring special treatment. Could he have seen it in its true corporate relationship he would have discovered that his wooden theories are mutually destructive and inconsistent; but so eager is he to reach the listener's heart by the free use of the *argumentum ad hominem* that his theories give him no trouble whatever after they have served their purpose.

A few of the fundamental facts which underlie all industrial enterprise may here be stated, even at the risk of being self-evident to many readers of this REVIEW. The number of labourers assigned to each class of labour is determined by the ratio of their necessity to the community, and would, in practice, regulate itself. Thus, in a new community, if there were too many schoolmasters or newspaper-editors, they would only be able to exchange for the necessities of life something which was not saleable; consequently they would be driven to produce the necessities of life themselves—that is, to become farmers. In the same way, if there were too many farmers, they would get less and less of the products of other people's labour in exchange for their own, and so a strong inducement would be held out to them to cease to be farmers and to become something else which would give them greater reward at the same cost. The principle which thus regulates the distribution of labour is the law of supply and demand, and is as unerring in its operation as, and is essentially identical with, the principle in physical science by which water finds its own level. Under the influence of this law and free competition no country need be distressed, save by famine or some natural calamity; for no matter how far the principle of subdivision of labour might be carried out, the balance of exchange would be

maintained, and the only limit to popular welfare and comfort would be the limit of the country's resources.

But now suppose that either owing to a war from the outside, or a revolution from within, society is disorganised, and according to the issue of such war or revolution a certain set of persons has certain proprietorial privileges conferred upon it which are not open to the rest of the community. Free competition is then interfered with; a monopoly is created, and many well-marked social and industrial phenomena begin to present themselves. The more necessary to human life the article monopolised the more serious will be the effects of the monopoly upon the nation at large. Of all the articles that can be thus appropriated it is obvious that land is incomparably the most necessary, and its denial the most serious that any nation can endure, for a monopoly of the land means in practice a monopoly of whatever can be got out of the land. Here I find myself at issue with no less a personage than Mr. Frederic Harrison, who, in a paper read before an Industrial Remuneration Conference in 1885, made light of the land monopoly and argued that the appropriation of all the salt in India, or of all the coal or wood in England, would create a monopoly far more formidable, and would sooner make the monopolist master of the community than any possible appropriation of the soil, oblivious to the fact that the land monopolist often becomes *ipso facto* the coal monopolist and the wood monopolist, and that the coal royalties paid to landlords in England represent a very large annual tax upon the coal industry.

But many circumstances conspire in the course of a nation's history to prevent such a monopoly having its worst effects. For instance, if a nation occupied an insular position, or was in other respects favourably adapted for commerce, or if it had vast stores of mineral wealth, it might, by making the best use of these opportunities, in spite of its pernicious land-system, become for a time wealthy and powerful. Its mines, its ships, the industry of its artisans, the courage of its soldiers, the hardiness of its sailors, and the patience and originality of its inventors are things which landlordism could only partially affect; consequently it might, in accordance with the existing conditions of international trade, neglect agriculture, and turn its attention to other occupations which would pay it better. As long as the conditions of international trade remained the same so long would the inhabitants find profitable employment in non-agricultural pursuits, and so long would the evils of landlordism be likely to escape attention, but whatever tended to destroy that nation's supremacy in any particular industry as compared with other nations with which it traded, would prove the folly of staking its existence upon the production of goods which are not necessary to life and the neglect of those which are. Such is the case with England at the present moment. She has in the past

trusted too much to her proficiency in manufactures, and now the unforeseen pressure of foreign competition, coupled with the decline of her agriculture, and a population of 30,000,000 mouths to be fed somehow, ought to convince her that she has been playing a reckless game.

It will be seen that I assign to land the first place; the place assigned to it by Nature. It is the very basis of all human industry. Consequently wherever, in Mr. Blatchford's pages, he recommends the greater cultivation of the land, and the liberation of it from its present artificial fetters, I have no complaint to make. The method by which he proposes to accomplish the end may be objectionable, but the end is sound. It is one for the discovery of which we are not indebted to socialism, with which, indeed, it has no essential connection, being nothing more than the throwing open to competition a commodity hitherto monopolised by a privileged few; and it certainly does not seem quite at home in a book which aims at the abolition of competition in every industry whatever.

Now if we survey the whole field of human industry in the light of the foregoing explanations, we shall see that competition, condemned by socialists, so far from being "fatuous and bestial," to use the elegant language of Mr. Blatchford, is in reality "the life and soul of trade," and the safeguard of civilisation and progress, and that it is not to competition, but to the want of it that every industrial evil cited by socialists is to be attributed. Industrial competition simply means the tendency of the human race to make plentiful the things which minister to its existence, its convenience, and its comfort. As long as the competition is free and universal it is the supreme and unerring regulator of remuneration in all departments of industry, it expresses to a hair's breadth the value of each tradesman's work in terms of the products of the workman of an opposite trade, and by its reciprocal operation throughout the whole area of industry it adjusts the supply of commodities to the existing demands. But when it is fettered we invariably find poverty and hardship. Every industry becomes overcrowded. The strings which hold the community together instead of being in an elastic movable condition, are tightened to their utmost strength; a large residue of population failing to wedge itself into its folds presses against the walls of monopoly, and famine, chaos, and revolution are threatened. Is it competition or want of competition that causes these things? Suppose we enter the room of a fever-stricken patient and find the ventilation defective, and the patient half-suffocated. Every breath of air inhaled under such circumstances would be poison. Should we therefore say it was the air, or the want of air that was responsible? Should we fling open the window and admit the pure air, or take an air-pump and exhaust the air already in the chamber? It would be just as logical to do

the latter as to stop competition in industry. Viewed in its full, comprehensive aspect industrial depression is *nothing more than a disproportion in the amounts of the forces engaged in production and distribution. The number of producers of necessities of life bears too low a ratio to the number of producers of the comforts and luxuries of life and to the number of distributors, and would-be distributors.* To restore the true balance of industry we must *increase the number of producers of necessities*; and we cannot do this without throwing open the land to the plough and the spade. But Mr. Blatchford, though he possesses this knowledge, does not use it. Wherever he sees two facts together he assumes a relationship of cause and effect between them. Is there a murder, the first man he meets is sure to be the murderer. Is there a house on fire, the next door neighbour is the person responsible. And all the while he has information in his possession as to who is the real culprit.

Space will not permit me to notice all, or nearly all, the minor inconsistencies and irrelevancies with which *Merrie England* teems, I must, therefore, proceed to examine one or two of the main arguments on which Mr. Blatchford and other socialists base their theories of State-ownership of everything. I will take as the starting-point his assertion that,

"there is no such thing as personal independence in human affairs. Man is a unit of society, and owes not only all that he possesses, but all that he *is*, to other men. Yes, just as no man can have a right to the land, because no man makes the land, so no man has a right to himself because he did not make that self.

* * * * *

"Whosoever you are, you are what your forefathers, your circumstances, and your companions have made you. You did not make yourself; therefore you have no right to yourself. You were made by other men; therefore, to those other men you are indebted for all you have, and for all you are, and socialism with its awful justice tells you that you must pay the debt."

This is a fair specimen of the kind of logic which Mr. Blatchford serves out to his readers, and which is no doubt eagerly swallowed up by them, because it is not without a certain air of rugged candour, and its homely analogies find a ready market in the minds of Mr. Smith and his friends. But analogies, like *alibis*, though they are the very best kind of argument, *if true*, need to be watched very closely, and ought not to exclude independent inquiry. Let us try to analyse the theory. Man, it appears, was not made by a Creator. No doubt, our author would include Him in the category of "rich idlers" and "non-producers." Man was made by circumstances, by his forefathers, and by other men. Now, in so far as man was made by "circumstances," he is entitled to himself, because "circumstances" were only the raw material which man turned to good advantage, and "circumstances" have no more right to the finished product than a landlord has to the

unearned increment, a claim which Mr. Blatchford would not be disposed to admit, and, in justice to "circumstances," it must be admitted that they have acquiesced in this view, inasmuch as they have never presented their account. Then, in so far as man was made by his forefathers, I hold that he is absolved of the debt, because he is their living heir; in other words, he is both debtor and creditor in one, so that he has only to pay himself. Finally, in so far as man was made by his contemporaries, although there is some show of reason in the claim, it will be found that he has a counter-claim of the exact amount against them, for the influence exerted by a man upon his fellows is reciprocal. I, therefore, hold that the latter debt is cancelled, and that on all these three counts the case for slavery has broken down, and the natural freedom of man is vindicated. But Mr. Blatchford will not allow even an inventor credit for his work. He endeavours, by a subtle analysis, to dissolve the invention into its component parts, showing how little is due to the so-called inventor. But here he proves too much, for he asks :

"Is the machine your own invention? Does no other man's hand help you in the getting of your riches? If you consider, you will find that you owe your invention to a legion of dead and nameless men, and your wealth to a legion of poor workers of your own time. First, your loom contains wheels, and pinions, and is worked by steam. Did you *invent* the wheel? Did you *discover* steam?"

Can we believe our eyes? On what principle are the claims of living inventors to be disallowed, and those of dead ones recognised? Is the recognition of an inventor's claims to be delayed until it can no longer avail him anything, or is the work of a dead inventor to serve no higher use than to mock the claims of a living inventor? This is the "awful justice" of socialism, and it is undoubtedly a "new way to pay old debts," but I doubt whether it would prove as attractive to inventors as to non-inventors. Mr. Blatchford illustrates his contention by a drawing, showing a monkey picking an apple out of the water by clinging to other monkeys suspended from a tree. He says it would be just as fair for the lower monkey to claim all the apple as "for an author or an inventor to claim fame and fortune as the just reward of his own industry and talent." But there is hardly a monkey in the Zoological Gardens who does not know the impossibility of Mr. Blatchford's parallel. If the monkey did not share the apple with his fellows, we may be sure that on the next occasion of his attempting the performance he would be quietly dropped into the water, and if ever he arose it would be to a clearer sense of justice. Nor can justice have a better safeguard whether amongst men or monkeys.

This brings us to the crucial point in the whole argument, viz., the question of how socialism would affect individual enterprise, and

how far it would be reconcilable with national progress. To my mind, nothing can be clearer than that the progress of a nation depends upon the progress of each of the individuals of which it is composed. The strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link, and no one ever heard of a man trying to strengthen the chain by weakening the links. Yet this is really what socialism professes to do. It suppresses the individual, and only regards him as an atom in the aggregate mass, and by eliminating all rivalry, and taxing to a prohibitive extent all private enterprise, it reduces society to one common standard, and that would be the standard of the laziest man. Yet when socialists are confronted with this argument they execute a right-about-wheel movement which is eminently characteristic of their logical methods. Up to this point, the burden of their complaint is man's inhumanity to man, but now to rescue themselves they cite man's humanity. When they are tired harping upon the egoistic string, they commence to harp upon the altruistic. Egoism and altruism are, to them, interchangeable principles. Professor Drummond, in his *Ascent of Man*, likens them to the two sides of a ladder spanning the two extremes of organic life. Whether this be a correct simile or not, in the limited field of observation before us, we see no evidence of their interchangeability. We know that at present the world reaps the benefit of all the wealth that springs from private enterprise, and all the wealth that springs from philanthropy. Both taps are kept running. And we know that socialists would shut off one, and leave the other. And the one they would shut off would be incomparably the greater of the two. For what is it but the greed of gain (the term may not be a happy one, but I will not quarrel about the use of terms) that is the prime-mover in the wealth-producing machinery of the world? And what is socialism itself but a protest against the *universality* of this greed of gain, the very existence of which it both denies and affirms in the same breath? It is not steam, it is not electricity, it is not any of the forces of Nature that makes the earth, the air, and the sea the slaves of human will; it is human self-interest, springing up behind them all, that guides these forces, and turns them to shapes of usefulness. The hope of being able to cease toiling is the only influence that sweetens toil. Work, dull, monotonous, up-hill work, the production of the means of existence, the labour of the field, the coal-mine, the timber-yard, and the factory, never was, and never will be, attractive to the bulk of men except as a means to an end.

The soldier that "seeks a bubble reputation even in a cannon's mouth," the nurse at the sick-bed, the lifeboat crew risking their lives to save their drowning fellow creatures—these and a hundred similar instances cited by socialists are entirely beside the case. They may gild the edges of industry, but they do not weave its fabric. They are the meteors of life, but not its fuel. Mr. Blatchford

says, "the most selfish man would not see a fellow-creature die or suffer if he could save him without cost or risk." Yes, even a capitalist might save the life of a man who was in danger of drowning if he happened to be standing near. But it does not follow that he would share his wealth with him, or that he would work for him with the same eagerness as he would for himself. And why? Because the two propositions are different, and appeal to different traits in human character.

Mr. Blatchford gives us one example of the practicability of socialism. He cites the Post Office as a standing proof of the managing capacity of the State. I am quite prepared to admit that the concentrated intelligence of the State has actually proved itself equal to the task of despatching and delivering letters and parcels. But Mr. Blatchford knows that these functions do not furnish the materials for a reliable comparison between State management and private management. However, the despatch and delivery of letters and parcels are not the only functions undertaken by the Post Office. It has also an insurance department. Here, then, we have the requisite data for making a comparison, for there are other competitors with whose records we can measure those of the Post Office, and it is important to remember that the question is not whether the State can do certain things, but whether it can do them as well as private individuals. Now, while an insurance company like the Prudential estimates its policy-holders at one-third of the population of the United Kingdom,¹ and a society like the Royal Liver can boast 1,500,000 members of the working-classes, the business done by the Post Office is practically *nil*. During the year ending March 31, 1895, the Post Office issued only 1128 insurance policies. The most superstitious advocate of State infallibility would have to admit that the Post Office insurance scheme was a ghastly failure. Mr. Blatchford's citation is most unfortunate. It only goes to show that wherever the State binds its rivals, hand and foot, it invariably wins; and where it comes up to the scratch it invariably loses. Never has the contrast between individual management and State management been better exemplified than in this one department of working-class insurance. With the best motives the one fails; with only very ordinary motives the other succeeds, or, to parody the old couplet:

"The State can lead a horse to the pond's brink,
But private enterprise can make him drink."

Yet there are probably thousands of well-meaning people who believe in the possibility of a state of society founded upon the principles enunciated in such books as *Merrie England*, whose sole aim

¹ According to the latest returns issued by the Prudential, its annual collections amount to no less than £4,244,224, and its accumulated capital to over £22,000,000!

is equality, and who, in their eagerness to attain it, would grind down humanity into sausage-meat. They think that because they have votes they can banish the laws of political economy to Limbo by passing a resolution to that effect.

But there are limits to the powers even of a socialist democracy. "Their control stops with the shore," and, even if they could abolish industrial competition within their own shores, they could not abolish international competition. A nation dare not, under pain of extinction, neglect a single aid to progress, or relax a single muscle of enterprise. It must progress, whether it will or not, as China has recently learnt to her cost.

Such people are deserving of attention, not for the amount of light they throw upon the questions they attempt to solve, but as a striking phase of social discontent, arising from the wrong operation of laws and principles which are right in themselves. The socialism of the present is but the reaction from the monopoly of the past. The pendulum has swung to its widest span. There will probably be many a minor swing before the pendulum finally rests, but it is certain that it will rest at a point midway between the two extremes. What that point is to be called this is hardly the time or the place to discuss, but it is pretty safe to prophesy that it will aim at equalising the opportunities of wealth-producers, instead of equalising the results. It will not abolish gradations in society, but it may adjust those gradations more in accordance with the principles of natural selection. Above all, it will not exchange for the worst of all forms of slavery—the slavery of the State—those principles and institutions which experience has proved to be inseparably bound up with the welfare, freedom, and progress of the human species.

THOMAS SCANLON.

A LIVING WAGE.

THOSE who have enough and to spare cannot readily realise what it is to exist from hand to mouth ; yet there are to-day tens of thousands of men, women, and children who exist, like so many dumb animals, on what they can get.

Such cases are not confined to the unemployed, and when a man has worked hard and honestly between forty and sixty hours in one week for bare subsistence, he might be excused for asking the question—Is life worth living? Sweating is as prevalent now as ever it was, notwithstanding the power of the Trades Unions. Competition is so keen as to almost force the adoption of tactics which are degrading in the extreme.

Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, in speaking of the low state of wages, says : “ Masters, too, enter into particular combinations to sink the wages of labour even below this state. These are always conducted with the utmost secrecy till the moment of execution, and when the workmen yield, as they sometimes do, without resistance, though severely felt by them, they are never *heard* of by other people.” Some of the largest hardware factors encourage sweating to an alarming extent, and by methods which defy interference from any Trades Union. Take one of the most staple trades—viz., cabinet and builders’ brass foundry.

In that, as in most hardware trades, there are what are called “ outworkers ”—*e.g.*, men who start for themselves without capital.

One might manufacture sash-fasteners and rack-pulleys, another cornice pole brackets, another brass-head nails, and so forth.

The hardware factor either pays weekly or monthly.

The outworker cannot give credit, but must have cash on delivery of goods in order to carry on his business.

The factor obliges (?) him by paying cash on receipt of goods, but makes his own terms, which the outworker, being completely at the factor’s mercy, is compelled to accept. He struggles on for a time, but as fast as one goes down in the struggle for existence another takes his place.

It can be thus plainly seen that the *legitimate* manufacturer is at a great disadvantage ; he finds that he can often buy cheaper than his own workmen on a fair wage can make, and also, that the merchant can actually compete with him in his own market.

He is then compelled by circumstances to reduce his prices, and in so doing, he must also reduce the wages of his employés. Unprincipled employers often take advantage of these existing disgraces by the following methods:

A workman was asked to give a price for making a certain article, which must be cheap, finish no object. On the strict understanding that the work was to be inferior to the regular article, a price was given, the only difference between the two articles being the finish, which considerably affected the man's price.

After a time the manager complained about the work.

The workman explained that it was a cheap line, and was made according to arrangement.

The manager denied any arrangement, at the same time stipulating that in future if all the work was not finished in the *best* style the man should have no more to do.

In the same works another workman, who is acknowledged to be the cleverest, in his own particular branch, in the trade, was asked to reduce his prices. The reductions not satisfying his employer, lighter and inferior articles were substituted, made by another man. Although one of the most deserving of men he is thus being gradually starved out of his situation.

Such instances are not exceptions; they are only too common, especially in the hardware trades, and tend to show how under the present conditions the system of piece-work can be abused. I induced a working-man whom I knew to be thoroughly honest and industrious, and who has been employed by the same firm for the last forty years on piecework, to write one week's diary of his experience. He said, after giving a daily record:

"Saturday, finished the order commenced on Friday; spent two hours on it, which, with the one yesterday, makes *three hours for 2½d.* Result of week's work of seven days (Saturday to Saturday inclusive) about 12s., out of which I have to pay expenses, but every week is not so bad as this; yet often I have successions of them, and to exist at all I have to draw more than is coming to me. Week after week rolls by with appalling rapidity, and I am piling up a column of liabilities which will come down upon and bring me face to face with absolute want."

Those examples, which are perfectly true, are indirectly caused by the "outworkers." Every man is at perfect liberty to start in business for himself, but he ought not to be allowed to sell at prices which are ruinous both to the trade and himself.

It is comparatively easy to arrange a sliding scale of wages for puddlers, rollers, miners, &c., as they are all affected, practically, to the same extent by the fluctuations of the markets.

But in the more complicated trades it is much more difficult; and the only practical and effective method for dealing with work and

wages and for getting each trade into a healthy condition, is to encourage and promote Boards of Conciliation at which both employers and employ  s shall be evenly represented. Unprincipled employers should not be allowed to shirk their responsibilities and evade a proper and just system of payment; and they ought to be compelled to show to the satisfaction of inspectors, appointed by the Boards of Conciliation, that they are paying a fair and honest wage.

Then there is the system of payment by time.

Bakers most probably work more hours and receive less wages than the average industry. An ordinary journeyman baker works from between sixty and eighty hours per week, generally without payment for overtime. Sunday work is even, often unnecessarily, imposed upon them.

That the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners has very good reasons for agitating for some reform in hours and wages no one will deny.

There is no doubt that as much depends on the system of work in the bakehouse as in the ordinary manufactory, and in working under systematic rules and regulations, less time need be put in, to the advantage of both employer and employ  .

There are trades in which master and workman are working in an amicable and reciprocal manner, but unfortunately they are considerably in the minority.

The need for universal practical remedies for raising the present low scale of wages and guarding against systematic abuse is great. A universal eight hours day would undoubtedly find work for many of the unemployed; but it is equally certain that the consequent reduction or equalisation of wages would greatly increase the misery, already much too prevalent, throughout the country. At present for any country to attempt, alone, to make the working day of eight hours universal to all trades would be commercial suicide. If the hours of work per day were reduced all the world over to one stated level it would be a great social remedy, providing prices of commodities were *raised* in proportion. There are certain trades which ought to be under a time-limit.

Classing the signal-man as a trade, although unproductive labour, it is essential for the safety of the public that he should work not more than eight hours per day.

The miner working thousands of feet below the surface, and who is in continual danger, and other trades where the atmosphere is unhealthy or the labour excessively heavy and exhausting.

But those are the exceptions, and to class them with the railway porter, the working jeweller, the baker, &c., is infeasible.

However the working day is limited, it would be grossly unfair for the capitalist to be the sole loser; yet that is the open agitation of many labour delegates who have a most vague idea of the meaning

of the word *justice*. A general increase in the wage fund is dependent upon a whole series of internal and external circumstances—the equalisation of working conditions and the adjustment to a non-fluctuating level of a proper system of international commercial trading.

There is nowadays an unnecessarily bitter feeling against Trades Unionism. The Trades Unions, of which there are over two hundred in the country, are often accused of causing strife, loss of trade, and misery to thousands of homes. Are they always the culprits?

Emphatically, No.

There are many unions at the present time doing their utmost to promote a friendly spirit of co-operation between master and man, at the same time making praiseworthy attempts to raise the standard of each trade. The extremity to which certain well known agitators go ought to be treated with the contempt it deserves.

Their ignorance of even the veriest rudiments of political economy is most astonishing, and yet they have the confidence to come forth as leaders of working-men. Truly can it be said in such cases that "The blind leadeth the blind."

There is no need for those who are now being practically *sweated* to give up hope, as the outlook for the future is much brighter than has been the case during the past few years.

There is every reason to expect that with the improved social conditions of the working classes, the population will not increase to such an unnatural extent as it has in the past.

There is undoubtedly a glut of unskilled labour which must have an evil effect, as also the immigration of pauper aliens. Still there is no necessity for pessimism, and with the establishment of Conciliation Boards for each separate industry—which to be effective must have the assistance of Government—we may confidently look forward to the suppression of many of the unfair advantages which are taken of those who are unable to protect themselves.

HAROLD THOMAS.

LAND IN THE HIGHLANDS.

SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT LEGISLATE ?

UNDER the above heading an article appeared in the November number of *Blackwood's*, remarkable alike for closeness of argument and lucidity of statement. The large question which the subject involves is narrowed down to that of exceptional legislation for the congested districts in the Highlands; and the scheme propounded amounts, in brief, to the application of legislation, on the lines of the Ashbourne Acts in Ireland, to areas of congestion in Scotland.

With much of the general matter contained in the article one finds oneself in more or less complete accord. It is difficult to resist the conclusion, that despite the various Commissions which have been appointed since the Land Question in the Highlands first came prominently to the front, no legislative effort of practical value has yet been made to give relief to the pressure of conditions in the congested districts. Any feasible suggestions, therefore, having as their object the amelioration of the crofters' lot in those districts should receive a hearty welcome at the hands of all well-wishers of the Highland peasantry. And to so much credit is the writer in *Blackwood's* justly entitled.

The subject bristles with difficulties. Suggestions for the solution of the problem have been legion in number. Highland sympathisers, whose sentiments do more credit to their hearts than their heads, have sometimes demanded impossible terms for the crofter. Occasionally, however, proposals have been put forward which rest upon a basis of plausibility, apparently affording a plan of salvation for the crofter, without dealing injustice to the landlord. To this category the article in *Blackwood's* may, upon the whole, fairly lay claim to belong, and such a classification may ungrudgingly be accorded to it.

But here one must not only join issue with the conclusions upon which the scheme of reform is based, but challenge certain of the assumptions which are so confidently put forward in leading up to those conclusions. The Crofters' Commission and the Deer Forests Commission are alike treated in a spirit of querulousness, if not of contemptuous indifference, as cumbrous and expensive machinery which has been put in motion, with only a modicum of benefit to

the crofter community. As regards the Crofters' Commission, it is actually suggested that the results which it has achieved in the reduction of rents would, partly or wholly, have taken place without its intervention. Figures are quoted showing how the rents of large farms have fallen, and the suggestion is that the rents of crofts or small holdings would, presumably by the operation of the ordinary law of supply and demand, have been similarly reduced, irrespective of the efforts of a few fussy Commissioners who cost the country £71,882! The absurdity of such an analogy is surely self-apparent. The rents of large farms have ever been regulated by the law of supply and demand; and, like everybody else in this country connected with agriculture, the owners of these farms have had to content themselves with considerably smaller profits—if the looseness of the term, economically, may be pardoned—than formerly. The pressure of foreign competition in grain and stock has of course reacted upon the proprietor as well as the farmer. If one considers for a moment the vast difference which exists between the conditions which apply to large farms and those applying to small holdings, it will be readily seen how untenable is the position which the suggestion involves. Sheep-farms, it is asserted, “have not fallen less than 40 per cent. in the open market.” Precisely. They have so fallen, because for them a free and open market actually exists. Not so in the case of crofts. By the conditions of his life, by his associations, by everything, except comfort, the crofter is bound down to the locality in which he was born and brought up; and even supposing that facility of transference from one estate to another were possible, he would find himself no better off. In one way, indeed, the law of supply and demand as applying to crofts is not only not inoperative, but is unfortunately too actively in force. The demand for holdings is largely in excess of the supply—hence congestion—hence the landlord's power to maintain the rents of his crofts when those of his farms were rapidly falling—hence, in short, the root of the evil, sometimes misnamed the over-population of the Highlands. And all this was clearly evident when the Crofters' Commission was appointed, and, in point of fact, formed its *raison d'être*. But now we are told that the expense was useless; the matter would have righted itself in course of time; the rents were, after all, not unfairly high, seeing the average reduction made by the Commission only amounts to 28·14 per cent. against a 40 per cent. reduction in the rents of sheep-farms. However, the plain fact remains that it required a Royal Commission to relieve the crofters of an excessive impost of 28·14 per cent., and this speaks for itself. As a matter of fact, in some of the poorest and most congested districts, the reduction, in certain instances, greatly exceeded this percentage, whilst the average percentage of 67·52 arrears cancelled by the Commission is surely eloquent testimony to the utter

helplessness of the crofter to meet the excessive demands of the landlord. It is broadly hinted that some of these arrears were artificially created in order to induce the Commissioners to write them off in very despair of their ever being paid. This may or may not be correct; but who can for a moment believe that it had the desired effect, irrespective of the merits of such arrears? And it is surely a gratuitous assertion that these arrears would never have been enforced in any case. If that be so, why were they not voluntarily written off?

Again, the scorn which is so abundantly poured upon the devoted heads of the members of the Deer Forests Commission seems somewhat misapplied. The Commissioners are made the scapegoats of the policy of Sir George Trevelyan "the ideal agitator's Minister," and, needless to say, that policy finds no favour in the eyes of *Blackwood's* contributor. But surely it will be admitted on all sides that a Commission of this description, composed presumably of capable and experienced men, was the best—in fact, the only preliminary step, in the direction of legislation for the landless Highlanders. And it is not too much to say that whatever legislation of this nature may ultimately take place, whether inaugurated by a Liberal or a Tory Government, must of necessity be based upon the report submitted by the Deer Forests Commission. The importance of their work cannot be overestimated, and it is simply puerile to point to an expenditure of £11,174, and ask what has been obtained for it. It is even suggested that the Report is inaccurate, and that certain lands were actually scheduled without being seen. Such a statement is apt to shake one's faith both in the integrity and carefulness of Royal Commissions, and cannot be accepted without clear proof of its correctness. The scheme put forward by three of the Commissioners, Messrs. Shaw-Stewart, Forsyth, and Gordon, for purchase by the County Councils, under a Government guarantee, of land suitable for crofting purposes, is summarily dismissed as unworkable in congested districts, owing to its omission of any provision for assistance in the purchase of stock.

Two Unionist candidates, having by fortuitous circumstances not impossible of explanation, defeated Liberal candidates for the representation of Inverness-shire and Argyllshire respectively, at the last General Election, it is most unwarrantably assumed that the crofters have thrown over their allegiance to the Liberal party. And the assumption is pressed home in a manner which indicates a lamentably weak case, when it has to be buttressed by such an argument.

The assumption is absolutely baseless. Bearing in mind that the article is dealing with the congested districts of the Highlands, one naturally inquires what the crofters in those districts had to say at the General Election. Incomparably the most important area of congestion lies in the Island of Lewis. The Island of Lewis forms part of

the constituency of Ross and Cromarty. Ross and Cromarty returned as its member, not Major Jackson, the Tory candidate and the popular local man, but Mr. Galloway Weir, the sitting member, a consistent, if an eccentric, supporter of the Liberal Government. It is beyond dispute that a large share of his overwhelming majority was contributed by the Lewis crofters, the very people who are supposed to be sick of Liberal Governments and all their ways. And to Mr. Weir's victory the efforts of the Land League, which is now declared to be moribund, contributed in no small measure. Witness, again, the unopposed return for Sutherlandshire of Mr. John Macleod, Radical and Land Leaguer. Further comment is needless. The crofter electors of Ross and Cromarty and Sutherlandshire are essentially Liberal, owing to their conviction that only from a Liberal Government can an adequate measure of relief be expected. And it is a logical conclusion. For what Tory Government has in the past shown real practical sympathy with the Highland crofters?

We are assured that the present members for Inverness-shire and Argyllshire are going to deal with the question. Well, they are both doubtless very estimable and well-meaning men, and doubtless, also, the enthusiastic fire of brand new members runs in their veins, but they are not Cabinet Ministers—as yet, at all events. But the Leader of the House of Commons has committed himself to the policy of doing “something.” How delightfully vague the phrase; what immense potentialities lie in that word “something.”

It must be recollected that Mr. Balfour was in opposition when he delivered himself of the generalities which are now accepted as his policy of doing “something.” It is the duty of a Leader of the Opposition to oppose. But it is equally sometimes his duty, or his pleasure, to indulge in the blinding operation of dust-throwing. Was it by a mere coincidence that Mr. Balfour announced his sympathetic, if vague, policy, on the eve of a bye-election for Inverness-shire, after the dramatic retirement from political life of Dr. Macgregor? In any case, he now has the opportunity of proving that any suggestion to the contrary is unjust, and of adding lustre, by an act of justice, to his great reputation for fair and statesmanlike behaviour. The Government, it appears, are strong enough to turn a cold shoulder to Highland members and Highland measures if they will. Any beneficial reforms, therefore, which may be introduced by them will be marked by a spontaneity for which the Highland people should be doubly grateful. But what attitude will Lord Salisbury adopt towards legislation for this insignificant portion of the insignificant “Celtic fringe”?

It were a futile task to follow *Blackwood's* in the minute calculations upon which rests the case for the application of Ashbourne legislation to the congested areas in the Highlands. Figures can

prove anything. But no great reform was ever effected by vulgar fractions. The figures, including the fractions, are at first glance overwhelmingly convincing. And, granting the premises, the logic is unanswerable. But the scheme is, from a Liberal point of view at any rate, rendered impracticable by its provision for buying out needy landlords at the expense of the taxpayer, not merely at the market value of their property, but at an admittedly higher valuation. For that, in effect, is what the proposals amount to. First of all, the proprietor is to be offered a loan on the security of his estates, repayable by sinking fund within forty years, conditional upon his dividing amongst his congested people whatever suitable blocks of land may be found available—the money so borrowed to be expended, on behalf of the people, upon the purchase of stock and the necessary expenses of entry. It is not stated whether the proposed Congested Districts Board are to select the block, nor is the exact meaning of the expression “available land” clearly defined. The proprietor of a congested district with remunerative deer forests and sheep farms well leased would naturally argue that there was no further land available than at present for crofter occupation. Again, there is no indication as to the means of ensuring that the conditions attached to the loan are faithfully and efficiently carried out by the borrower. If, however, the proprietor declines the loan with its attendant conditions—and it is apparently expected that he would do so—he is to be invited to sell the land.

The basis of calculation for the purchase-money is put at twenty years' purchase of the annual net rental. Should the proprietor consider this insufficient, or should he for any reason not wish to sell, compulsion is to be applied, “to be accompanied with higher terms than it is necessary to pay by free contract.” The proprietor is thus provided with three options. He may accept a loan for the advantage of the crofters—if it accords with his own advantage—he may sell at the terms which he is offered; he may decline to sell, and then be “compelled” to do so, receiving a bonus for the compulsion.

Does it require the foresight of a prophet to predict that there would be no response to the invitation to sell? For it is clear that in view of compulsion involving the payment of a premium on the purchase price, any sensible landlord would wait to be “compelled.” It is thus fairly evident that, in addition to the advantage of receiving a lump sum instead of precarious rents, with their vexatious concomitants, the proprietor would receive the added advantage of a premium—how large would presumably depend upon the amount of pressure required to induce him to sell. What Government would assume the responsibility of lending its countenance and the country's money to such an improper proposal? Certainly not a Liberal Government, and we venture to think that even a Tory Government,

steeped as it is in landlord prejudices, would hesitate before committing itself to a policy of such gross favouritism to the proprietor, and injustice to the taxpayer.

It is thus apparent that under this scheme the crofters can only be benefited by the perpetration of a piece of palpable jobbery. That of itself is quite sufficient to condemn the proposal. But apart from that objection, it is open to grave doubt whether the scheme would ultimately prove so efficacious in relieving the pressure of congestion as alternative proposals which involve neither robbery on the one hand nor jobbery on the other. And without pretending to prescribe infallible remedies for the disease, it may not be out of place to suggest certain considerations which commend themselves as means to the end of alleviating the distress of the congested crofters.

Judged by the standard adopted by the Congested Districts Board for Ireland in determining what constitutes a congested district, it will be found that the area affected in the Highlands of Scotland is practically confined to the Hebrides. Of the different sections of the Hebrides, Lewis is not only the most important, but the pressure of the congestion there is much more severe than in any other part of the Highlands.

The total area of Lewis is 401,000 acres, comprising as nearly as possible in round figures :

| Acres. | | |
|---------|---|-----------------------|
| 259,000 | = | Nominal crofting area |
| 75,000 | | Deer Forests |
| 66,000 | = | Sheep Farms |

It will thus be seen that over a third of the total area of the island is given over to deer and sheep, and it is indisputable that of this acreage an important portion was at one time in possession of the crofters, who, by a gradual process of absorption, were deprived of it, whether wrongfully or not we shall not stop to inquire.

It only needs a reference to the Report of the Deer Forests Commission to see that of this area of 141,000 acres at present under deer and sheep, a not inconsiderable proportion might be diverted, or might revert, as the case may be, to the use of the crofters. And the present proprietrix, who has given ample proof of her desire to modify the hardships of the islanders' lot might, one would suppose, be not unwilling to hand over this portion to them, provided a fair equivalent were offered for the present rental. But unfortunately in Lewis one meets a set of conditions without parallel in the other crofting districts of the Highlands. The poverty is intense and chronic, and if the land were presented rent free, the recipients would in many cases be without the means of using it to advantage unless it were also stocked free. Indeed the proportion of one-sixth of the cost of stocking suggested by

Blackwood's contributor as a fair share for the crofter to bear would in some cases prove too great a burden.

The difficulty in Lewis, as in the other congested districts, is the existence of a class known as squatters or cottars, a landless class, who, in consideration of money paid or services rendered, or both, to the *bonâ fide* crofters, are permitted to "squat" on their crofts. And this division and sub-division has been going on for years. It is misleading to assert, as *Blackwood's* contributor does, that the proprietor has no power to prevent such sub-division. As a matter of fact, the proprietor who omits to interfere in preventing it does so in distinct contravention of the Crofters Act. But, after all, who can blame him if he declines to put into operation machinery for turning adrift men and women whose only crime is their poverty? Besides, devices on the part of the squatters themselves for the evasion of the Act are not unknown. The evils of congestion are being yearly perpetuated and intensified by the increase of the landless class. How is the difficulty to be met?

In spite of the dreary conditions of his existence, the hardness of his lot, his weary conflict with an unfruitful soil and with a capricious sea, the Lewis peasant is passionately attached to his native island. The Board School education of the past quarter of a century has not, with a few notable exceptions, enlarged his ideas as to the futility of clinging like a limpet to his rocky home. On the mainland things are different. Thence the tide of enterprise carries the crofters' sons to the great ocean of commercial and industrial activity in the South and abroad. A constant stream of migration and emigration is flowing from the Highlands, thus tending to check the congestion which would otherwise result. But the Lewisman is immovable, and this situation must therefore be accepted. When, however, his natural ability has sufficient scope, he almost invariably makes his way in the world. Years of thankless toil, a hard present and a hopeless future have temporarily paralysed his energies. He is a fatalist. And his fatalism has a tendency towards the passivity which the Mahomedan *Kismet* similarly engenders. Show him a ray of hope, give him some concrete advantage as the fruit of his labours, and his dormant energy and ability will once more assert themselves. These people are probably the most God-fearing and law-abiding peasantry in Europe, and are well deserving of a strong hand outstretched to help them. How then are they to be helped?

Emigration, it is clear, is not at present feasible, although every encouragement in that direction should be afforded. Compulsory emigration is of course quite out of the question. And, after all, it would not be an unmixed blessing that the country should lose some

of its ablest-bodied men. The Lewis Naval Reserve men are physically the finest body of Naval Reserves in the country.

Above all things, the settlement of the land question in the congested districts must be approached in a sympathetic spirit, or not at all. And it must be dealt with by local bodies who thoroughly understand what has to be done and how to do it. It may therefore be contended that the appointment of a Land Court composed possibly of unsympathetic, if business-like strangers, would not only be unnecessary, but undesirable. The machinery is already in existence. The County and Parish Councils are popularly elected bodies composed of men possessing local knowledge, local sympathies, and business experience. Surely the solution of the question might safely be left in the hands of such bodies. The Lewis District Committee of the Ross and Cromarty County Council, for example, is chiefly composed of Stornoway men of uncommon acumen and enterprise, who appreciate the difficulties of congestion, and would, one may venture to predict, be willing to undertake to grapple with them, if provided with the necessary authority and the necessary means for so doing. It would be presumptuous to indicate how their energies in such case should be directed; but as a broad, general principle, it may be stated that their duty should be to provide land for the landless, and increase the areas of the present crofts wherever such increase was plainly necessary and practicable. And they should have compulsory powers—to be exercised, it is unnecessary to say, only in case of need. For the want of a compulsory clause nullifies all efforts which Parish Councils now make to provide in the congested areas land for the landless. So far the proposal is on similar lines to the Shaw-Forsyth-Gordon scheme. But here the two suggestions must part company. For the essential feature of the scheme propounded by the Commissioners was that of *purchase* by the County Councils, the money to be raised under a Government guarantee.

Now, the Lewis crofters have no desire to become peasant proprietors. And there is no necessity that they should own the land. Over and over again their delegates to the Crofters' Commission declared, with pathetic iteration, that all they wanted was more land, for which they were willing to pay a fair rent. But they were, of course, entirely wrong in asserting that more land was the sole requirement. For when pressed to say how such land, if acquired, was to be stocked, no satisfactory answer was forthcoming. And in this silence may be read the *cruz* of the whole question. To stock the land, money must be forthcoming—and the omission to provide for this is, as *Blackwood's* points out, a fatal omission in the Commissioners' proposals.

The following suggestions may possess some interest as forming the basis of a working scheme for the relief of congestion :

1. The District Committees and Parish Councils for the congested districts of a County jointly to examine into the practicability of alleviating the distress consequent upon congestion, by means of throwing open, for occupation by the landless, blocks of land of proved suitability, for settlement.

2. These bodies to consider further the most efficient method of increasing, when possible, and where desired, the area of the present holdings.

2. After the provisional selection of blocks of land by competent experts under the direction of the District Committee, the latter body to report to the central Council for the County, and submit practical recommendations based upon the result of exhaustive and properly conducted inquiries, due regard being paid to all existing interests.

4. The recommendations adopted by the County Council to be submitted to the proprietor for consideration, with a request for modifying proposals, should these suggest themselves; the Council's recommendations to include the question of rental, based upon the valuation of one or more independent experts.

5. Legislative authority to be given to the Council to enforce its recommendations, should these be rejected by the proprietor, but compulsion to be employed only as a last resort. No premium on compulsion to be allowed the proprietor, the terms to be precisely those to which the Council are willing to agree under a free contract.

6. Advances to be made to the landless for the purchase of stock in proportion to the size of their acquired holdings, also for draining, fencing and building, due discrimination being made between the industrious and the thrifty, as against the lazy and the thriftless. Advances also to be made, with similar discrimination, to the crofters who desire assistance to use, to their utmost capacity, such enlarged holdings as may be allotted to them.

7. The Council to be recouped for this outlay by means of an extra County tax to be collected with the rent, and for which the proprietor shall be equitably assessed.

8. And finally the money for this expenditure to be raised by the Council on a Government guarantee.

The bare outline thus indicated is capable of being indefinitely elaborated. The technical education which is now becoming a feature of the work of County Councils might well be extended in crofter counties to include instruction in selected branches of industry, including agriculture and fishing. For the people need instruction, perhaps in both these branches, certainly in the first. And such instruction would produce marked results for all concerned. By no process at present known to science can the soil of the Hebrides be rendered fertile, but much better results are possible of achievement than those which are now obtained. It must be

borne in mind that the Hebridean is not an agriculturist pure and simple. He has a double-barrelled occupation—he is both fisherman and crofter. In a general way the question whether this combination of occupations is economically an advantage may be one which admits of argument. But in the case of the Hebridean no such question can arise, for the one occupation is the complement of the other. And this fact affords a certain basis of security for the County Council advances which have been suggested, for, to use a sporting expression, one occupation “hedges” the other.

A glance at figures suffices to show the pressing necessity which exists of something being done to mitigate the appalling evils of congestion. The present crofting population of the Island of Lewis is, roughly, 25,000—ten years ago it was 23,000—an approximate increase of 10 per cent. in ten years, or at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum simple increase. During the same period the quantity of land available for crofters’ settlement has practically remained unchanged. Thus the population is rapidly increasing without any increase in the means of subsistence. And this process has been going on for years. A time may come when the limits even of bare existence shall be reached unless something is done, and then—what then? The sooner therefore the subject is grappled with in a statesmanlike fashion the easier will it be of solution. It is not pretended that any Government can by a stroke of the pen raise the people from poverty to comfort, in the ordinary acceptance of the word. But it is not a far step from bare existence to *comparative* comfort. And that, it is reasonable to suppose, would, to some extent at least, follow remedial legislation, particularly if its machinery were put in motion by a local body composed of intelligent, experienced, sympathetic, but withal, fair-minded men. And the supervision of the District Committee over the building and sanitary arrangements of the ex-squatter or cottar would have a most salutary effect. It would result in the gradual disappearance of the primitive huts and insanitary conditions, which are a disgrace to Christendom. Increased elbow-room for the crofter would mean increased activity on his part, and increased ability to faithfully meet all his engagements. Thus would be secured a state of matters which could hardly fail to be a source of congratulation to crofter, proprietor, and Council alike.

Should the Government legislate? Most emphatically yes. But will an essentially Liberal scheme of reform, such as can alone benefit the crofter, receive legislative sanction from a Tory Government? One Cabinet Minister, indeed, has always professed a sympathetic interest in the Highland peasant, and to him therefore the crofter may surely look for the weight of his great influence. Mr. Chamberlain has personally examined the conditions of crofter life.

If his democratic instincts have not entirely deserted him, he should prove a powerful friend of a downtrodden community in the councils of the present Administration. And apart from his quondam attitude of sympathy with the crofters, they are surely deserving of some return from him for the Liberal Unionist successes in the Highlands which, we are told, formed their answer to the legislative measures proposed by the late Government. Here is a chance for the Secretary of Scotland to earn a reputation for statesmanship ; for Mr. Chamberlain to give practical expression to his sympathy ; and, lastly, for the Leader of the House to prove that his utterances, when in Opposition, were not those of an astute electioneering agent, but those of sincere commiseration with his suffering fellow-countrymen, and genuine conviction of the imperative duty which rests upon the Government of this country to legislate on their behalf.

W. C. MACKENZIE.

THE PRACTICABILITY OF VEGETARIANISM.

It is beginning to be seen that the system of diet known as Vegetarianism is something more than a mere fad. Nevertheless there are a good many misconceptions with regard to it, some of which it may be well to notice.

And first, as to the thing itself.

Vegetarianism may be briefly defined as the practice of living upon a diet which does not involve the destruction of highly-organised animal life. In practice, a vegetarian is not necessarily a person who subsists on vegetable products alone. Most vegetarians, in this country, while contending that the vegetable kingdom is the natural source of our food-supply, allow themselves honey, eggs, and milk, or some of the component parts of milk such as butter, &c. At first sight the use of these might appear an inconsistency; but, although they are animal products, they are not *animals*; which is an important difference. All the mammalia feed their young with an animal-product. These things can be obtained without causing death or suffering to the animals which produce them, and are particularly acceptable to invalids and children. They constitute in no case the staple of a vegetarian's food. They are contributions to us from the animal kingdom, and it need not be a one-sided arrangement when we avail ourselves of them. In India, the services of the cow are gratefully recognised. Its person is almost sacred, and no one would think of doing it an injury. We may unfortunately contrast this with the unfeeling way in which *we* treat animals when nothing more can be got out of them.

A very common mistake is to suppose that vegetarians rely largely upon "vegetables." When properly cooked so as to preserve the salts which they contain, they may be taken in moderate quantities; but there is not much in the cabbage, so dear to the City man, to arouse a vegetarian's enthusiasm.

Nor do vegetarians live exclusively on cereals. An article in the *Fortnightly Review* (Nov. 1895) quotes, as a typical vegetarian diet, 9 ozs. of lentil flour and 1½ lbs. of bread *per diem*, and concludes that 2 lbs. of bread with ¾ lb. of meat would be preferable. In some respects it would be. It would weigh eleven ounces more, and would

be dearer. It would also present greater variety. But while vegetarians recognise bread and lentils as being excellent things, they do not live exclusively upon them.

Then again, it is not clearly understood what is the *natural* diet of man. We can tell what was the proper food of the Iguanodon, the Mammoth, or the Ichthyosaurus, simply by examining certain parts of the bony structure. It is obvious that man's structure is neither that of the Ungulates nor that of the Carnivora; it is in all essential respects the same as that of the other Primates, such as the Chimpanzee, &c.

These animals are fitted for an arboreal life, and their ordinary food is nuts, seeds, or succulent fruits. In spite of the modifications resulting from the erect habit, man is still to some extent a climbing animal. To procure fruit he will ascend the bare trunks of palm-trees seventy feet high. A familiar illustration also will be found in the frequency with which fruit is stolen from our gardens and orchards. The strength of the instinct, rather than the value of the fruit, constitutes the temptation.¹ Man, then, is naturally *frugivorous*. But monkeys will eat birds' eggs and honey; and, so far as man permits himself the same indulgence, he cannot be said to be doing anything for which he is structurally unfit. Monkeys are also very fond of cooked grains, when they can get them. As man became less arboreal in his habits, he selected and improved the seeds of certain grasses, and thus cereals became an important part of his food.

There is no doubt, however, that already in the Stone Age man was a feeder on other animals. In the first instance, he was doubtless compelled to destroy them in struggling with them for the means of subsistence, or in self defence. Having killed them, he ate them. It was, after all, the simplest way of disposing of them. But this does not prove that the addition of flesh to his other diet is necessary. It proves rather the contrary, since it shows that the practice was a modification of his ordinary habit arising from circumstances. Nature has constituted all animals with powers of adaptation. We have heard of horses eating flesh, and a horse will certainly drink beer. Monkeys may be made drunk. The Kea parrot, of New Zealand, has taken to animal-food. It has recently acquired the habit of settling on the backs of sheep and tearing out their flesh with its powerful beak. Dogs, which are undoubtedly carnivorous, may be fed on biscuit, and cats on vegetables. But such things are not the normal food of these animals, and therefore can never be in any sense necessary.

There is no doubt that man can subsist, although with some

¹ It has been suggested that the helplessness in the water of a person who has not learned to swim, may be due to the instinctive habit of raising the arms, an action very natural in an animal of arboreal habits.

drawbacks, on a diet partly animal and partly vegetable. He may even sustain life upon a diet which is almost entirely animal, particularly if he feed like the lordly lion or the Eskimo. The latter, however, probably in part from his inability to eat the bones of the animals on which he feeds, is short in stature, and has extremely small feet and hands. In the case of man, there is no doubt that the practice of flesh-eating was formerly of service to him, assisting him in his migrations. The evidence of the Swiss Lake-dwelling relics shows that man was a hunter in the Neolithic stage, although he carefully stored for his use, not only wheat, but also hazel-nuts, apples, and other fruits. But this use of a "mixed" diet does not prove that it is either right or necessary for us. In densely peopled countries, where large wild animals no longer exist, man is free to adopt what is claimed to be a more natural diet; and his skill has enabled him to enormously improve the edible fruits and other products of the earth, so that the soil produces, or can be made to produce, all that he requires. And Nature affords us an infinite variety. For example, a simple vegetarian meal might consist of legumes, butter, bread or oat-cake, celery, raisins or dates, nuts, and ripe pears, apples, strawberries, &c. Such a diet would be neither tasteless, indigestible, nor expensive; and would certainly be nutritious.

It is a common notion that a vegetarian must eat enormously, and have the digestion of an ostrich. But this is quite a mistake. Such a meal as we have mentioned may be easily digested, even by a person living under the artificial conditions imposed by modern life on dwellers in towns. The human intestine is longer and larger than that (for instance) of a lion, and does not require food of either too concentrated or too bulky a nature. It requires also a due admixture of foods. Thus, pure albumen is not desirable. We may be made to starve on cheese. Experiments as to the relative solubility of animal and vegetable albumen, even if correctly conducted, may be in the highest degree deceptive. The amount of albumen which we daily require is relatively small, and needs a large quantity of respiratory food to be taken with it. The latter is of various kinds, which differ very much in the rapidity of their action. For instance, starch is slow and alcohol is quick in producing its effect as a supporter of combustion. If more albumen be taken than is required, the excess is necessarily not digested. Nature takes what she requires and leaves the rest. Moreover; a too rapid digestion of food is not desirable.

The greatest mistake of all, perhaps, in connection with this subject is the notion that vegetarianism is a new or untried thing. Vegetarian restaurants in London may be new, but the world is much bigger than London. Vegetarians say that they are well and strong. They have a cycling club in London. Their athletes frequently win

rac¹. Yet they are told that they are wrong on theoretical grounds, and that the system will never do on a large scale or in the long run. We shall inevitably degenerate if we adopt it.

We never seem to realise that a large proportion of the inhabitants of this country are practically vegetarians at the present moment. It is true that they are compulsorily so, but the fact remains. How much meat can an agricultural labourer's family have out of a wage of fifteen shillings a week?² If a small quantity of salt pork be occasionally eaten, it is of value chiefly as respiratory food. Yet our labourers, who have subsisted on this diet for generations, are strong. In other European countries the peasantry are still more evidently vegetarian for all practical purposes. Even in Russia, according to Prince Krapotkin, the peasant only gets corn, and not enough of that sometimes. Yet the Russian peasant is not wanting in vigour. The evidence is the same if we glance at non-European races. The hardy Arab or Soudanese is satisfied with his dates, the Zulu with "mealies," the Hindu with grains and pulse. The Japanese have a similar diet, varied occasionally with fish. Stanley says of the Waganda: "With the banana plant he is happy, fat, and thriving. Without it he is a famished, disconsolate, woe-begone wretch."³ The Jats of Rajpootana are described as "a very intelligent, fine race, while both men and women attain great age. As a rule the lower classes do not eat meat."⁴ These instances, which might be multiplied, are quoted to show that vegetarianism is the ordinary practice of numerous races which are not among the lowest and which show no sign of race-deterioration. In face of these facts the mere random assertion, sometimes made, that vegetarians are subject to "poorness of blood," must be taken for what it is worth. Errors, both of diet and hygiene, may be committed by vegetarians as well as by other people.

Of even greater interest is the case of races and sects which abstain from flesh on principle. Foremost among these must be mentioned the Buddhists, who by the laws of their religion are enjoined not to take the life of any animal which is large enough to be seen with the naked eye. A similar rule prevails with the Jains, and, to a large extent, with the Hindus. The Tsai-li, or Vegetarians, of China, have been in existence for more than a century as a society which aims at moral perfection. Whatever its occasional errors, which must be regretted, its members are not wanting in vigour or public spirit. There is also a Russian Vegetarian sect.

¹ For example. J. Barclay, at the Edinburgh University Sports, won the 600 yards race, as well as the half-mile race (from scratch) at Gulston, and other races last year. The long-distance walk from Berlin to Friedrichsburg was won by a vegetarian. In 1894 (according to *Cycling*) J. G. Newey, a vegetarian, beat the Birmingham-to-London-and-back record by 37 mins. 27 secs.

² Wages not long ago were eight shillings a week in many places.

³ In *Darkest Africa*.

⁴ *The People of India*. Col. Meadows Taylor.

These instances are a sufficient reply to the suggestion that vegetarianism must lead to race-degeneration; and they show that the system is equally well adapted to all climates, provided the right kind of food can be obtained.

Our own country ought to be a paradise for vegetarians. Its soil produces not only the finest cereals, but also some of the most delicious of fruits—as the raspberry, strawberry, cherry, plum, pear, apple, &c. These might be grown far more extensively than they are, so as to be within the reach of all. In addition, we are supplied with the fig, banana, raisin, apricot, date, almond, cocoanut, Brazil-nut, &c., from various parts of the world. These constitute a delightful and inexpensive addition to our diet.

So much by way of explanation. Let us now see what vegetarians have to say for themselves. They claim for their system a number of distinct advantages, of which space permits only the briefest mention of a few.

1. It is inexpensive. By taking the produce of the earth at first-hand and dispensing with cattle-feeding we largely increase the food-producing capacity of the soil, and can support a much larger population on a given area. The cost of meat in this country is greatly in excess of its nutrient value when compared with oat-meal and similar vegetable products.

2. Vegetable food is easily stored, transported,¹ and prepared for use. Much of it—ripe fruit, for instance—requires no cooking.

3. Being natural, it is highly favourable to health. Vegetarians assert that they scarcely ever need medical aid, and that they enjoy life. It is a singular commentary on the present system that we should require so many doctors. The medicinal value of fruit is already recognised, but its proper use is as a food, and not as a luxury or a medicine.

4. The vegetarian system avoids numerous risks arising from the diseases to which cattle, &c., are liable.

5. Its practice develops brain and muscle at least as well as a mixed diet. This is proved by experience, and by our knowledge of the people of other countries.

6. It is supported by science, more especially by anatomy, physiology, and chemistry. All the elements of nutrition can be readily obtained from the vegetable kingdom.

7. It is desirable on æsthetic grounds. There is much that is repulsive connected with the keeping of “live stock,” and with the exhibition of meat for sale.

8. It is right on moral grounds.

Let us confine our attention to the last-named consideration; for if we are right here, the practice of vegetarianism, if it be reasonably

¹ The cruelty involved in the transport of cattle by sea is already well known.

practicable, becomes our duty on the grounds of humanity and justice alone. The problem that we have to deal with raises the whole question of our proper relation to the lower animals.

It has long been the tacitly accepted doctrine that these animals in some way belong to us simply because they are less intelligent than we are. There is no doubt that man's superior knowledge has given him complete power over the other animals; but that power is regulated in its exercise by our own moral consciousness. It is well to have a giant's power, but not "to use it like a giant." We do not wish to act cruelly or unjustly, but our thoughtfulness and moral sensitiveness are variable factors. Of course the rights of the lower animals have their limits. They are limited by our rights. The laws of Nature being such as they are, we must admit the claim of the more-fit to survive at the expense of the less-fit. Man, therefore, has a right to destroy any animal the existence of which is injurious to him. But, when he domesticates or breeds animals for his own use, he accepts the responsibility for their existence. In killing them he is not doing anything that Nature has forced upon him. He must justify his action by moral considerations. It is true that these animals are not so intelligent as we are, but they have intelligence sufficient for their needs, and a great deal more than some people think they have. Even a worm has some rights. It can claim that we should not tread upon it needlessly. We are clearly in the wrong when we impale a fish for our amusement. The fish is a vertebrate animal. We know that it feels, for it has a nervous system. It is now settled by law that it is wrong to cut off the ears of dogs. Some day we shall discover that it is equally wrong to mutilate horses and other animals. Besides making the lives of many of these humble creatures miserable in the process of fattening them for market—turkeys, for instance, are confined in a hutch, and food is forcibly injected into them every few minutes—we finally put them to a cruel death. No plea but that of necessity can be held to justify such treatment, and, as we have seen, that plea cannot be urged. The ox or sheep belongs to the same class of vertebrates as ourselves, namely, the Mammalia. It has perception, sensation, memory, desire, fear, reasoning power, and the same love of offspring, the same clinging to life as ourselves. That is a very narrow system of ethics which limits our moral duties to creatures of the same species as ourselves. Indeed, we know by the testimony of our moral nature that it is right to treat all animals with kindness.

The least we can do is to be just; but we have been slow to learn humanity even to our own species, and, therefore, it is premature to expect that we shall all at once learn fully to respect the rights of other animals.

Vegetarians will do well not to build too much on the fact that vegetable food is cheap. Tobacco and spirits are dear, and yet their

dearness does not prevent a very large consumption. Vegetarianism is simply a part of the general moral growth of man. By itself it is much, but, considering what it involves, it means much more. Its progress will be slow, for it must wait for other movements of an educational nature to come into a line with it. We are better than our forefathers. We eat less animal-food, and we drink less than they did. Nevertheless, we have not yet fully emerged from the culture-stage of the savage. We go into the fields and kill something, and call it "sport." Professor Freeman once expressed a strong opinion on this subject;¹ but our "sports" still flourish. We flog and stab a horse in order that it may win a "splendid victory," and we "congratulate" the owner as if he had done an act of sublime virtue. Horses are sometimes ridden to death in the hunting field. Tame deer are chased by dogs.

These are not nice things to contemplate on the verge of the twentieth century. But we already see the awakening of a better feeling in the various humanitarian societies which have come into existence. The range of vision of some of these may be narrow. The anti-vivisectionist calmly devours kidney for breakfast, and thereby encourages vivisection on a gigantic scale.² The temperance reformer does not necessarily subject all his appetite to the control of reason. Were he to look more deeply into the matter he would see that right eating holds the key to right drinking, and that right thinking comes before both. And some things appear like humanity, which are a different thing altogether; such as the keeping of animals for amusement. There may sometimes be greater humanity in not permitting such animals to exist.

It has been said, and is perhaps true, that any general increase of the wage-earning power of the masses is marked by an increased consumption of meat. This is probably true of other things, such as alcoholic liquors, tobacco, and tea; but it does not settle the question whether such things are necessary. It only shows that the masses are unimaginative. They are like the man who had three wishes gratified. After wishing for as much brandy and tobacco as he could consume, for his third wish he asked for "a little more brandy."

Our great want is to know what is really good for us. The very first requisite in education is to learn the laws of Nature, and their application to our well-being. But this is the kind of education which, as a rule, is not imparted in our schools.

The greatest lever, however, for moving whole communities, is the moral force of religion. We have seen that, in other countries,

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, October 1869.

² That the vivisection is followed by death makes it none the less vivisection; and the comparatively short duration of the suffering is more than counterbalanced by the number of the victims.

religion has been a great motive power in favour of a vegetarian diet ; and, probably, not until justice and humanity shall have become a religious force with us, will a complete change in our food-habits have to be recorded.

One or two matters of minor interest relating to this subject demand a brief mention. It follows from the principles here advocated that a diet which is partly composed of *fish* cannot logically be adopted by vegetarians. At the same time it would be an enormous gain, in every respect, if our use of the vertebrates as food were confined entirely to fish. Fish are the lowest class of the vertebrates, and it seems to be their natural destiny to be eaten—by other fish, if not by ourselves.

It is sometimes said that a mixed diet is necessary in temperate or cold climates. Such a statement might have been true of early man, but we have brought commerce and science to our aid. We import tea, coffee, and fruits, and other products of more favoured climes. We use sugar made not only from the sugar-cane, but also from beetroot. And it must be remembered that we have artificial heat in the winter, which stands to us in the place of an equivalent of heat-producing food.

Another point of some importance is that a vegetarian diet should be selected with judgment. Some failures in practice have probably occurred through an excess of one kind of food or a deficiency of another.

It must be admitted that there is a certain convenience and simplicity about animal food which render it unnecessary for us to reduce eating to a science. On the other hand, the products of the vegetable kingdom are very varied, and, although taste will guide us to a certain extent in making a selection, some knowledge of physiological processes and of the constituents of food is very desirable.

It has been asserted that the highest intellectual work cannot be carried on efficiently without animal food ; but the assertion remains without proof. On the contrary, grain-food is known to be especially rich in phosphates. The fact that Shakespeare used a mixed diet, if it be a fact, proves only that intellectual work is possible on such a diet—a fact which no one disputes. A man of genius will always be a man of genius whatever his food may be. Dr. Johnson ate like a savage, until the veins swelled upon his forehead, and drank tea to excess. Yet he wrote the *Rambler*. There is no flavour of tobacco in the *In Memoriam*.

In a country where most people eat meat when they can get it, it is natural that the majority of our thinkers and workers should be eaters of meat. But vegetarians seem to have their full share of intellectual worthies. Shelley, John Wesley, and Benjamin Franklin, have been claimed as supporters of this system. Amongst

others who are reputed to have adopted it more recently are Morris the naturalist, Lord Hannen, Count Tolstoi, Professor F. W. Newman, and Professor J. E. B. Mayor. Statistics on this subject are not easy to obtain.

Another objection urged against vegetarianism is that it would make us too peaceable. A mixed diet is supposed to give restlessness, energy, and love of domination, and therefore to give to races which adopt it some advantage over others which do not. The connection of food with racial character—if there be such a connection—is a matter which cannot now be discussed. The savage eats his enemy's heart because he thinks he thereby acquires his enemy's mental qualities. We know that the analogy is a false one; but we sometimes reason much in the same strain. The Anglo-Saxon race is supposed to acquire its energy from the quantity of meat which it consumes. We might with an equal show of logic contend that our energy is due to our drunkenness or our love of gambling. If national predominance be a desirable thing, that race will be the fittest to survive which has the greatest intelligence and the highest physical efficiency, and which practises the greatest economy in the use of its resources.

The question is frequently asked: What is a vegetarian community to use instead of leather? Of course, substitutes would have to be found. At present, as hides are a waste product, there is no need to seek further; but, when they become scarce, other substances will certainly take their place. Other things have already begun to compete with leather. Formerly the doublet and breeches and even bottles were made of that substance. Now, we use cloth for book-binding, and other purposes, and may have artificial-leather boots. Demand always stimulates invention and production. It may, therefore, be safely predicted that to make ample provision for our clothing even under a vegetarian *régime*, is a task not beyond the resources of civilisation. We may be sure that, if we have followed Nature thus far, and trusted her for our greater wants, she will assuredly not fail us in these lesser things.

O. A. SHRUBSOLE.

A PILGRIMAGE TO THE TEMPLES OF JAVA.

It was in the spring of '93 that, after a somewhat protracted railway journey from Sydney, my friend K—— and I arrived at Brisbane, where we were to embark on a boat of the Queensland Mail line *en route* for Batavia.

For its terrible floods—unprecedented in the history of the colony—this spring will long be remembered by Queensland settlers, nor, indeed, are we likely to forget the discomforts we suffered, and the scene that met our view, on our journey by the first train that came through from Sydney after the subsiding of the waters. Leaving the capital of New South Wales at 9 A.M., it was not many hours before we reached the recently flooded districts, where it seemed doubtful if our train would be able to proceed, owing, in some cases to the amount of water which still covered the permanent way, and in others to the subsidence of the railway embankment. On every hand the ravages of the waters were plainly visible. Dead horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs lay in every direction, their decomposing carcasses causing a horrible stench; farms and sheds wrecked by the rush of water, carrying trees and *débris* of all kinds on its torrent, were often to be seen; and the incredible height to which the waters had risen was plainly visible by the flood *débris* perched high up in the trees; while the whole surface of the land, which had so lately been clothed with waving billows of grass in which the cattle grazed knee-deep, was now a mass of dark slime and mud. Several times we passed through vast sheets of water, so deep that it washed over the foot-boards of the carriages, and through which we proceeded at a very cautious rate of speed, not knowing whether the line might not be washed away beneath us. During the following night we were obliged to disembark and walk along narrow planks placed across the open sleepers of a half-wrecked bridge. During this performance one poor woman, carrying a baby in her arms, turned giddy and sank down on the planks, thereby stopping the whole file of passengers which was progressing across. On the further side another train awaited us. In the small hours of the morning we stopped at an unimportant town, where we were informed that we should have to wait two hours for another train to take us

on to Brisbane—this after eighteen hours' journey in crowded and uncomfortable carriages. All the next day we travelled on, passing over the beautiful "Darling Downs" of Queensland, where "station" roofs were often to be seen half hidden among the trees of this park-like land, and did not reach Brisbane until the middle of the following night. Here, to reach our hotel, we had to cross the river in little boats, owing to the washing away of the Victoria Bridge—an immense structure on iron piles. Australia has, indeed, a climate of extremes, in which flood and drought are common contingencies, and equally to be dreaded for the devastation wrought by either. On the following day we had occasion to go into some of the principal business offices of the town, where we were shown the high-water mark of the recent floods plainly visible on the walls many feet above our heads, showing to what a depth the city had been flooded. The quantity of rain that falls in quite a short space of time here in tropical Australia is almost incredible. During the rainfall preceding this great flood, seventy-two inches were recorded in three or four days.

On March 19 we embarked on one of the boats of the Union Company of New Zealand to proceed up the coast to Townsville, where we were to join the Queensland Mail ss. *Tara*. As we dropped down the river the weather was dull and rainy; but it cleared as we stood out to sea on the gentle swell of the Pacific. At dinner in the evening the saloon was almost empty; I suppose the "gentle swell" had deprived most of our fellow-passengers of their appetite. During the night the heat below was terrible, as I had been obliged to get up and shut our port soon after we turned in, on account of the water coming in. The following morning we awoke to find ourselves steaming along under the lee of numerous rocky islands, some grass-grown and forest-clad, but many mere crags of rock—nesting places for the giant-winged albatross and the large black-backed gull of the Pacific.

On March 22 we reached Townsville and went ashore, having some hours at our disposal before joining the good ship *Tara*. The heat on land was terrific, and we were thankful when we got again to where our ship was at anchor in the mouth of the bay. Albeit the passage out on the tender was anything but agreeable. It was timed to leave the wharf at two o'clock, but no such luck was in store for us; for two hours we sat there waiting to start. The thermometer stood at 100° in the shade, added to which we had the heat of the engine-room and funnels to put up with, as the awning only covered the centre part of the tender. It was crowded with passengers and their friends; babies, almost melting in their mothers' arms, shrieked till they could shriek no more; while their wretched bearers fairly groaned with the heat and squash. At last we got off; but there was a fresh breeze in the bay, in consequence

of which the babies relinquished shrieking for a less noisy but more repulsive performance. How glad we were to get on board !

Few voyages in any part of the world can offer such delights as that from Townsville, up the east coast of Australia, to the East Indies. All along the coast of Queensland stretches the Great Barrier Reef—within which lies the course of coasting vessels—forming a tranquil sea within its protection. Few winds break the still surface of this semi-inland sea, and for two whole weeks, with the exception of forty-eight hours occupied in traversing the Arafura Sea, your ship is in sight of some land ; at first the rocky coast and bordering islets of N.E. Australia, then, after passing through the Torres Straits, she is threading her way through the scattered islands, verdure-clad, of the East Indian Archipelago. Added to this, during the greater part of the year a cloudless sky and the regular heat of the tropics is the order of weather, which enables one to take a mattress on deck at night and sleep in the soft balmy air, 'neath the star-spangled sky of the Southern hemisphere, fanned by the breeze of the ship's onward course, and lulled to sleep by the rhythmical swish of the water cloven by the vessel's prow. Such a night's rest is not to be despised. It is somewhat annoying, however, to hear in the early hours of the morning the gruff voice of the quartermaster in your ear—"Washing the decks, Sir, you'll get wet"—and you see a stream of frothy water flowing past the bottom of your extemporised bed. Then is the time to be up to see the glorious sky dashed with a hundred different coloured lights, as the King of Day rises from out the bosom of the ocean, lighting up the wild rugged coast of unexplored Queensland.

On this voyage we were particularly fortunate in our complement of passengers. Several "bushmen" were returning home, young, bronzed, and bearded, good-natured and sociable men, as nearly all Australian "bushmen" are. So the time passed merrily with tournaments of all kinds—athletic, whist, shuffle-board and all ship-board games and sports—in which our gallant skipper took a leading part, encouraging all our arrangements, lenient with us in our pranks, offering facilities for every entertainment we organised, and earning the title of a "jolly good fellow" from all on board.

Two days after our departure from Townsville we touched at Cooktown, which takes its name, obviously, from the great explorer who is alleged to have been the first white man to land on Australian soil. Here passengers were able to avail themselves of a small sailing boat to go ashore—a privilege few took advantage of, as the wind was blowing squally and cutting up rather a choppy sea for a small boat. I went ashore, as I did not wish to lose the chance of an exciting little sail, in addition to seeing the first spot that a white man had landed on. Cooktown is a small isolated settlement, with a few surrounding "stations," but in the interior all is an arid

waste of sand, inhabited only by aborigines of whom blood-curdling tales are told, and devastated of all timber by the ravages of the white ant before whose march no tree can stand, even the telegraph posts have to be of iron. I was fortunate enough to be able to witness the sight of a quantity of blacks crossing the river in their dug-out canoes. They are a most repulsive looking race, more akin to the ape than any black race I have come across, untameable and treacherous, but fast dying out before the inroads of civilisation, with its appurtenances of disease, drink, and opium, the latter being their most fatal but appreciated enemy. We embarked again towards evening and had quite an exciting run out; a wave swept our little craft from stem to stern just as we were nearing the ship, thereby adding greatly to the amusement of our fellow passengers, who were collected at the rail watching our progress.

Day after day we steamed along; the sea, a deep sapphire, shone like a mirror under the brazen sky, while nothing broke its reflecting surface but the tiny islets, emerald green and boulder-strewn, through which we threaded our course, and as we glided on the varying coast opened out in fairy-like coves and rocky inlets. The forward part of the *Taru* was occupied by two rows of stalled horses—forty in all—and the steerage passengers—a motley crew of Malays, Polynesians, Aborigines of Australia, Chinese, &c., who were a constant source of amusement for us all.

On March 28 we passed through the Torres Straits, and anchored off Thursday Island. Here it was that the ill-fated *Quetta* was lost some few years back. Year after year the vessels of the Queensland Mail had made use of a certain pass through the small islands, which are strung across the Straits, all ignorant of an unsounded rock which lay 18 feet beneath the surface of the calm but treacherous sea. The unfortunate *Quetta* was the first to discover it. She drew 20 feet of water, and passing full steam ahead exactly over the rock—which was 2 feet too high for her safety—was rent from stem to stern. She sank in ten minutes, before the boats could be launched, only half a mile from land. It is said that the Chinese, who formed a good part of her crew, lost their heads; 133 lives were sacrificed. Our quartermaster was on board the ill-fated vessel when she went down; for eight hours, he told me, he was drifting about, holding on to a piece of wreckage, carried hither and thither by the currents, and in danger of being snapped up at any moment by the huge sharks which swarm in these waters. Can anything more awful be imagined than such a wreck? Children are playing about on deck; ladies are sitting working, or having five o'clock tea; all is peace and contentment in the beautiful sunshine and quiet waters; land is in full sight, quite near at hand; when suddenly, without a moment's warning, the ship's bottom is rent with an awful tearing, grinding sound; all is frightful confusion, and within a very few

minutes every soul is struggling in the water, a prey for the hungry sharks, or being sucked down in the vortex of the sinking ship to meet a horrible end.

Thursday Island is an uninteresting little place, inhabited chiefly by a mixed population of Chinese, Japanese, and white traders. Here is the centre of the great pearl fishery where these gems are to be bought wonderfully cheap according to our Bond Street idea of their value. I managed to secure quite a large one from a Chinaman, who demanded two pounds for it at first, but was subsequently content with half that sum. The same man had a very large pearl, flat and round, I should think about a quarter of an inch in diameter. I offered him two pounds for it, but he would not take less than four. The same evening we weighed anchor and proceeded on our voyage. Gradually the land receded behind us; the sun sank into the depths of the great continent, flushing the sky with crimson and gold, and soon, with the sudden ending of tropical days, it was night. The next morning we were in the Arafura Sea, once more out of sight of land. The nights were glorious now; the moon, half hidden in a feathery bank of clouds, shed a silver light on the sea, still and calm as a mirror, and the blue-black of the heavens shone with a myriad twinkling stars. What a roof it was to sleep under! A few days later we passed through the Wetter Straits, between the islands of Wetter and Ombay, and were soon running among the beautiful islands which lie to the east of Java.

We expected to get into Batavia on Monday, April 3, so on the preceding Saturday a regular athletic meeting was organised, and prizes subscribed for. Every kind of race was arranged, and the events included—sprints for ladies and gentlemen, high and long jumps, a hurdle race, which was arranged for by having seats placed across the round promenade deck, and an obstacle race in which passengers and sailors had each a separate competition. The latter was great fun, every kind of difficulty and impediment was improvised for us—buoys strung high up we had to wriggle through, wind-sails wetted inside and coated with flour we were forced to crawl through, bars to circle, planks to squeeze ourselves under, canvas tanks of water with sloping sides to struggle through, ropes from upper to lower deck down which we had to swarm, and every contrivance that could be thought of to “bark” shins and otherwise disable. Most of the competitors ran bare-footed, and all who took part were “on the limp” for some days afterwards.

When I turned off my deck mattress on Monday morning all the sky was aglow with a glorious sunrise; pretty little lateen-rigged barks skimmed across our bows, and made for the toy-like villages which appeared nestling under the verdure-clad heights of Java. At midday we were alongside the wharf of Batavia, on which crowds

of gaily dressed Malays and pyjama-clad Chinamen displayed their wares for sale, making a picturesque scene on the otherwise dull-looking wharf. The heat was almost overpowering, and the work of getting our baggage off and passing it through the Customs was anything but agreeable. A short line of railway took us up to the town, where tiny carts with tinier ponies brought us full gallop to the hotel we had selected. We were a large party at dinner, and a merry one too; indeed, I fear we must have greatly shocked the portly Dutchmen and "sarong"-clad ladies by our hilarious conduct. During the afternoon we had hired some of the curious little two-wheeled carts, drawn by diminutive ponies seldom more than nine or ten hands in height, and gone round the town. The coolies are the most intrepid drivers I ever came across; they drive at a permanent hand-gallop, regardless of traffic or right-angle corners, which makes sight-seeing in Batavia a somewhat exciting amusement.

Batavia is an immense straggling town, more like a vast village than the capital of a country; it contains a population of 700,000, the coloured part consisting principally of Malays and Chinese. A canal flows through the centre of the town, which no doubt adds to the amount of fever always prevalent, owing to the low level of the city. So injurious is the night air alleged to be that it is considered imprudent to sleep with doors or windows open. For my part, I travelled all through the low-lying districts in the interior of the island, and never got a touch of fever, owing, perhaps, to the precaution of taking ten grains of quinine every night. On the evening of our arrival several of us went out after dinner and did the town, visiting the Chinese quarter, and watching the performance at one of their open-air theatres, much to the astonishment of hundreds of dignified-looking Celestials who composed the audience. The following morning K—— and I called on the Dutch and English Consuls to show our passports and obtain permission to travel into the interior.

We had now to take leave of all our shipboard friends, who were continuing their voyage to England on the *Tara*, and prepare ourselves for our journey into the country and a pilgrimage to the ancient temples.

On April 16 we left Batavia, and after two hours' journey by rail arrived at the lovely mountain resort of Buitenzorg, taking up our quarters at the Belle Vue Hotel. Quoting from my journal, written on the eve of our arrival, I give my impressions of the scene that lay before us: "As I write, night is fast gathering over a scene of unsurpassed beauty. From the balcony of the hotel I see the bouldered river a hundred feet below, a sheet of silver in the verdant forest. A few hundred yards away it loses itself, with a sudden bend in the waving palm fronds and delicate green banana trees. On either bank

the curved roofs of native houses peep out from masses of palms and rich foliage which stretch far away to the foot of the great four-peaked mountain, rising 10,000 feet in solitary grandeur: a group of women and children (wearing 'Eve's birthday dress') are splashing in the water below; hundreds of bats circle with filmy shape in the perfume-laden air, and crickets chirp in endless monotony. Darkness falls rapidly, and soon

“ ‘ No sign remains to tell us where,
In regal robes attired,
With wondrous tint and crimson flare,
The King of Day expired.’ ”

Buitenzorg, as everybody knows, is famed for its botanical gardens which are said to be the finest in the world. For natural beauty one can well believe that they are unequalled, and the variety of specimen plants and trees collected in them is very great. The avenues of palms are surpassingly lovely, every kind seem to flourish, from the low graceful royal palm with its white-winged stem to the slender betel-nut towering sixty feet high, with its small plumed-head swaying in the breeze. A beautiful avenue runs through the centre of the gardens, in which each tree is encircled by some lovely creeper twining round its stem, and running in graceful festoons from branch to branch. A large pond nourishes the *Victoria* regis, so lovely with its large white flower, delicate as porcelain, and the great broad leaves lying like green tables on the clear water.

Owing to our having missed the train by which we were to continue our journey to Garoet, we were enabled to spend another day at Buitenzorg, and see more of its tropic beauty. The following morning we were up at sunrise, and on the train at 8 o'clock, bound for Garoet. The country looked glorious in the bright sunlight of the early morning; for at this time of year it usually clouds over about 2 o'clock, and thunderstorms and rain are then of daily occurrence. At midday it became very hot and, even though the air was blowing right through our carriage, my thermometer stood at over 90° Far. For some time I sat on the outside platform of the carriage enjoying the, to me, unaccustomed beauty of the tropical scenery. Now, we are running through fields of tall sugar-cane, vanilla, or arrowroot, only to penetrate presently into the wild tangled jungle, where huge blue butterflies flitted from flower to flower, and bright-plumaged birds, scared by our passing train, flew away into the thickneses of the forest. Pretty little bamboo huts nestled in clumps of feathery headed cocoanuts, spreading sugar-palms, and drooping bamboos; while crotons of many coloured foliage and gay blossoms shone in bright contrast to a hundred tints of sombre green. Even the natives, dressed in parti-coloured

raiment, were pictures in themselves, and seemed to harmonise with their lovely surroundings.

Java is very thickly populated, and every inch of cultivable land is utilised. The mountains are planted to a height of many thousand feet, the crops varying according to altitude. The following table will give an idea of the variety of produce grown on the island, and the various altitudes which tend to their successful cultivation.

| Feet. | Climate. | Crops. |
|------------|-----------------|---|
| 1000-2000 | Tropical . . . | Rice, sugars, cotton, maize, vanilla, spices. |
| 2000-4500 | Moderately hot | Coffee, tea, cinchona (quinine), sugar-palm. |
| 4508-7500 | Moderately cool | Indian corn, tobacco, cabbages, potatoes. |
| 7500-12000 | Cold | European flora. |

The following is a list of the population, according to their nationality :

Europeans, 48,783 ; Chinese, 287,577 ; Arabs, 13,943 ; other Orientals, 4806 ; Natives, 22,765,977 ; total, 23,064,087.

The first Europeans in Java were the Portuguese ; they were followed by the Dutch, who, in consequence of Napoleon's conquests in Europe, and Java having become a mere French province, were eradicated by the English in 1811, from which year we held it till 1816, when we ceded it again to the Dutch, taking Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope in exchange. The total length of Java is 631 miles, with an area of 51,961 miles, being slightly larger than that of England.

Those who know the Dutch in Holland, as a kind, hospitable, and chivalrous race, would be surprised at the lack of these qualities displayed by their colonial cousins. We found them, with a few pleasant exceptions, boorish, ill-mannered, and evincing an evident dislike to the English—the latter, indeed, is a well-known fact. Moreover, we were foolish enough to leave Batavia without securing an English-speaking native servant, and indeed we paid dearly for the neglect of this precaution, being constantly thrown into dreadful dilemmas through our inability to converse with the Dutch in their language or with the natives in Malay.

After this digression into statistics, I must return to the journey from Buitenzorg to Garoet. We arrived at the latter place at 6 o'clock ; night had already fallen, so we had to follow the coolies, who carried our baggage on their heads and guided us to the hotel. The latter consisted of several small detached bungalows half hidden in palms, bamboos, and variegated shrubs, and surrounded by little gardens from which the subtle perfume of tube-roses and gardenias

floated on the still evening air. A central bungalow constituted the dining-room, at which all the dwellers in the detached ones united for meals. We much enjoyed our coffee and a Manilla after a hot wearisome journey. All who have tasted coffee in Java, made *à la Javanese*, acknowledge it to be the best in the world. They have a peculiar way of making it; taking the extract from the freshly roasted and ground beans, they obtain thus a coffee of delicious aroma, and very strong without being in the least bitter. Good Manilla cigars are everywhere obtainable in the island at a very moderate price.

In these climes one is up at sunrise to enjoy the cool of the early morning before the great heat of the day. It was a delicious morning as I sat sipping my coffee in the veranda of our bungalow the day after our arrival at Garoet, drinking in the beauties of the gardens that closed us in. Palms and drooping bamboos shaded the brilliant crotons and the gay blossoms of the *Bougainvillea*, while the air was laden with the sweet perfume of huge magnolias. Luckily the proprietor of the hotel understood German, so K. received from him every information as to the best way of continuing our journey; for soon we should be beyond the reach of the railroad. I went out after breakfast to explore the village. From the main road narrow lanes, overhung with emerald-banana foliage, led to many quaint little bamboo huts, where, in the shade of their verandas, the little raven-haired Javanese were performing their morning toilet, a large proportion of which apparently consisted in searching each other's heads with assiduous care. At ten o'clock we started out in a little rough two-wheeled cart drawn by the usual diminutive ponies, three harnessed abreast. First we passed through a fairy-like valley, almost enclosed by mountains covered with low coffee plantations, ricefields glimmering green, and waving billows of tall maize. The valley itself was dashed with pools of clear water, over which drooped the lovely tropical foliage, while pink-flowered lotus rested on their still surface, whereon the great feathery clouds were reflected. Half-clad children herded flocks of picturesque goats; and quaintly built native houses nestled on the edges of this vale of beauty, under the dark shadow of the surrounding mountains. Two or three miles beyond this we came to a small village situated on the margin of a large cane-bordered lake. The only street of the village was an avenue of dark-leaved mangoes, through which we drove, and arrived at the edge of the lake. Here we got out of our cart and were ushered on to a "praaw" (an awning-covered raft) supplied with chairs, on which we sat in state, while native canoes fastened on to our strange craft and paddled us across the water to the other side, where a small garden and an harbour crowned the summit of a low hill. After admiring the view we returned to the "praaw" and were paddled solemnly back, and received by the

village chief on landing. For all this attention we had the privilege of paying two and a half guilders (4s.).

After tiffin we took the usual siesta, which is really indispensable in this climate, indeed, it is so refreshing that one would not wish to go without it, and a cold shower taken afterwards, followed by coffee and a Manilla, constitutes half the charm of a tropical existence.

April 10 saw us up at 3 A.M., making preparations to start for the ascent of the volcano Popersaya. Long before sunrise we were in our cart, drawn by three ponies, and bowling along in the cool night air under a bright moon and cloudless sky. This early start was necessary in order that we might make the ascent and reach the crater before the great heat of the day. As we drove along we passed crowds of natives, toiling along under their heavy loads, or resting under the old covered-in bridges by which we crossed streams. All along the valley our driver cracked his whip and made his little ponies fly along between the shady palms which lined the wayside, so that we arrived at a small bungalow, situated at the foot of the mountain, just when the first silver streaks of dawn crept into the eastern sky. Here we were to take our breakfast of cheese, sandwiches, and cold tea, before commencing the ascent of the volcano. We got off at 6.15, accompanied by two coolies who acted as guides and carried our provisions and my camera. For the first two hours we followed a beautiful path which, at the commencement, led us through avenues of banana trees and tall scarlet crotons, then, diverging round a shoulder of the mountain, we entered a wide tangled jungle, where the feathery fronds of the tree ferns, and the delicate green leaves of the plaintain, formed a lovely contrast to the dark vistas of the forest. Here orchids nestle in the thick mossy undergrowth, and oleanders shed their delicate blossoms on a carpet of tiny ferns. The last half-hour was stiff climbing, very trying to the eyes on account of the sun striking on the white volcanic soil, and terribly hot, as the sun was already high in the heavens. The crater consisted of an arena of yellow sulphurous lava, while a huge blow-hole occupied the centre, emitting clouds of steam and causing the whole summit to quiver. The surface of this lava mound was honeycombed with small steam-holes and dangerous-looking hollows, which suggested prudence in its exploration. Indeed, the earth, literally trembling beneath one's feet, gave little confidence of security from the risk of suddenly breaking through the thin crust that lay between the soles of one's feet and the infernal regions. Higher mountains and peaks surrounded the crater, which gave one the idea that the mountain must itself have once possessed a peak, which had been blown off, probably, in some great eruption. After taking a view of the mountain, and having our tiffin, we commenced the descent, which we took easily, as the heat was great; and I

stopped several times to take views of the prettiest parts of the path. Near the bottom K—— and I, walking side by side, just escaped treading on a snake which was crossing the path with a frog in its mouth, which naturally resulted in the escape of the latter and the death of the former with a few blows from our sticks.

The following day we continued our journey, doing the last stage by train for some days to come. An ordinary passenger train took us as far as Tjibatoe, where we waited an hour for another to take us on to Tassikmalaya—the terminus of the line. On this latter piece of the railway, which was then not properly completed, only goods' trains were running. However, an awning was fitted over a truck, in which chairs were placed, so we had a very comfortable run and admirable opportunity for viewing the varied country through which we passed. The scenery of Java is, I think, tropical perfection. No sameness in the landscape wearies the eye; all is valley and mountain, cultivated with beautiful crops—irrigated rice fields, emerald green stretches of tall waving maize, small thickets of bamboos, gracefully bending to the breeze—or covered with a tropical verdure, only equalled in beauty by the forests of South America. Being only midday when we arrived at Tassikmalaya, we ordered tiffin, and two carts to be ready an hour later to take us on a twenty-five mile stage to Bandjar. So at two o'clock we were once more *en route* in the usual conveyances of small awning-covered carts—each drawn by three ponies—one for ourselves, and the other for the baggage. For the first few hours we passed frequently through small villages, where the ponies were watered, and our drivers chatted with the fruit-sellers, and smoked small tapering cigarettes, which they bought for $\frac{1}{4}$ l. the packet. The last part of the journey was through tall jungle, and, as the sun had set some two hours before our arrival at our destination, it was no easy matter for the drivers to keep the road in the inky darkness. Finally, a long steep hill took us down from the comparative coolness of a high altitude into the fetid swamps, where lies the town of Bandjar. At first sight you would think these swamps inhabited, in such myriads do the fire-flies flit to and fro, or hang motionless, lamp-like, in the misty air, giving one the idea of the lights of some distant village. All the natives here, as elsewhere in the island, hold the white man in great awe, and, as you pass along, all doff their huge-brimmed hats, and some kneel by the wayside. In such towns in the interior as Bandjar there are no hotels, but the Dutch Government provide free stopping houses for travellers—dirty, tumble-down places for the most part—where a caretaker will look after them for a “consideration.” We made our supper off some canned beef which we had brought with us, and turned in pretty early.

As we had arranged overnight for our carts to be round again at 5 o'clock the following morning we were up betimes, and taking our

coffee preparatory to starting. But "L'homme propose, Dieu dispose," for our obstinate coolies refused to go a yard further and, after some useless parleying, coupled with vain threats on our side, they announced their intention of returning to Tassikmalaya, which they proceeded to do without further discussion. There we were left in a miserable lodging, without proper food, and precious little chance of obtaining ponies to go forward. But we had decided to reach and see the ancient temples of Java, and to the temples we were determined to get. Our difficulties were increased by the fact that neither K. nor I spoke a word of Dutch or Malay, and neither the lodging-house caretaker nor any of the natives spoke a word of English. Furthermore, there was apparently only one man in the village who possessed any ponies, and he did not seem inclined to afford us the benefit of them to go on to Kalepoetjang, at which place we intended to obtain canoes, and continue our journey by river as far as Tjilatjap.

In addition to all this, we both felt very knocked up by the heavy air of this swampy hole after the beautiful mountain climate we had lately left. One course lay open to us. It was possible to take canoes here, and go through by river, two days paddling, to Tjilatjap, instead of doing half the distance by road. This we were little inclined to do owing to the necessity of spending two nights on the water in a rank fever-giving atmosphere, and without decent food. However, this course, after some deliberation, we decided upon, and forthwith set out on foot to try and obtain some tinned-meats from any Chinese store-keepers we could find. While on this quest luck came in an unexpected way. We were recommended to go to the house where the Dutch doctor lived, and apply to his wife for provisions. This, K. gathered from the few Dutch words which coincided with his knowledge of German. Thither we accordingly repaired, and found the doctor's wife a most hospitable little woman, who spoke German fluently. She insisted upon us having some breakfast, and produced fresh eggs, and dry bread in which hundreds of tiny ants had their playing-ground. We were obliged to partake of this lively (!) diet out of deference to her hospitable advances, though I confess it was with a certain feeling of repugnance that I deliberately put insects into my mouth; however, I took every opportunity to stuff my slices of bread into my pocket instead of eating them. The doctor presently made his appearance, and was extremely kind—almost the only really pleasant Dutchman we came across in Java—offering to procure us ponies, having some influence with the chief of the village, and enable us to proceed on our journey the following morning.

No bread was procurable in Bandjar, and if the Dutch lady's sample was of normal quality I am sincerely glad there was not; however, we did fairly well on tinned-beef and biscuits. I was

suffering a great deal from neuralgia, so was somewhat glad of the delay in our departure despite the questionable comfort of our quarters.

We were up at 3 o'clock the next morning, as the carts were ordered for that hour, but none made their appearance till five. Soon after Bandjar was left behind, the road ran mile after mile through dense jungle and fetid swamps, and when the sun rose the heat was almost intolerable. The ponies were wretchedly weak and in a most emaciated condition; often they stopped altogether from sheer fatigue, and had to be flogged on with the heavy hide whip which the driving coolies always use, a weapon more fit for a stock-whip than anything else. It was dreadful to see the poor creatures so maltreated, half covered with sores and raw places as many of them were. But there was no alternative, we had to get on, and the quicker the better, for the air of this region seemed almost to stifle one. At a break in the jungle we came to a small village, where the ponies were fed and watered. We were glad to stretch our legs here, and I took a "snap-shot" of the village street. The jungle we drove through was beautiful beyond description, glorious with every variety of palm, huge ferns, and graceful vines festooned from tree to tree. From time to time some brilliant blossom shone among the beautiful verdure of the forest, huge sapphire-winged butterflies hovered across the road, and bright plumaged birds flitted through the aisles of spreading palms. Doves of many kinds seemed very plentiful, and their soft cooing formed a strange contrast to the harsh screech of the parrots. A hornbill, gorgeously apparelled with a sapphire-blue breast, turquoise coloured wings, and a long bright red bill, seemed very common, and sat quietly on the trees quite unmoved by our approach; yet all this beautiful display of Nature was somewhat marred to our taste by the fact that we felt anything but well, and our wretched ponies, almost dead with fatigue, had to be flogged along incessantly. The Dutch Government would do well, I think, to exercise some kind of jurisdiction over the use of ponies quite unfit for work, especially as the Malays are cruel, and seem to have little or no regard for their animals. At last about midday we crawled into the main street of Kalepoetjang, and were deposited with our baggage at the veranda of the Government stopping-house—a dirty little building quite out of repair—where we dreaded having to pass another night. After a bit we bargained for canoes, at a very high price, to take us down the river to Tjilatjap—a ten hours trip we were told. At 3 o'clock we got off, each without baggage, in a separate canoe, a long dug-out craft, with a bamboo roof placed amidship to shelter the traveller, the two paddlers sitting one at each end. These canoes are very narrow, and there is only just room to sit up underneath the roof. The breeze on the

river was comparatively cool, and we soon felt considerably revived. On either side of the river the jungle was thick and dense; there seemed a great scarcity of birds, but every now and then a monkey would make his appearance, swinging himself from bough to bough near the edge of the stream. Alligators are very numerous in these waters, and it is said that much loss of life occurs among the natives owing to the sudden squalls frequently overturning their frail craft, leaving them to the mercy of these voracious pests. Soon the usual stormy weather of this season began to show signs of a speedy approach. Thunder and lightning occurred at intervals, and we could see the black storm clouds gathering in the distance. By 6.30 the sun had set, and a smart breeze springing up cut the water up rather choppy and made it look bad for a dry night. Heavy rain began to fall, first in huge splashing drops, which soon increased to a tropical downpour; the lightning, too, was almost incessant and so blinding that one involuntarily closed one's eyes. At this period of affairs we suddenly saw the lights of a village, at a bend in the river, which proved to be a small fishing village constructed almost entirely of bamboo and built on piles over the water. Towards this our boys paddled us and soon had the canoes hitched up under the lee of the village wharf, explaining to us by signs, and not more than half a dozen words of English, that there was a broad piece of water further on which they dared not cross till the storm abated. Here we were then, bobbing about most uncomfortably, and the torrents of rain gradually filling our canoes. It was pitch dark now and the lightning, almost blinding us, seemed to increase in vividness. So much so that our boys, I think, began to get rather frightened, and persuaded us to disembark and clamber up on the bamboo wharf which encircled the group of houses; no easy matter, for the darkness was intense, and the bamboos soaked and slippery. Scrambling up, I was seized at the top by a native who held on to me tight, pushing me along the wharf. Half blinded as I was by the lightning, and wholly unable to see in the inky darkness, I was not quite sure what my retainer's intentions were; but I soon discovered they were entirely hospitable, as he guided me along to a large hut which we entered and found ourselves within a circle of native men and women. The hut was lighted by one or two oil lamps, and large mats covered the floor, the roof was high and apparently rain proof, but every flash of lightning showed through the many cracks and cranies of the bamboo walls. We were intensely relieved to find ourselves in such good quarters, in spite of the overpowering stench of bad fish. Coffee, accompanied by all sorts of queer little cakes, was set before us, and this was followed by large bowls of rice and stewed meat. We did average justice to this real Javanese meal, and then took cigarettes from natives kneeling before us. All this time

a crowd squatted round us in a circle watching appreciatively our acceptance of their proffered hospitality. The storm, meanwhile, continued to rage, and we learnt by signs from our rowers that they did not wish to proceed till early morning. A mat bed was then prepared for us, upon which we were only too glad to seek repose. Immediately after our retirement, the inhabitants of all the huts gathered together in ours and kept up a dismal chant for two hours, which I suppose constituted their Mahommedan evening prayers; when this was over, a single individual sang a doleful refrain in a cracked and monotonous voice throughout the entire night, which we learnt afterwards was a complimentary lullaby for us—an aid (?) to sleep we felt we could have done without. However, we got a few winks, and felt rested when our boys aroused us at 3 A.M., and expressed their willingness to proceed. So, presenting the head man with five guilders, with which he seemed much pleased, we took leave of our kind entertainers and embarked once more. In spite of the chatter of our boys and the rocking of our canoes, we both slept soundly till the rising sun called our attention to the beauties of Nature around us. It was with some sense of relief that at seven o'clock we saw the town of Tjilatjap before us, and knew that we had once more reached a line of railway. We walked up to the hotel, an extremely good and comfortable one, under the shade of beautiful avenues, which are the pleasant feature of all Javanese towns. Here we enjoyed a shower-bath, followed by a hearty breakfast, and spent the morning lazily smoking under the shade of the veranda. At noon we left by train for Poerowedjo, where we arrived at 6 o'clock.

The next morning we slept on longer than we had intended, enticed by comfortable, clean beds, a welcome change to the hard, dirty ones we had put up with the preceding nights. So it was after 6 o'clock before we had finished breakfast and started in our cart *en route* for the temples. At first the country was much the same as on our previous drives; but after a few miles it became hilly, and at a halting-place two more ponies were hitched on in front of our former pair, wretched, half-starved creatures all of them, and the flogging and shouting to make the miserable creatures move at all entirely spoilt what might have been a most enjoyable drive, had we not been obliged to proceed at the expense of these hardly treated little creatures.

At 11 o'clock we arrived at the temple of Boeroboader, one of the largest of the ancient temples, the goal of a week's hard travelling. These temples consist of vast masses of sculptured stone, built on enormous mounds, covering sometimes two or three acres of ground. They are built terrace upon terrace, with stone passages running round the entire structure, which is conical in shape. The walls of these passages are a mass of extraordinary sculpture, whose subject

is often of a very indecent character. The stones themselves are of immense size, and the whole is in a wonderful state of preservation. The age of these Mahomedan monuments is estimated at 1200 years, and their gigantic construction is ascribed to immigrants from India and Ceylon. Huge statues of stone, mostly headless, adorn the corners and pinnacles of the temples, to which there is no interior beyond a few small cells. At 1 o'clock we continued our journey and arrived at Djokjakarta about four hours later, where we found a most comfortable hotel kept by a pleasant young Dutchman, who spoke English well.

The following day was terrifically hot, the thermometer in the sun rising to 150° Fah. We spent an interesting morning exploring an earthquake-wrecked palace and the ruined splendour of its gardens, the property of a sultan of Java. In the afternoon we visited some more ancient temples in the neighbourhood of Djokjakarta, and I passed the evening developing photographs, very disappointing work in this climate, where the excessive moisture is fatal to photographic plates unless kept carefully protected from the air in metal boxes, a precaution I had unfortunately not taken.

At noon the next day we were once more in the train bound for Samarang, a large seaport on the north coast of the island, where we were to take passage for Singapore. Unfortunately the following day turned out to be a holiday; all the shops and offices were closed, and we were therefore unable to get any money, of which we were sorely in need, to take our passage in a ship that was to sail that evening. So in Samarang we were, perforce, obliged to stay for another four days, when the next boat for Singapore was due. There was nothing of any interest to see here during the day, and at night mosquitoes more virulent than any I have ever encountered elsewhere attacked us incessantly. My hands and face were swollen up to an abnormal state, and sleep at night was impossible. Indeed I gave up attempting it at last, and spent the night lying on my bed smoking cigarettes and flicking away the poisonous pests with a handkerchief. During the afternoon the mosquitoes seemed to sleep, so I took the opportunity of doing the same.

On April 20 we went on board the Messageries Maritimes Company's s.s. *Godavery*, en route for Singapore, feeling fully satisfied with our pilgrimage to the temples of Java, and confident that no more beautiful country exists than this, the queen of the East Indian Archipelago.

ROLAND RIVINGTON.

A DAY'S SKATING ON LOCH LOMOND.

Is there a more invigorating, stimulating and delightful form of exercise than skating? If there is it is unknown to the present writer. The clear, dry, frosty air through which we rush so easily, and at the expense of so little exertion, produces a bracing and exhilarating effect on the system that stimulates like a tonic. Who can describe the delightful sensation produced by the rhythmic movement of the "outside edge"—it is a sensation which cannot be described but must be experienced.

It is an unfortunate fact for the skater that the climatic conditions of these isles compel him, as a rule, to indulge in the exercise of his favourite sport in ponds of very limited extent, and, for the most part, of artificial origin. The law of nature, which requires a long continued period of frost before the surface of large volumes of water becomes frozen, generally debars us from enhancing the pleasure of skating by choosing, as the scene of our sport, some natural lake or loch, of wide extent, and of picturesque situation. It occasionally happens, however, that we are visited by winters like last winter, of such severity that even the largest of our lochs becomes frost-bound, and the skater is privileged to indulge in his charming sport to his heart's content under the most favourable conditions.

In such circumstances the favourite rendezvous for the skater in Scotland is Loch Lomond, which has rightly been named the "Queen of Scotch Lakes," both on account of its extent—since it is the largest—as well as on account of the beauty of its scenery. Last year the southern portion of the loch, which alone ever becomes frost-bound, had on its surface a thicker sheet of ice than has been the case for very many years; indeed so strong was the ice that carts and sleighs were driven over it without mishap. Hence the attempt to cross its surface was not accompanied by that element of danger which, while it may add zest to the pleasure of the more venturesome spirits, exercises a deterrent influence on most people. It was, consequently, visited by thousands of visitors, and the number of fatalities recorded was fortunately limited to one single one. Indeed, it may be well here to point out, in passing, that a perusal of the circumstances under which ice fatalities, as a rule occur, will show that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the cause of such ice accidents is due to foolhardiness on the part of

their victims. If the most ordinary precautions are duly exercised we venture to assert from a somewhat wide experience, that ice accidents ought to be of very rare occurrence.

It is, consequently, without any fear that we shall find a watery grave, or be the means of causing any anxiety in the minds of our friends, that we set off from the ancient town of Stirling, on one of the most lovely of winter mornings for a day's skating on Loch Lomond. The air is clear, the sky is without a cloud, and the sun is positively warm. The view of the Grampian range, with its snow-clad summits, among which Stob-a-Chroin, Ben Vorlich, Ben Ledi, and Ben Lomond, are most conspicuous—which we enjoy from the window of our railway carriage, as we wend our way, by the "Forth and Clyde Railway," to Balloch, is indescribably grand. Everything promises well for a delightful day's enjoyment. Our spirits are, therefore, of the highest, and refuse to be depressed by the comparatively speaking snail-like pace at which the train wends its way. Two hours to travel a distance which is nearer twenty than thirty miles is, most people will be inclined to admit, a liberal allowance; "but what else can you expect," a cynical member of the party remarks, "from the N.B.R." At length Balloch is reached, and a few minutes later we reach the pier on the loch side. Here the sight that meets our view is such as to remind us of the accounts of Arctic expeditions; for there, a few hundred yards out from the pier, lie two of the small loch steamers hard frozen into the ice; while alongside the pier, similarly frost-bound, lies a third. We lose little time in adjusting our skates, and leaving coats, wraps and all superfluous articles of attire behind us—for the temperature by this time, thanks to the powerful sun which beats down upon us, is more like summer than winter, and lady skaters may be actually seen on the ice with sunshades—we set off for the nearest island Inchmurrin (the grassy island), some three miles distant. A glorious prospect lies before us. Behind Inchmurrin, and the other picturesquely situated islands of the loch, rises to a height of over 3000 feet the stately Ben Lomond, covered with a spotless coat of snow, which, in the strong sunlight, dazzles the eye with its brightness; while between us and the island may be seen a continuous stream of skaters whose size grows less and less, until the more distant ones appear as mere dots on the landscape.

We have, however, little chance of enjoying the beauty of the scenery for the first half-mile of our journey, since the state of the ice is such as to exclusively demand our attention. On this portion of the loch it has been longer formed than elsewhere, and has been considerably spoiled for skating purposes by snow. We regret more than once that we have not delayed, as most visitors have, putting on our skates till the good ice has been reached, and doing this portion of our journey on foot. At length, however, we are at the end

of it, and are glad to rest a short time on the forms and chairs which are here placed by the enterprising owners of refreshment stalls.

But our time is short, and we want to make the most of it. We accordingly, after a very short rest, set off again for Inchmurrin. As we proceed, the loch steadily grows wider, and we find ourselves getting further and further from land. As we become conscious of this fact we experience, for a short time, a curious sensation, not altogether, shall we say, unconnected with the feeling of trepidation, the natural result of finding ourselves on the bosom of such a large expanse of water. The thought of the twenty or more fathoms of water below us, which flashes through the mind, is, for a short time, at least, somewhat disturbing; and it is not unnatural that, under such circumstances, we should feel ourselves somewhat "at sea." In a wonderfully short time, however, the mind becomes accustomed to the circumstances, and all other feelings give place to the delightful sensation of spinning through the air. About half-way across to the island we are brought up by a fissure in the ice, but this need not delay us, since the Humane Society of Alexandria, a small industrial town some miles distant, has considerably spanned over the fissure with several small wooden bridges. We find the ice, although not in the most perfect of conditions, very fair, and Inchmurrin is reached in what appears to us to be a wonderfully short time.

We have now accomplished a feat which, up till this winter, has been considered to be accompanied with no little danger. Indeed, it has long been the custom for the Duke of Montrose's gamekeeper, who resides on the island, to present, each year, to the first skater who effects the passage from the mainland, a pair of deer's antlers, to be kept as a trophy of his prowess.

Inchmurrin is the largest of the thirteen islands on Loch Lomond, and is utilised as a deer-park by the Duke of Montrose. It contains, in addition to the keeper's substantial cottage, the picturesque ruin of an old fortress which belonged to the Earls of Lennox, whose seat, Boturich Castle, was situated on the adjacent mainland. Around the southern rocky shore of the island, scattered in groups, and resting on seats or rocks, are a large number of skaters of both sexes. The amateur photographer, of course, is busy as usual, and the ubiquitous coffee-stall is not wanting. The day is so inviting and the ice so safe that the project of skating to Luss, some six miles distant, is discussed. The result is that a few of the more active spirits of the party determine to essay the task, and, as our time is limited, we set off at once for Rosdhu Point, which is the next stage in the journey. From Inchmurrin to Rosdhu Point the line of skaters, though not so continuous as between Balloch and Inchmurrin, is yet sufficient to do away with the loneliness of the journey. In the distance, but rapidly approaching us, scudding before the wind, come two skaters with large ice-sails. The sensa-

tion of flying through the air at such a rapid pace must be peculiarly exhilarating and delightful, and must be akin to that enjoyed by sailing in ice boats, such as is common in Canada. Half way across to Rossdhu Point we enjoy a most extensive view of the loch, for here it is at its broadest, and measures no less than seven miles. Looking across to the further shore, we descry, a long distance out, two adventurous skaters who have been evidently seeking "pastures new" on the vast expanse of ice. Mere specks at present they seem, and in a little while we lose sight of them altogether. As we proceed the ice begins to deteriorate in quality very much, and the strong, bright sun is beginning to cover it with a coating of water which mars very considerably the pleasure of skating. We soon reach the island-like promontory of Rossdhu, at the northern end of which stands Rossdhu House, the property of Sir James Colquhoun, Bart., who owns most of the land in this district. Our course, for a short time, lies along the shore; then we once more strike out into the open for the island of Inchmoan ("peat isle"). But as the ice steadily becomes worse and the day is wearing on, we decide to abandon our attempt to reach Luss, and leisurely retrace our steps to Inchmurrin. On our way back a slight mishap occurs to one of our party, who, on crossing a slight fissure by means of a plank, falls into the water. As the fissure is very narrow in extent, however, he escapes with a slight wetting. By the time we reach Inchmurrin the number of visitors has been considerably augmented by the arrival of afternoon trains, and the scene is rendered more lively than before. But time passes all too rapidly, and we suddenly discover that in order to catch our train we must make the best speed we can to Balloch. It is "touch and go." The last half mile has become worse than ever, owing to the thawing effect of the sun, and to traverse it on skates (we have no time to stop and take them off) tasks our strength to the utmost. We just manage it, and, scrambling up the steamer and on to the pier, reach the train as it is on the point of starting.

C. M. AIKMAN.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

No more competent person could have been appointed by the Trustees to deliver a course of lectures under the Gifford Trust than Professor Fraser, whose first series of lectures is now before us. The subject of the Gifford Lectures is, as every one knows, "Natural Theology in the widest sense of the term," and Dr. Fraser has legitimately taken for the topic of his discourses, *Philosophical Theism*,¹ with which he deals in a lucid and masterly manner. An interesting personal note is struck in the opening lecture, in which he reminded his hearers in the University of Edinburgh that he had been connected with that institution as student, graduate and professor for sixty years; and in the evening of his life he was called upon within the same walls to address his fellow countrymen upon the supreme problem of human life. Whatever answer Professor Fraser may finally give to this problem in the coming course of lectures, the statement of the problem in the wide terms adopted by the lecturer leaves us under the impression that no universally accepted solution can be given. That this distinguished metaphysician has a solution which is satisfactory to his own mind we do not doubt; but whether it will be found equally convincing to others is another matter. There can, however, be no question as to Dr. Fraser's ability, candour and intellectual power, and the attentive reader will find in this volume much to ponder over. Materialism, Pantheism, and Agnosticism are fully and freely discussed, and we are led on to a consideration of the metaphysical evidences of Theism. This is a book for thinkers, but scarcely calculated to be popular.

Professor Herrmann's *Communion with God*,² translated by Mr. J. S. Stanyon is presented to English readers as one of the series of the "Theological Translation Library." The distinctive doctrinal feature of this treatise is that it is "a discussion in agreement with the view

¹ *Philosophy of Theism*. The Gifford Lectures, 1894-5. First Series. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, LL.D. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1895.

² *The Communion of the Christian with God*. By Willibald Herrmann, Dr. Theol. Translated by J. Sandys Stanyon, M.A. London, Edinburgh and Oxford: Williams & Norgate. 1895.

of Luther." This discussion turns largely upon the real meaning of the "Deity of Christ," and in what way men are redeemed by a knowledge of God in Christ. We confess ourselves incompetent to deal with mysteries of this kind, though no doubt they are still considered vital in some branches of the Protestant Church. We cannot realise how God, who is spirit, is in any special way to be associated with the historical life of Jesus—though theologians like Dr. Herrmann find this relation. The reputation of the work warrants its appearance in this series, and no doubt it will interest a large body of readers who still look at religion from a somewhat similar point of view.

Another contribution to the same series (Theological Translation Library) is Mr. Millar's translation of Professor Weizsäcker's *Apostolic Age*,¹ which will appeal to a wider class of readers than the book above referred to. We may say that this is the second volume of this work, and that we have no recollection of having seen the first volume; this, therefore, deals largely with the development of the Church. The first book in the present volume deals principally with the apostolic literature, including the Gospels; the second book with the Church, its meetings, formulas and constitution, and lastly with its ethics. The first book, again, consists of three principal subdivisions, following the stages of development, and logically follows the historical process as indicated by Jerusalem, Rome, and Ephesus. As an illustration of Professor Weizsäcker's position, we may refer to his discussion of the Fourth Gospel under "Ephesus." Upon internal evidence alone, he concludes, as we believe rightly, against the apostolic authorship. He contends that it is inconceivable that an Apostle, who had lived personally with Jesus, could so have obliterated the recollection of the real life as to substitute for it "this marvellous picture of a Divine Being." Paul, who never came in contact with the *man* could have substituted for his earthly manifestation the spiritual Christ—"for a primitive Apostle it is inconceivable. The question is decided here, and finally here." The Gospel could not have been written by John, but might have been written by a disciple. All other evidence, though convincing enough, is subordinate to this. The work is characterised throughout both by scholarship and insight.

We cannot say that we usually open new books on Church history with any feelings of interest. They are generally only the repetition of a well-worn story, sometimes expanded, sometimes condensed, but monotonously alike. They may be written either from a Catholic or Protestant point of view, and thus be resolved into two classes, and that is about all. It was, therefore, with a novel and altogether unexpected pleasure that we perused Professor Rudolf Sohm's

¹ *The Apostolic Age of the Christian World.* By Carl von Weizsäcker. Translated by James Millar, B.D. Vol. ii. London, &c. : Williams & Norgate. 1895.

Outlines of Church History,¹ as translated by Miss May Sinclair. Professor Gwatkin, in his justifiably laudatory preface, says that Professor Sohm's vigorous and often epigrammatic sentences are far from easy to render into flowing English, and we may therefore congratulate Miss Sinclair on the success with which she has performed her difficult task, for the English is always vigorous and never in the least awkward. The book is only a sketch, but it is a sketch which imparts a more vivid impression than any more elaborate work could have done. The historical breadth of the author's conception enables us to realise the place of the Church in the world-movement and its relation to the progress of civilisation. It is, therefore, something much more than a mere recapitulation of the details of Church events. We get a grasp of the Church history as a whole, in which particular events and movements fall into their proper places. The book has five divisions—"The Beginning," which carries on to the commencement of the seventh century; "The Middle Ages;" "The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation;" "Pietism and the Illumination;" and lastly, "The Nineteenth Century." The book is marked throughout, not only by brilliancy and vigour, but by insight, which is especially displayed in the discussion of the questions of the century in which we live.

Mr. Greer gives some very good advice to preachers in his lectures on the *Preacher and his Place*,² and though we suppose his orthodoxy is unimpeachable, he is by no means illiberal, and is ready to avail himself of all the help modern knowledge can lend to the theologian. While claiming that truth, subjectively considered, is always one and the same, he admits that the knowledge of truth is a variable quantity.

*A Sinner's Sermons*³ comes appropriately after the preceding volume, and might be even more useful to preachers. A little wholesome criticism can do them no harm and might do them much good. These are imaginary sermons, preached by a sinner, who has temporarily secured the use of the pulpit, to the parsons in the pews. They are satirical, but not malicious; humorous, but not vulgar; sceptical, but not irreligious. Considerable wit is displayed in the selection of texts, and the discourses abound in apt and lively illustrations. We wish the anonymous author success in his effort to convert the clergy.

The leading feature in the seventh volume of *Papers of the American Society of Church History*⁴ is a bibliography of works of

¹ *Outlines of Church History*. By Rudolf Sohm, Professor of Law, Leipzig. Translated by Miss May Sinclair, with a preface by Professor H. M. Gwatkin, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

² *The Preacher and his Place*. By Rev. David H. Greer, D.D. London: R. D. Dickinson. 1895.

³ *A Sinner's Sermons*. London, Edinburgh and Oxford: Williams & Norgate. 1895.

⁴ *Papers of the American Society of Church History*. Vol. VII. Edited by Rev. S. M. Jackson, M.A. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1895.

interest to students of Church history published in 1893 and 1894. The most interesting paper is one by the Rev. John Lewis Ewell on a "Typical Massachusetts Puritan," Judge Samuel Sewall (1652-1730). Judge Sewall's name is familiar in connection with the prosecution of witches at Salem in 1692, and is referred to by Oliver Wendell Holmes in the *Professor at the Breakfast Table*.

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

L'Administration Locale De L'Angleterre,¹ by Dr. Arminjon, is another instance of the fact we recently alluded to, that Frenchmen can be close and accurate observers of our institutions. After a general historical retrospect Dr. Arminjon deals in successive chapters with the parish, ancient and modern, the administration of the poor law, rural and urban district councils, municipal boroughs, county councils, police, main roads, and highways.

The agricultural problem is then considered, and the results of the recent legislation for allotments and small holdings is discussed. Public education, local finance, the government of London, its history, and the relation between the city corporation and the county council are adequately treated, but perhaps the chapter on centralisation will be the first to attract attention. According to Dr. Arminjon, the recent development has been in the direction of centralisation. This is true, in so far as local authorities have been brought under the control or supervision of the Local Government Board; but, on the other hand, there has been an immense expansion in decentralisation by the increased powers of self-government conferred upon old and new local bodies, powers which in the main are discretionary, but which when exercised must conform to certain positive laws and regulations. Unless there were decentralisation there would be no local self-government, and unless there were centralisation there would be no uniformity or certainty in local administration.

The spelling of the English words in the bibliography of local government literature is sadly in want of revision. This, however, is a trifle easily remedied in a second edition. The following quotation from Dr. Arminjon's peroration will show his attitude towards one of our most difficult problems: "The solution of the land question nevertheless continues to be the vital one upon which to a very large extent depends the future of England. The concentra-

¹ *L'Administration Locale De L'Angleterre*. Par Pierre Arminjon, Docteur en Droit. Paris: Chevalier-Maresq. 1895.

tion of the soil in the hands of a few, and the application to agriculture of machinery have almost compromised the existence of self-government, and have retarded for more than half a century the evolution of democracy in Great Britain."

The Law of Parent and Child, Guardian and Ward,¹ by Mr. R. Storry Deans, is an eminently useful little book. Although founded in the main upon Mr. Simpson's well known *Law of Infants*, Mr. Deans takes an original line of his own for treatment, and he brings to bear upon the English law such comparative and historical facts as may explain its principles. Moreover, since the last edition of Mr. Simpson's work appeared in 1890 much has happened, the law having been extended and modified in many directions, both by statute and by cases. Mr. Deans, whilst bringing the law well up to date, states it clearly, concisely, and accurately. Practitioners will find some useful forms in the Appendix.

That a busy advocate like Mr. Inderwick, Q.C., should be almost the sole representative of popular legal literature is not very creditable to his fellow-silks. *The King's Peace*² is no dry-as-dust treatise, but it is a bright and popular sketch of the origin and development, the decay, disuse, or survival of our Superior Courts of Justice. We cannot quite subscribe to the statement that "the leading motives of our law and our procedure have always been constant, founded as they are upon a spirit of equity and of self-government." Equity, as Maine has shown, was so crystallised at one period as to become a serious danger, and Mr. Inderwick himself tells us how the King and the people combined to put down the arbitrary power of the Chancellor. But that English citizens should know something of the history of English law and procedure is only reasonable, since, as Mr. Inderwick properly points out, it is "for their benefit these Courts exist; that through the medium of the Courts internal quiet is secured, contracts are enforced, rights are respected, and injuries are redressed; and that the safety, the freedom, and the social happiness of our nation are mainly dependent upon the fearless and impartial administration of the King's peace."

Mr. Inderwick divides his history into periods of two centuries each. In the first is traced the rise and fall of the *curia regis*; in the second, the establishment of the common law courts, the institution of justices of the peace and quarter sessions, the origin of the High Court of Admiralty with its Black Book, the rise of the Chancellor, and the office and duties of the Master of the Rolls; here an

¹ *The Law of Parent and Child, Guardian and Ward, and the Rights, Duties, and Liabilities of Infants, with the Practice of the High Court of Justice in relation thereto.* By R. Storry Deans, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, LL.B., some time Student of the Inns of Court, Arden Scholar of Gray's Inn, &c. London: Reeves & Turner. 1895.

² *The King's Peace. A Historical Sketch of the English Law Courts.* By F. A. Inderwick, Q.C. With 15 Illustrations and 1 Map. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

extremely clear account of the Forest Laws is interpolated ; in the third, the struggle between autocratic monarchs who endeavoured to override the common law by the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission and to lower the independence of the judges ; finally, from the Restoration to the removal of the Courts from Westminster Hall, we are told how the law entered into a course more consonant with modern requirements.

Mr. Inderwick writes with enthusiasm, which occasionally leads him to take a somewhat optimistic view of the legal situation, both now and in the past. The illustrations are full of interest, but we miss the reproduction of the painting of the Court of Wards and Liveries, taken in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

We can have nothing but admiration for M. Yves Guyot who, in the midst of the assertive economic heresy of our times, has the persistent courage to adhere to and proclaim, with undiminished confidence and increasing vigour, doctrines which are not only sound, but of the first importance for the inhabitants of civilised and commercial nations to bear in mind. His last utterance upon this subject is before us in a neat pamphlet, entitled *La Morale de la Concurrence*.¹ In this pamphlet M. Guyot contends, with a success amounting to demonstration, that competition, industrial and commercial, is a great moral force, and is more effective practically than the sanctions of religion or the theories of philosophers. All who are brought within the competitive sphere—and who is not?—are compelled, by the necessities of the case, to consider others more than themselves, and to contribute to and promote the general well-being upon which their own depends. Economic competition promotes solidarity. The interest of the producer is one with that of the consumer ; the interest of the employer is one with that of the employed ; the interest of the capitalist is the same as his clients. Competition, instead of provoking a ferocious struggle, as it is so often asserted, has developed the social virtues and ameliorated the condition of the world. Our space forbids us to enlarge upon M. Guyot's instructive book ; but we heartily commend it, not only to Free-Traders, but also to Protectionists and Socialists, by whom it ought to be carefully studied.

¹ *La Morale de la Concurrence*. Par Yves Guyot. Paris : Armand Colin et Cie. 1896.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Three Months in the Forests of France,¹ by Miss Margaret Stokes, is the "second instalment of the series of letters from the Continent commenced in 1892, relating to the missions of the Irish Church in the sixth and seventh centuries." The first instalment was entitled *Six Months in the Apennines*, and described the result of Miss Stokes's search for vestiges of the Irish saints in Italy, one of her objects in this search being to find a clue to the origins of Irish art, and to discover the reason for the development of certain styles in Ireland. The first portion of the present volume is devoted to the description of the vestiges discovered of St. Columban and his follower, St. Niccola, in Luxeuil, Annegrai, Fontaine, and Laure: the second relates the history and describes the vestiges of St. Fursa, found by Miss Stokes in Galway, Ireland, Suffolk, and Picardy. The vision of heaven and hell of St. Fursa (A.D. 620) has been translated for the author by the Rev. Mr. McCreedy from the *Codex Salmantiensis*, and an epitome is given in the account of this saint.

But, interesting as this history of the missionary efforts of the early Irish Church on the Continent may be, and, valuable as this comparative study of monkish legends and folk-lore may prove, we fancy that this book will be read rather for the descriptions of scenery scattered throughout the book. By these descriptions we renew our acquaintance with the forests we love so well. The illustrations are interesting and, on the whole, good.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

A WORK entitled *The History of the Paris Commune of 1871*² cannot fail to interest every reader who desires to obtain an accurate account of one of the most extraordinary events in modern French history. The incidents of the movement, though they all occurred within the brief space of a year, were of the most thrilling and dramatic character. The author, Mr. Thomas Marsh, has taken great pains in collecting authorities, and he presents the facts in a lucid style, which avoids the faults of verbiage and complexity. Now and then he attempts to imitate Carlyle's manner in that unique work, *The*

¹ *Three Months in the Forests of France*: A Pilgrimage in Search of Vestiges of the Irish Saints in France. With numerous Illustrations. By Margaret Stokes, Honorary Member of the Royal Irish Academy, &c. London: George Bell & Sons. 1895.

² *A History of the Paris Commune of 1871*. By Thomas Marsh. London: Swann Sonnenschein & Co.

French Revolution; and the experiment is not quite felicitous. For example (p. 149), "This Commune of Paris must be put down, think the assembled deputies at Versailles, and the little man, Thiers, is eager to execute their wishes." Passages like this lack both dramatic vividness and the dignity of history. Thiers was no doubt, a little man, but his personality is blurred and rendered unrecognisable by the phrase, "the little man, Thiers." In spite, however, of its literary shortcomings this work is one of great general interest from an historical point of view.

In the two volumes devoted to Cardinal Manning's biography,¹ by Mr. E. S. Purcell, we get curious glimpses of what may be called the seamy side of ecclesiasticism. Cardinal Manning possessed many virtues, but apparently he was not free from vanity and spite, even after his conversion to the Church of Rome. In the first volume we have a very detailed account of Manning's life as a clergyman of the Anglican Church. He evidently continued to discharge the duties of a Protestant archdeacon for years after he had ceased to believe in Protestantism. As Mr. Purcell puts it, we find him "speaking concurrently for years with a double voice." Surely there was some duplicity in a course of action such as this! After his change of religion Manning became a favourite of Cardinal Wiseman, and, as the champion of that prelate, used all his influence with the Vatican to get Archbishop Errington removed from his position as coadjutor. By the aid of Monsignor Talbot, a younger son of Lord Talbot de Malahide, who happened to be chamberlain to Pope Pius IX., Manning succeeded in his object. Dr. Grant, Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark, and Dr. Ullathorne, Roman Catholic Bishop of Birmingham, on the other hand, fiercely denounced Manning for his opposition to Archbishop Errington. Alas for Christian charity! How little does it sometimes influence clergymen in their practical relations, despite their pulpit utterances! The candid biographer gives some pages of correspondence which are calculated to startle those who regard the late Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster as a saint. The letters are couched in somewhat virulent language, from which even heated politicians might well shrink. For instance, here is an extract from one of Manning's communications to Monsignor Talbot: "Dr. Errington has been to St. George's (Southwark) and in Liverpool, and is now, I believe, in Dublin. He says that he did not know what he is accused of, which is like talking a horse blind. He said, I hear, to Frederick Rymer, 'I am flooded; the faction was too strong for me.'" Such is the tone of sacerdotal recrimination, and it is scarcely edifying. In a subsequent letter Manning tells Monsignor Talbot that, "until the old generation of bishops and priests is removed—to heaven, I hope, because they are good

¹ *Life of Cardinal Manning*. In two volumes. By Edmund Sheridan Purcell. London: Macmillan & Co.

men—no great progress of religion can be expected in England." Such intolerance, not to say tyranny, exhibited in the interests of religion is enough to make all sceptics smile disdainfully, and all persons of benevolent character despair of the world being saved by clericalism.

Before his death, the Cardinal did some useful work as a peace-maker and a social reformer; but he cannot be regarded as a great man or a person of exceptionally noble character. On the contrary, his mind was a narrow one, and, compared with his great contemporary, John Henry Newman, he was a pigmy indeed. His regulation of his meals and his hours of sleep betray a false notion as to the value of ascetic practices. Indeed, there was in Cardinal Manning so much of the religious marionette that we cannot take his life and actions too seriously. A Churchman of limited powers and absurd prejudices, he might, if he had not entered the Roman Catholic fold, have joined the ranks of the Salvation Army and become a zealous officer of "General" Booth. Not of such men are great leaders or great thinkers made. They have their uses as advisers to "old women of both sexes," who are troubled with "nerves," or with scruples. But they do very little to further the real progress of the world.

The coldness, amounting to mutual distrust, which prevailed between Newman and Manning was more deep-rooted than the average Catholic who admires them both can realise. Newman was, as he himself puts it, "an old monk." His best work was done in seclusion. His written thoughts still penetrate men's hearts though he has passed away. Manning, on the other hand, spoke of literature as "vanity," and thought the regular clergy more important than the religious orders. He imagined that his active life was fruitful, because he interfered in the passing controversies of the hour and was ready to take part in every clamorous outburst of social or pseudo-philanthropic propagandism. But his whole conception of life was commonplace. His preference of what he called activity—what was really mere nervous excitement—to thought and its formal expression—literature—was exactly identical with the obtuseness of the British Philistines, whom Matthew Arnold held up to contempt and ridicule. The work of Manning was of a transitory character. His influence terminated with his own life, which, though useful in its way, was neither noble nor unselfish. But Newman worked for posterity. Like Milton, like Swift, like Paley, he has added to the moral and intellectual wealth of civilised humanity. The result is that while Manning's reputation must dwindle and fade away as the years roll by, Newman's fame is bound to increase and grow brighter, and his writings will mould the minds and the characters of thousands, even though they may differ from him on technical questions of theology. The publication of a *Life*

of Cardinal Manning thus curiously emphasises his own shortcomings, and, by suggesting an obvious contrast, brings before our mental vision the greatness of that other English Cardinal in whom both agnostics and believers recognise one of the Kings of Thought.

There is a tendency on the part of the average Englishman to regard the Americans as besotted worshippers of "the almighty dollar." This is by no means a well-founded theory. The American character is hard to grasp, and there is so much variety of race in the United States that we might probably find there "all sorts and conditions of men." Still, it is unquestionable that the prevailing impression as to the cupidity of the American people is based on a very superficial knowledge of Transatlantic modes of thought. A charming little book,¹ entitled *Types of American Character*, throws light on the subject, and enables us to view the inhabitants of the Great Republic of the West from an intellectual as well as an ethical standpoint. The book consists of a number of essays, all of which exhibit not only high culture and a wide appreciation of literature, but rare knowledge of the world and philosophic insight. In his essay on "The American Pessimist" Mr. Bradford makes the shrewd remark that "the American has not yet really learned how to enjoy himself." This reminds us of the observation long since made about the English, that "they take their pleasures sadly." The fact is that the pure American is simply an English Puritan, or at least, the descendant of some Cromwellian Englishman, who carried Anglo-Saxon gravity and doggedness to their extremest point. No doubt the Irish and the German element have helped to leaven the Puritanism of those who have sprung from the Pilgrim Fathers. But it is idle to deny that the typical American is still largely imbued with Puritan ideas. This fact alone explains many complexities in modern American life. Though religion has lost much of its hold over the minds of those whose forefathers persecuted their fellow-men for technical differences of creed and tortured poor old women for supposed witchcraft, the moral fibre of the American *bourgeois* of to-day is much the same as that of the sombre-minded personages described with such power and intensity of dramatic colouring by Nathaniel Hawthorne. Mr. Bradford indicates the extent to which Puritanism has influenced his fellow-countrymen in a passage which we would gladly quote if the limits of our space permitted.

The author of this book is evidently a young man. His attack on the cold and calculating selfishness engendered by trade, which, in this respect, he considers more baneful than war, recalls the impassioned words of the hero of Tennyson's *Maud*. The essay on "The American Man of Letters" is rather superficial. Mr. Brad-

¹ *Types of American Character*. By Gamaliel Bradford, Jr. London: Macmillan & Co.

ford's idol apparently is Emerson—that manufacturer of platitudes. He expresses regret that America has not yet produced a really great writer. But, while he refers to Whitman as “a man of genuine power,” he does not even mention the two most gifted writers of prose fiction that America has produced—Poe and Hawthorne. Can it be that men of true genius, like prophets, have no honour in their own country? Mr. Bradford is, let us assume, a type of the educated American; and yet he appears to find little to admire in Poe, whom Baudelaire regarded as his master, or in Hawthorne, the greatest writer of spiritual romance.

The Biography of Marceau,¹ by Captain T. G. Johnson, deals with a theme not entirely new, but still not devoid of stirring interest. Byron's lines on Marceau have enshrined his name in the recollection of many persons who knew little about the inner history of the French Revolution. If not a military leader of the highest genius he was a true hero—the Bayard of his time. The portion of the book dealing with the war of La Vendée is exceptionally interesting.

BELLES LETTRES.

*Samson's Youngest*² paid dearly for her self-willed obstinacy in effecting a runaway match with the villain of the piece, despite the warnings of her family. Marian Bower makes an effective use of the rough idiosyncrasies of the Yorkshire dialect to accentuate the pathetic and humorous passages, and her handling of a difficult theme reveals a capacity full of rich promise for her future as an author. Rolf Boldrewood as a constructor of romance based on the rough and seamy side of Australian bush life is second to none; but as a chronicler of an everyday love affair he challenges comparison with a hundred others than whom he is no better and no worse. *The Crooked Stick*³ begins well and ends well (for there the author “sticks to his last”).

All admirers of Marion Crawford's genius will welcome Messrs. Macmillan's addition of *The Children of the King*,⁴ and *Marion Darche*⁵ to the cheap 3s. 6d. uniform edition of this writer's works; and to their Popular Novel Series at 2s. 6d. Messrs. Digby, Long have just added three works which successfully passed the ordeal of a first edition at a higher price—viz., *The Other Bond*,⁶ *The Beautiful*

¹ *François Severin Marceau* (1769–1796). By Captain T. G. Johnson. London: George Bell & Son.

² *Samson's Youngest*. By Marian Bower. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

³ *The Crooked Stick*. By Rolf Boldrewood. London: Macmillan & Co.

⁴ *The Children of the King*. By F. Marion Crawford. London: Macmillan & Co.

⁵ *Marion Darche*. By F. Marion Crawford. London: Macmillan & Co.

⁶ *The Other Bond*. By Dora Russell. London: Digby, Long & Co.

Soul, and *False Pretences*, all of which were reviewed a few months back in these pages; while Messrs. Jarrold have added to their popular "Greenback Series" Mrs. Phillips's *Man Proposes*, which was cordially welcomed on its first appearance.

From the same publishers we have received a capital story for girls, entitled *The Rightful Daughter*,¹ which deserves more spirited illustrations than those with which it is embellished from the brush of the author's brother.

A book suitable for this same class of readers is *Coneycreek*,² in which the lesson to be learnt from a blind girl's resignation and perseverance under her misfortune should be lastingly impressed on a youthful reader's imagination.

The narrative of *Mr. Trueman's Secret*³ is told with realistic vigour by his friend and executor, "A. T. Thynne, of Shipton Court, Somerset," the parson's sturdy and impulsive manliness reminding us at times of Kingsley's portraits of his West Country heroes.

Dowered by Fortune with health, wealth, beauty, talent, and the devoted affection of a good husband, Jacqueline de Mers apparently lacked nothing that makes for happiness in this world. Had Jacqueline been blessed with children, and thus had something to take her away from self, we agree with M. Trévaux, philosopher and friend of the family, it might have been another story, and we should not have enjoyed the subtle analysis of motive and character given by Jacques Vincent in *Un Bonheur*.⁴

M. Edouard Estaunié has made an equally careful analytical study in a different branch of psychology in *L'Empreinte*, which traces the permanent after-results of the emotional training given to an impressionable lad in a Jesuit college on the whole future conduct of his life. After reading the very vivid and life-like picture of student life in a Jesuit college in provincial France, we must confess to being quite confirmed in our insular pride as regards the superiority of our English public-school system.

Other books received this month are *My Doubles, and Other Stories*,⁵ *Indolent Impressions*,⁶ and *Timothy's Legacy*,⁷ none of which call for special notice; the last volume of the "Autonym Library," entitled *A Game of Consequences*,⁸ the story of a very modern Becky Sharpe, with quite up-to-date views on the marriage question; and, lastly, a novel entitled *The Court Adjourns*,⁹ on the production of which Mr. Alexander's literary advisers may well have told him that the money spent would certainly be money wasted.

¹ *The Rightful Daughter*. By Maude M. Butler. London: Jarrold & Sons.

² *Coneycreek*. By M. Lawson. London: Digby, Long & Co.

³ *Mr. Trueman's Secret*. By H. P. Palmer. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

⁴ *Un Bonheur*. By Jacques Vincent. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

⁵ *My Doubles, and Other Stories*. By J. T. Blanch. London: Digby, Long & Co.

⁶ *Indolent Impressions*. By Fred W. Walthman. London: Digby, Long & Co.

⁷ *Timothy's Legacy*. By Emily M. H. Clennel. London: Digby, Long & Co.

⁸ *A Game of Consequences*. By Albert Kinross. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

⁹ *The Court Adjourns*. By W. F. Alexander. London: Digby, Long & Co.

The *Education of Antonia* is full of excellent matter, but the author should learn to curb the exuberance of her pen, if she wishes to secure the suffrages of the modern reading public.

George Chamier's *South Sea Siren* does not redeem the promise held out by this writer's previous effort in picturing New Zealand life in the early colonial days.

George Chapman is known to the majority of readers as a translator of Homer, and many will welcome the opportunity of judging his merits as a dramatist afforded by the issue of five of his works in the popular Mermaid Series. We think that Mr. Phelps is unduly strong in speaking of many of Chapman's Plays as "indescribably poor."

The Bacon-Shakespeare controversy is one eminently fitted to afford unlimited scope to the ingenuity and industry of German scholarship, and Edwin Bormann has not failed to do justice to the reputation of his countrymen in this respect in the imposing volume entitled *The Shakespeare Secret*.¹ The pro-Baconian case is presented with an audacity and thoroughness never before attempted by the most ardent champions of this "forlorn hope" of literary warfare, but we fear that few will endorse the advocate's contention "that Francis Bacon's *Great Instauration of Science* is composed of two halves; that he wrote the one half in form of scientific prose and under his own name, and that he wrote the other, the parabolic half, which was intended for the future of humanity, in the form of dramas under the pseudonym of William Shakespeare." In fact, so eager is the learned commentator to press any and every sort of argument into the service of his pet theory, that he gives away his own case by accepting as substantial evidence the most extravagant analogies and the most commonplace coincidences. The net impression left on the impartial reader's mind by a study of this work is that a vast amount of time, trouble, and erudition has been wasted in a vain attempt to make facts fit in with a preconceived theory.

A notable contribution to the history of English literature is made in Dr. Garnett's *The Age of Dryden*,² which, as the author points out, might with equal propriety have been entitled *The Age of the Restoration*. For the volume is, in fact, a general literary survey and appreciation of the period covered by the last forty years of the seventeenth century. Special stress is laid on the importance of this period in our literary history as being that in which our literature, "in becoming for a moment French first, also became European." As Matthew Arnold has pointed out, "The Restoration marks the real moment of birth of our modern English prose," and it is in this relation to after literary products and developments that the real sig-

¹ *The Shakespeare Secret*. By Edwin Bormann. Translated by Harry Brett. London: Thomas Wohleben.

² *The Age of Dryden*. By Richard Garnett. London: George Bell & Sons.

nificance and importance of this age, prosaic and unideal though it be, is to be found. Dr. Garnett's lucid and impartial survey may be regarded in the light of its purpose and achievement as a model work of its kind.

Messrs. Macmillan have added to their Anthropological Series an interesting treatise by Dr. Hoffman on *The Beginnings of Writing*.¹ The volume is copiously illustrated with more than 100 representations of specimens of ideograms and phonograms culled from all countries and ages. The results of the author's own researches and investigations among the aboriginal tribes of North America are especially valuable in the light which they throw on the origin and growth of picture writing among a primitive people.

Miss Devereux of the Mariquita.² will assuredly not lessen the reputation which the author of *My Official Wife* has won for himself among English readers. It is a story of the Bonanza days in Nevada, and in its strange history of the inheritance of a friendless girl who after many days comes to her own again, lifts the veil which has fallen on the scenes of wild devilry and revelry which marked the rush for gold among the cañons of Nevada, when "adventurer and bravo, sly wanton and toiling miner, desperado and keen operator, fought, delved, drank, gambled, schemed and struggled in the fierce race for boundless wealth."

Messrs. Jarrold have started well with their new "Snug Corner" series of illustrated tales for young people, the two first volumes issued being *The Holiday Prize*,³ by Elinor Davenport Adams, and *Our Little Sunbeams*,⁴ by Alice F. Jackson. Miss Elinor Davenport Adams stands quite in the front rank of our story writers for the young, and her latest work is well worthy to be ranked along with her well-known *Colonel Russell's Baby*.

Mr. Bertram Mitford, in *The White Shield*,⁵ once more gives proof of his unrivalled knowledge of South African history, and, in the form of a thrilling prose epic told by the aged Untuswa, formerly *induna* under the great Umzilikazi, Founder and first King of the Matabeli nation, unfolds the blood-stained page which chronicles the fierce struggle for existence waged against the parent stock by this lusty offshoot of the mighty Zulu nation. The poetic realism of the old chief's narrative, revealed in a thousand and one touches of local colouring and allusion and quaint figure of speech, is consistently maintained throughout, and adds greatly to the charm and vigour of the narrative.

We cannot commend, either to the student or the general reader,

¹ *The Beginnings of Writing*. By W. J. Hoffman, M.D. London: Macmillan.

² *Miss Devereux of the Mariquita*. By Richard Henry Savage. London: Routledge & Sons.

³ *The Holiday Prize*. By Elinor Davenport Adams. London: Jarrold & Sons.

⁴ *Our Little Sunbeams*. By Alice F. Jackson. London: Jarrold & Sons.

⁵ *The White Shield*. By Bertram Mitford. London: Cassell & Co.

the loose and scrappy epitome of Chinese history called *A Little History of China*.¹ The translation of a Chinese story which follows it is of more interest and value as an illustration of the Celestial's idea of romance, and a picture of domestic life and customs in the Far East.

Mr. Frederic Gordon has written the story of a humorous episode in the life of an angler under the title of *A Sunday Salmon*,² which will appeal with special force to his fellow-sportsmen; and from the same publishers we have received a vivid portraiture of rural life in its coarser aspects, entitled *A Bit of Red May*.³ We are glad to feel that the swinish type of agriculturist here depicted is in reality exceptional, and not truly representative of the English farming classes of the present day.

We have received the section of the *New English Dictionary*⁴ issued in January. It contains 1145 main words, 146 combinations, and 138 subordinate words. The words in the section extend from DEVELOPMENT to DIFFLUENCY. The word DEVIL with its various senses, and derivatives, occupies seventeen and a half columns, and all the learning on the subject is exhausted. When Dr. Murray's work has been completed, it will form quite a monumental dictionary of the English language.

Scotland may well be proud of Robert Burns. His genius has inspired the poets of all countries with admiration. It has been said that "imitation is the sincerest flattery," and the numerous attempts made to translate the poetry of Burns may be regarded as a species of literary imitation, for few of these versions is anything more than a feeble effort to echo the original. A work by Mr. William Jack, entitled *Robert Burns in Other Tongues*,⁵ shows how enthusiasts have tried to turn Burns's inimitable lyrics into German, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Flemish, Hungarian, French, Italian, Gaelic, Welsh, and Latin. Mr. Jacks ingeniously dwells on some ludicrous mistakes made by these translators; but the difficulty of reproducing the ideas and the metrical forms of Burns in a foreign tongue should not be forgotten. The German version of "Auld Lang Syne," by Edmund Ruete, is distinctly intelligible to even an indifferent German scholar. Take the opening lines :

" Und solten alter Freundschaft wir
Gedenken nimmermehr ?
Gedenken alter Freundschaft nicht ?
Lang', lang' ist's her.

¹ *A Little History of China and a Chinese Story*. By A. Brebner. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

² *A Sunday Salmon and Another*. By Frederic Gordon. London: Digby Long.

³ *A Bit of Red May*. By Oliver Dale. London: Digby Long.

⁴ *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Vol. III. (DEVELOPMENT-DIFFLUENCY.) Oxford: Clarendon Press.

⁵ *Robert Burns in Other Tongues*. By Wm. Jacks. Glasgow: James Mac'chese & Sons.

(Chorus)

Lang', lang' ist's her, mein Schatz,
 Drumtrinken wir von Hertzen eins,
 Lang, lang ist's her."

The beautiful line in the poem, "To a Daisy,"

"Wee, modest, crimson-tipp'et flower,"

has puzzled the translators. Herr Ruete renders it, "Bescheid'nes weisses Blümelein" ("Modest, white floweret"). This, of course, misses the mark. A Danish translator renders it,

"Thou little flower, so red and round,"

which is also imperfect. It is interesting to know that "A man's a man for a' that" has been translated into Swedish with something of the spirit and fire of the original. The Flemish poet Frans de Cort has also translated this "Marseillaise of humanity," as Mr. Jacks enthusiastically calls it; but the Dutch version is rather flat. F. de Cort, has, however, successfully rendered the beautiful poem, "To Mary in Heaven." A longer poem of Burns, "The Cottar's Saturday Night," has been well translated by Pol de Mont. It is quite in the nature of things (if one may take a jocose view of the subject) that "Tam o' Shanter" should have been rendered in Bohemian. We must confess it looks very funny in that language.

MISCELLANY.

We have received the *Cookery Annual* for 1895, compiled by C. H. Senn. It is illustrated, and contains many useful hints.

Housewives will welcome a new and enlarged edition of *Gastronomy and Recherché Cookery* by the same author. It is handsomely bound in red.

Messrs. Nichol, of Oxford Street, have issued a book entitled *Ars Vivendi*, by A. Lovell. It contains an excellent introduction. The chapters treated under the following heads: "Bodily Health," "Mental Vigour," "Imagination: Its Use and Abuse," and last, but not least, "Manners," are very good.

We are very glad to receive the second edition of the pamphlet on the important question of *Premature Burial*, by Franz Hartmann, M.D. This is a question which deserves serious attention on the part of those who believe in the horrors of being "buried alive."

HISTORY OF THE PHYSICIANS AND OF THE SUN-GOD AS THE GREAT PHYSICIAN.

THE belief in the healing power of time is one that has found expression in the proverbs and mythic history of almost all civilised nations in Asia and Europe. It first arose among the corn-growing races, who called the twin creators, Night and Day, the Physicians of the gods. Their mother in Asia Minor was the cloud-goddess Sar, who became in India Saranyu, meaning the swiftly flowing one; and she was in Greece the goddess Rhea, meaning she who flows, the wife of Kronos, marked as the god of time of the corn-growers by the lunar crescent which he carries as his sickle. These people, to whom the god who measures time was also the god of healing, were the sons of the rivers which supplied water for irrigating their crops, and especially the garden produce which the first growers of fruit trees had added to the field crops of the earlier farmers. It was they who made the ten lunar months, or forty weeks of gestation, the first *annus* or year-ring; and who thence believed that the god who made life by hidden and unknown processes, during these creating months, could also cure diseases by remedies as certain in their action as those by which life was begun. These speculations were the initial causes of an active scientific investigation as to healing methods more effectual than the charms and incantations of the magician or the cautery by which untaught believers in the magical power of the fire god tried to burn out and drive away disease. This infant age of science is marked in Greece by the rule of Cheiron, the centaur, described by Pindar as he who taught Jason and Æsculapius, the divine physician, the laws of drugs and of the soft and healing hand (Cheir). He, half man and half horse, was the sun-horse of the north, who circled the heavens in his annual course, redressing wrongs and punishing evildoers. But though he was originally a product of northern mythology, both his Grecian pupils were immigrants from the East. The sacred bird of Æsculapius, the healing god, was the cock, the bird of dawn, whose home was in India; and he carried on his medical staff, or magic wand, the Indian guardian snake, which was originally the ring of cultivated land surrounding the mother grove placed in the centre of

every village. The name of Jason, the counterpart of Æsculapius, tells us that he was the god of healing (Ias), and he was the captain of the crew of the Argo on which Æsculapius also sailed; and the constellation which gave its name to this heavenly ship of the circling sun is one not visible in Greece. It was the star-ship Mā of the Akkadians of the Euphratean Delta, whose leader was the star Canopus, the Hindu god Agastya, who drank up the waters of the Indian Ocean and controls its tides in the historico-astronomical mythology of India and in that of the *Zendavesta*. It was this healing star who brought the divine ship Argo, drawn by the white sun-horse, the star Sirius, from the land of the south, to Argos, called after its name; and among its crew were the twin-gods of Night and Day; Kastor, called by the Akkadians, Turos, or the god of the revolving pole (tur); and Poludeukes, the much wetting (deuo) god. They were the sons of Lēda, the mother of incense, Lēdanon, obtained from the incense shrub Lēdon, the Greek name for the Mastic (*Pistaccia lentiscus*) whence Greek incense was made. But the ritualistic use of incense in the temple of the Sun-god as a symbol of the mist and clouds wreathing the mountain top where the original creating god dwelt, was one that came from Central India, where the incense tree, the Salai (*Boswellia thurifera*) crowns every rocky height where nothing else will grow. It was first used in India in the temple services of the northern Turanian immigrants, who called themselves the sons of the mother-mountain, and who still in their national history tell how they were born from the mountain cave of the Himalayas, the source of the Jumna or Yamuna, the river of the twins (Yama), the sons of Saranyu, who came to Greece in the Argo. They, as the stars Gemini, the Ashvins of Hindu mythology, turned the stars round the pole, and their worshippers began their year with the summer solstice ruled by the star Sirius, when the sun reaches its most northerly point, which was in the first sun-voyage of the star ship Argo, Argos in Greece. It was the voyagers on this ship who introduced the year of Elis, beginning with the summer solstice and the season of the dog-days of Sirius; and they also brought from the East the art of healing by massage, the healing hand, and also the use of healing oil.

It was in India, the home land of incense, that the Guild of the Baidyas or Physicians, the men of knowledge (budh) were born as the successors of the barber-surgeons, who first introduced the tonsure and the shaving of the head sun-wards round the top-knot, sacred to the god of the Pole-star, which was a custom universally observed by the yellow race, the first gardeners in the world, represented in ancient history by the Hittites and by the Arabs who, according to Herodotus, iii. 8, shaved their heads in this way. It is still practised by the Chinese and the yellow race in India. The caste traditions of the Baidyas trace their descent to the Kusha grass.,

the parent grass of the Kushika or Kushite race, from which, as we shall see, the eight-rayed star, the birth-throne of the Buddha, the sun-god of knowledge, was made, and it was round this eight-rayed star, the eight points of the compass, the symbol of the inhabited world of the corn-growing races, that the Argo sailed. The virgin mother of the Baidyas was the parent tree from which the Buddha was born, for her name was Bir-bhadra, meaning the "blessed wood" (bir), the central tree of the village grove, and her son was the offspring of the Kusha grass, placed in her lap by Gálava, meaning the pure Soma. This Soma, the sap or essence of life, was the sacramental cup of brotherhood drunk at their yearly festival of the summer solstice by the Indian sons of the sun-horse, whose parents were the Ashvins, or twin-horses (ashva), the stars Gemini. The cup of the sacrament of the sun-horse was that which succeeded the intoxicating mead cup (madhu) of the races whose parents were sorcerers and magicians, and it was made of water from the parent running stream, fresh and roasted barley, and the juice of Kusha grass.

The son of the virgin mother Bir-bhadra was Dhanvantari, meaning the internal (antari) flowing stream (dhanv), the ever-flowing river of intellectual thought. He was the son, not only of the Kusha grass (*Poa cynosuroides*), which pointed out to the immigrant farmers and herdsmen who came from Asia Minor, the best corn-growing lands on the river valleys, but also of the barley; as this is still eaten as first-fruits by all the farmers of Northern India, each member of the family tasting the sacred food seven times in honour of the god of gestation, who begets life in forty weeks of seven days each. The sign of this sacred barley in the ancient syllabic writing of the Akkadians and Chinese is the eight-rayed star, and its name Esh-shu means both god and seed in Akkadian. This Esh-shu became in Phœnician mythology, the son of Sadyk, meaning the "righteous," called Eshmun, meaning the eighth. He was the sun-god, the eighth of their creating gods, the other seven being the seven stars of the Great Bear, ruling the seven days of the week.

The Phœnicians of Northern Syria traced their descent from Turos in the Persian Gulf, the holy Akkadian island Dilmun, the modern Bahrein, and it was from thence that they brought the theology of the eight-rayed star, and of the barley the plant of life, the Akkadian zi, life, the Greek zea. This barley (zea) was one of the principal ingredients in the Greek Eleusinian cup of Dēmētēr, the barley mother, mixed, as in the Hindu Soma and the Zend Haoma cup, with running water.

Another name of the Phœnician Eshmun was Tammuz, the Semitic form of the Akkadian Dumu-zi, the son (dumu) of life (zi). He was the god worshipped in Cyprus, as Eshmun the healer (Paian), and this epithet of Paian the healer was continued to this:

god when he became Apollo the Protector, for it was to Apollo-Paian that the Gymnopædia or dances of naked boys were danced. He, like Eshmun, was joined with the stars of the Great Bear, for the temple of his twin sister Artemis was guarded by the statue of a bear, and she was worshipped at Athens as Arkto^s, the Bear constellation in the Arkteia festival. She was the goddess of parturition, whose girdle was worn by all brides and child-bearing women; and she was the mother goddess of the yellow race, to whom all girls between five and ten were dedicated, for during this time they wore saffron-coloured clothes. The union of Apollo and Artemis as the gods of day and night told of the union of the northern sons of the sun-horse with the yellow people of the north-east.

But though these races proclaimed their union in the theology of Greece and Phœnicia, the land in which the creed of the united races, sons of the eight-rayed star, was conceived was India. This was the parent-land of all maritime commerce on the Indian Ocean, for it is only on its forest-clad coasts that ship-building timber grows within easy reach of the sea, and it was thence that in the earliest ages of navigation the Sumerian and Arab merchants of the Persian Gulf imported, as they still do, timber to build their ships, and these are still built in native yards without the use of iron. It was Indian geographers who divided India among the eight tribes; four belonging to the earlier forest races and four to the northern corn-growing immigrants, and who thus made the eight-rayed star the first map of the civilised earth. This sacred earth they called the altar of God, the eight-sided Yupa, or sacrificial stake, which was the symbol of their sun-god, Vishnu the Preserver. The eight-rayed star was the especial symbol of the sun-god, as in both of its elements it is consecrated to the sun-god of the year measured by the equinoxes and solstices. For it is formed of the upright cross of St. George, the rain-god still worshipped in Syria, as Khudr, the water-god, the plough-god of Cappadocia, the Geourgos or worker (ourgos) of the earth (ge). He was the year-god of the Syrians and Jews, who began their year with the autumnal equinox. To this original cross, denoting the four points of the compass, that of St. Andrews was added to make the eight-rayed star. This is the cross of the sun-horse, upon which St. George and his Egyptian equivalent Horus are represented as riding when he slew the dragon; first the cloud that would not give up its rain, and afterwards the stars of the constellation Draco which surrounded the pole and ruled the calculation of time before the year of the sun-god. The sign of Horus, the supreme (Hor) god of the Egyptians, the youngest of their nine creating gods, is the five-rayed star, formed by the N.E., N.W., S.E. and S.W. points of the compass, the rising and setting points of the sun at the summer and winter solstices, with

the sacred Egyptian obelisk, the gnomon stone inserted in the northern angle of the cross.

It is in the Indian historical stories, telling how the sun-god of the eight-rayed star was born of the Kusha grass, that we find the clearest account of the growth of astronomical knowledge, which culminated in the measurement of the year by the path of the sun through the heavens. The first of these is that contained in sections lxi. to xcii. of the *Ashvamedha Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, telling of the birth of Parikshit, meaning the circling sun, the sun-god of the year of four seasons, who gave life and wealth to the Kushika, the sons of the Kusha grass. The reputed father of Parikshit was Abhimanyu, meaning "ardent zeal and activity": and his mother was Uttarā, queen of the upper or northern heaven, daughter of Virāta, the god of virile energy, who made the pole and its surrounding stars turn round as the fire-drill of heaven. Abhimanyu's father was Arjuna, the fair (arjuna) young sun-god, bearer of the heavenly bow, Gāndivā, the rainbow sign of the sun-god of the fertilising showers, who, in his daily march across the heavens, brought the alternate rain and sunshine which ripened the grain. His mother was Su-bhadra, the blessed Su, the southern form of Khu, the mother-bird of the Kushika, who brought the Soma from heaven in Hindu mythology, and who is also called Durgā, the mountain-goddess. She was the twin sister of Krishna, the sun antelope, the god to whom the Kusha grass, the favourite food of the antelopes, is sacred, and whose skin every Indian Brahmin must wear at his initiation. In the war between the Pāndavas, sons of the antelope-star Pandu, also called Mrigasirsha, or the deer's head, the star Orion and the Kushika, or Kaurāvya, born of the egg laid by Gandhārī, the original storm-bird mother, meaning she who wets (dhārā) the land (Gan), Abhimanyu, son of the warrior rain and sun-god, was slain by Drona, meaning the jar, or sacred cask, in which the sacramental soma was stored, and this Drona is called in the Brāhmanas the supreme god Ka, the soul of life. This holy casket was first the rain-cloud, and afterwards the plant-stem, into which the sap rises in the spring of the year, measured by the growth of plants, the year of three seasons ruled by Orion, who led the stars round the pole, the year preceding that measured by the circling sun. The story of the contest between the believers in the plant year, with its three seasons, and the sun year, beginning first with the autumnal and vernal equinox and afterwards with the summer solstice, is the usual story of the opposition offered by conservative believers in the past to all innovating reformers. The first battle between these opposing foes was that in which the offspring of the god of fertilising showers, the sun-god of day, fought with the creating god who, by the revolution of the pole, the fire-drill of heaven, generated the heat which caused the sap to rise in

the spring and usher in the year of the infant plant. This year is depicted in the trident symbol of the creating spirit, formed of the two cotyledon leaves and the plumule, and called by the Buddhists the Vardhamana, or growing sign. The victory in this contest was gained by the champion of the god of the pole, the god of night, and Abhimanyu was slain. But he left behind him the child to be born of his wife Uttarā, the Pole-star mother-goddess, who was the son of the blade of Kusha grass used by Ashvatthāman, the horse (ashva) son of Drona, as Galava used the Kusha grass placed in the lap of Bir-bhadra, the tree-mother of the Baidyas, Ashvatthāman was the new father tree, Ashvattha, or popul, the *Ficus religiosa*, which succeeded the Banyan-tree, the *Ficus Indica*, the earlier tree-mother of the fruit-growing races.

It is from this popul-tree that the fire-drill of the sacred Hindu fire, only extinguished at the end of the year, is made. This fire is the symbol of the volcanic fire underlying the mother-mountain and generated by the revolving pole, and as the symbolic fire-drill of the popul-tree gave birth to the ever-burning fire of the temple, so did the fire-drill of heaven become the parent of the circling sun Parikshit. This sun-god of light who succeeded the Pole-star, the father of darkness, as the supreme god of the southern Kushite race, united with the northern sons of the sun-horse, was born a month before the vernal equinox. It is at the full moon before the equinox that the Indian Huli festival is held. This is the Carnival of the red race in India, which follows that of January-February, the birth-month of Parikshit. This is the month Māgh, sacred to Māghā, the witch-mother of the magicians, who was mother of Indra, the rain-god called Maghavan, and who became Māyā, the mother of the Buddha, and it was at the saturnalian dances of the yellow races, celebrated in this month, that Parikshit was born. These yellow races were the Dravidian sons of the Sāl-tree, which was, as we shall see, the mother-tree of the Buddha.

But though born at the spring festival of the yellow races, it was at the later equinoctial feast of the red men that the young sun-god first came to life. For when he was first born he was, like the frail grass, his parent, which depends on the weather for existence, an apparently lifeless infant, half strangled by the winter giants of frost and darkness, and he was only revived by the healing touch of the Kushika father-god Krishna, the sun-antelope. It was when the young sun-god of the new year was restored to life at the Huli festival of the vernal equinox that the Pāndavas, sons of the antelope-star Orion, came back from the south as the sun-gods of the solstitial sun, led by Dhaumya, the priest of the smoking incense (dhūmo) used in the ritual of the sun-god. They had gone southward with the sun at the winter solstice to find the mountain-gold stored in the earth by Kuvera, the god of chance (from Kuvam, where?), the

chief of the Yakshas, the hunting (yaksh) or circling stars. He was also called Marutta, the rain-god of the south-west wind (Martu), the Gondtree (marom) god, Maroti.

On the full moon of Cheit, the month after Phalgun, the month of the ploughing bull, ending with the vernal equinox, the white circling sun-horse attended by Phalgun, also called Arjuna, the bull-sun, his grandfather set forth on his yearly round. He first went to the north, the land of the Trigartas of the three sacrificial pits (gartas) sacred to the three seasons of the year of the Pole-god. There at the summer solstice, when the sun is in the north, the fighting-bull, father of the infant sun, conquered the cloud-elephant, Vajradatta, given (datta) by the thunder bolt (vajra), the year-god of the sons of night and of the Pole-star. Thence he went south-westward to the moon (Sin) land, Sindhu, the land of the autumnal equinox, where he defeated the moon-worshipping sons of Jayadratha, the chariot (ratha) of victory (jaya), who reckoned time by the ten lunar months of gestation. The course of the sun-horse thence ran south-eastward to the land of Manipur, on the Assam border, the home of the Nāga Dravidian snake-race, and there, at the winter solstice, Arjuna was temporarily slain by the Nāga king, his own son Vabhra-vāhana, the king of springs (vabhra),¹ whose mother was Chitrangada, the necklace (angada) constellation Draco surrounding the pole. The revived sun thence went to the north-west, fighting and conquering on his journey, first the king of Magadha and afterwards Sharabha, king of Chedi, the land of the hawk-bird mother (ched, or chir). Sharabha was the god of the spring sun, formed² of the lion, emblem of the conquering sun of summer, and the elephant, the rain-cloud. When the sun-horse won this last battle at the vernal equinox he completed his circle. After his yearly task was done he was sacrificed at the full moon of Cheit to make way for the sun-god of the new year, and in the ritual of his sacrifice, as told in *Rigveda*, i. 161, thirty-four only of his thirty-six ribs were offered to the gods of time. They were "the thirty-three lords of the ritual order" of the earlier Zend and Hindu ritual, the thirty-three judges of the Egyptian goddess Ma'at, the Pole-star Vega, the twenty-eight days of the lunar month and the five seasons of the year of Northern India and the Persian Gulf, begun by the victory of the rain-god of the south-west monsoon at the summer solstice. When this year became the Zend and Hindu year of the circling sun, a sixth season, the thirty-fourth rib, was added to the original five.

This year of the sun-horse, as originally measured in India by the Pāṇḍavas, the incense-bearers, and by the earliest Zends, was not that of twelve months of thirty days each which afterwards became

¹ The Naga mother-goddess is Dharti, the wetting (dhara) goddess of the springs. ² *Rigveda*, viii. 896, Grassmann, "Wörterbuch."

the year of the Hindus, Zends, Egyptians, and Athenians. The first year of the sun-circle of 360 days was one of eighteen months of twenty days each. These months were like the later Zend months of thirty days, and those of the Hindu year of the Karanas divided into weeks of five days each, so that each month of the year of eighteen months contained four weeks, instead of the six weeks forming the month of the year of twelve months. This earlier year was, as Prescott tells us,¹ that used by the Mexicans of North America, originally framed by the Toltecs, meaning the Architects, predecessors of the Aztecs, while the year of their neighbours in South America, the Peruvian sons of the sun, was one of twelve months of thirty days each.

The description of this year of eighteen months in the *Mahābhārata* shows it to be sacred to the sun as the Great Physician, for at the horse-sacrifice which began it there were eighteen sacrificial stakes set up, instead of the eleven stakes, one for each month of the year of gestation of the sun-horse set up in the original ritual. This was that of the earliest Vedic hymns, when the eleven verses of the Apri hymns were sung at the offering of the eleven animal victims tied to these stakes. Six of the eighteen stakes of the year of the circling sun were cut from the Bilva, or Bael tree (*Egle marmelos*), the sacred tree of the physicians of the Bhārata, or Bhar race, descended from the Bar tree (*Ficus Indica*), to which the Pāndavas belonged, for the Bael fruit is still recognised as one of the best remedies in cases of dysentery. Six were cut from the Khadira tree (*Acacia catechu*), which yields both a valuable dye and a most effectual medicinal drug. It is from this tree that the fire socket is made in which the holy Hindu fire is lighted by the fire-drill of the Ashvattha, or Popul tree. The six remaining stakes were cut from the Pālāsha tree (*Butea frondosa*), the sacred tree of the yellow Mundas, or mountain people, the tree whose leaf is said in the Brāhmanas to have been brought from heaven with the Soma rain by the mother-bird of spring, the Shyena, or frost (shya) bird. It flowers just before the rains, and, as it is a creeper spreading over trees, it covers the forests with great patches of brilliant scarlet blossoms. In the *Mahābhārata* the story of the Nakula, or mungoose, follows that of the horse sacrifice, and tells how this year of the sun-horse was the last of which the beginning was greeted with animal sacrifices. At the end of the sacrifice beginning the year of eighteen months the Nakula, or mungoose, celebrated throughout India as the slayer of snakes, the snake-gods of the year-gods of night, persuaded Yadisthira, the spring-god, the eldest Pāndava king, to substitute for the sacrifice of animals barley, the sap of plants, and milk as the annual Soma sacrifice to the year-god of the summer solstice. Nakula, the mungoose, was one of the two youngest Pāndavas; he and Saha-

¹ *History of Mexico*, vol. i. chap. iv. p. 92, and *History of Peru*, vol. i. pp. 119-120.

deva, the fire-god, were the twin sons of Madu, the intoxicated (mad) mother-daughter of Shalya, the Sāl tree, and their fathers were the Ashvins, the heavenly twins;.

This reform of Nakula, the mungoose, introduced the religion of the Jains, or Ascetics, for they, as well as their successors, the Buddhists, forbade the slaughter of any living thing, and hence no orthodox Hindu will eat anything else but vegetable food.

It is in the history of the birth of the god of this new faith, the Eshmun, or eighth god of the barley-growing races, that we find still further information as to the growth of the great religious reformation begun by the disciples of the god who taught mankind by his inspired messengers or prophets. It was then that the new baptismal birth of the twice-born son of the holy castes of India made him, after his bath of consecration, fit to partake of the cup of brotherhood at the Soma sacrifice, and began in him the life of immortality which succeeded the death-doomed life of the sons of the tree or plant. In the *Nidānakatha* we read how the new sun-god, called the Buddha or god of wisdom (budh), born at the vernal equinox, was conceived at the Midsummer festival under the great Sāl tree of the Himalayas, the parent tree of the yellow Dravidians, sons of the mountain. This parent tree stood in the Mano-sila-tāl, the plain (tāl) of the rock (sila) of calculation (mano). His mother was Māyā, or Maghā, who, as we have already seen, was the Dravidian witch-mother. But she was also like Uttārā, the Pole-star goddess of heaven, the star Tāra, the merciful mother of the Buddhists, whose shrine at Budh Gaya, in the temple of the Buddha, is described by Hiouen Tsiang, the Chinese traveller, who visited India in the seventh century A.D., and who is worshipped as Tārā Pennu, the female (pen) Tārā, by all the Dravidians of India who still practise the sorcery and magic taught by their Finn ancestors. She was brought to the holy plain by the four angels guarding the four quarters of the heavens, and was, before her son was conceived, bathed in the holy lake Anotatta, meaning "not heated," the cool pool of pure water whence the mother rivers spring. After bathing, she lay down with her head to the east, whence the young sun-god was to rise. He appeared in the form of the elephant cloud-god, and entered her womb on the right side, coming from the north-east as the son of the summer solstice; and he held in his right hand a lotus, the sacred flower of the river races of India and Egypt. His birth was at the vernal equinox, and not, like that of Parikshit, in January-February; and, while he was being born, his mother stood and clasped the ancestral Sāl tree growing in the village grove of Lumbini, common to Kapilavastu, the city of the gardening yellow (kapila) race, and Kolya, the town of Māyā, and of the earlier yellow mountain people (koh), otherwise called Mallis or Munda, the people who still practise magic, and are renowned throughout India as

sorcerers. A shower of rain fell on his mother as he was born, thus showing him to be the sun-god of the spring showers. When born, he looked round to the eight points of the eight-rayed star, up to the zenith and down to the nadir, and took seven steps forward, the seven days of the week of the ring of forty weeks of gestation. As he stepped forward, he told his mother that he had brought into the world the Medicine of Healing, the sandal-wood he held in his hand, which Sakko the rain-god had given him. This medicine was the seed of plants yielding healing drugs. And he placed it in an earthen jar, the Drona described above, the mother earth, whence it was to rise to life again as the growing plant sown as barley in the Kurrum festival of the Dravidian Ooraons, held in August, and the barley, lettuce, and fennel grown in the wooden boxes called the Gardens of Adonis, at the Phœnician festival of the birth of Eshmun. This was held, as Ezekiel viii. 1 tells us, like the Ooraon festival in August, and was the festival of the year of the young plant, which began at the summer solstice.

The Buddha first appeared as the sun-god at the Ploughing festival of the Nagur, or plough-god, called by the Gonds and Hindus the Akhtuj, or festival of the axle (aksha)—that is, the axle of the sun-wain going round the pole, and taking the stars with it. The pole in the new theology of the circling sun, which marked its path by the shadows of the gnomon-stone, was looked on as stationary, and no longer thought to be the father-god, the turning fire drill of heaven, who took the stars round with him as he revolved. The festival took place six weeks after his birth, and at it he appeared as the meridian sun, which casts no shadow. He was placed under a Jambu-tree, the centre tree of Jambu-dwīpa, the central kingdom of India, called by the gardening races who grew fruit-trees after the Jambu-tree (*Eugenia jambolana*), the distinctive fruit tree of the Central Indian forests. It is called in Pali the koli tree, showing it to be the parent tree of the Koliyas, or mountain gardening races, to whom Māyā, Māghā, or Tāra was the mother-goddess, and the story must have been brought by them as one of their national stories when they emigrated to Oude, where the later Buddha, who was a living person, and not a mythical abstraction, was born.

While the Buddha was under the tree it cast no shadow, and those of the surrounding trees revolved round it.

But to find the clearest exposition of the astronomical theology of the eight-rayed sun-star we must look to the account of the birth of the soul of the Buddha, when he finally acquired perfect wisdom after six years' penance. As the hour of the new birth drew near the Buddha seated himself under a Nigrodha or Banyan-tree (*Ficus Indica*), the parent fruit tree of the Kushite race. This tree grew in the village where the landowner, Senāni, the general of the army (Sena) of heaven, dwelt. His daughter was Su-jātā, born of Su, the

southern form of the Akkadian and Egyptian Khu, the bird, and the Hindu and Finnish Ku, the begetter, and also the moon. She, as the Pole-star bird, fed her ten thousand cows, the stars in the meadow, where the fig-tree of the Kushika, called also Gautama, or sons of the bull (gnt), grew,¹ and selected the milk of the eight most perfect animals, the seven stars of the Great Bear and the sun-god Eshmun. On the morning of the full moon of April-May, about the 1st of our May, she milked these eight cows and boiled their milk with rice on a fire laid and lighted by Sakko, the wet (sak) god of the summer solstice, the god of the north reached by the sun at this season, the god who bears the trumpet called Vi-jaya-uttara, the double (vi) victory (jaya) of the north (uttara). She put the rice-milk when ready into a golden dish, and her maid, Pañña, meaning completion, took it at sunrise as an offering to the holy mother-tree under which the Buddha was sitting. When the sun-god of the eight-rayed star received in the golden dish of the hues of the rising sun, the first-fruits offered instead of the earlier animal sacrifices, the earthenware alms-bowl, given him by the angel, Ghatikāra, the jar in which the seed of the medicine-plant was sown, disappeared. In the name Ghatikāra we find one of the proofs that this story is one telling of the measurement of time, for it means one who makes the Ghatis. The Ghatis are the sixty divisions of twenty-four minutes each, used by the Indian Dravidians to measure the night and day. It was Ghatikāra who had given the Buddha, when he first began his penance, the eight requisites of a teacher of the universal knowledge taught by the Supreme God who measures time to those of His children who wish to use it to the best advantage. There were the three robes, the three seasons of spring, summer, and winter, the times for sowing, growing and storing the crops which clothed the year. The fourth, the alms-bowl, was the autumn season, the seed-vessel of the plant of healing and reproduction, the season of the ripened seed, whence the crops of the future year, the food-store of the growing world, were to be born. The fifth requisite, the razor, cut off and offered to the parent-god of the rivers the first-fruits of the growing seed of intelligent life, the hair of the young child and of the consecrated priest. The sixth, the needle, was the symbol of the threads, the days which united all parts of the year together. And the seventh was the girdle of the circling sun, which bound days, nights, weeks, and seasons in one perfect whole. The eighth requisite was the water-strainer, the clouds which sent to earth the life-giving rain.

The Buddha, taking the golden vessel filled with the milk of the

¹ In Hindu primitive astronomy the heavens were the celestial village divided, like the earthly village, into fields with balks, or boundary marks, the stars. The stars forming the twenty-eight stations of the lunar monthly circle were called the Nag-kshetra, or fields (kshetra), of the Nag, the guardian snake, who, as the ring of cultivated land, surrounded the village.

eight cows, rose from his seat under the Nigrodha-tree and bathed in the Niranjara river at the Sapatthitha, the firmly established, ferry, thus consecrating himself as a new-born son of the parent-rivers of the corn-growing races. For forty-nine days—that is, seven weeks—after his baptismal bath he lived on the rice-milk offering, and at the summer solstice he rose early in the morning and threw his golden bowl into the river, thus showing that the old material year of the growing plant was dead, and that the sun of the new year, engendering the birth of spiritual life, was about to rise from the waters.

He passed the day in a grove of the ancestral Sāl-trees of his mother's mountain brethren, and in the evening Swastika,¹ the symbol of the revolving solstitial sun, came to him carrying eight bundles of Kusha grass. Taking these, the Buddha stood in the west, where the sun was setting, with his back to the Popul, or Ashvattha-tree (*Picus religiosa*), under which he was to gain his final victory. He placed the eight bundles of the parent-grass of the Kushika so as to form of them an eight-rayed star fourteen cubits broad, the breadth representing the lunar phases by which the birth year was measured. When he had seated himself, with his face to the south, on this eight-rayed star throne of Kusha grass he was attacked from the north by Māra, the tree (marom) god of the storms beginning the rainy season at the summer solstice. The conquering sun-god foiled all his attacks, and his last deadly weapon, the spear of the revolving pole which killed all the year-gods of time when their allotted task was done, became at the beginning for the year's journey of the new sun-god a garland of flowers.

During the first of the next seven weeks, beginning with the rising of the sun on the morning after his victory over the powers of storm and darkness, the Buddha sat under the Popul, or Ashvattha-tree, on his throne of the eight-rayed star. He then rose and stood for seven days to the north-east of his star-throne, the quarter whence the sun of the summer solstice rises. During the third week, the first half of his second lunar period, he walked for seven days up and down the path of the sun-god from east to west, the path of nineteen steps, the nineteen jewels found at Budh Gaya, under the Vajrū-sun, or holy thunderbolt (Vajra) throne of the Buddha, the ten lunar and nine solar months of gestation. The fourth week he sat to the north-west of the Popul-tree, called the Bo-tree, or tree of knowledge, the place where the sun sets at the summer solstice. The time of the autumn season was now drawing near, and for the first week of his second lunar month he went back

¹ He is called in the *Nidānakatha* Sotthiya, but Kern, in the *Saddharma Pundarika*, and other authorities call him Swastika, the recognised Hindu name of, the sun-cross.

to the Nigrodha, or Banyan-tree, the mother-tree of the yellow races who first added a fourth to the earlier three seasons of the year. There he was tempted by the daughters of Māra, the three seasons of the year of the god of generation, but he resisted their overtures and refused to become a material father-god. During the next two weeks he sat successively, first under a Mucalinda-tree (*Barringtonia acutangula*), the Ijil, or Indian oak, flowering at the beginning of the rainy season, which became the sacred oak-tree of the Zends and Cymric Druids, worshippers of the god Hu, the Zend form of Khu, the mother-bird. Secondly, under a Rāja-yatana-tree (*Buchanania latifolia*), the Pyar, or Chironji-tree, bearing a fruit like small almonds, eaten by all the forest people of Central India.

The end of these seven weeks fell about August 10, the time sacred to the snake mother goddesses of the rice-growing races when in Chutia Nagpore the barley festival called Kurrum is held. Thus it is the sacred season of all the Indian corn-growers, the rice-growers of the south and the barley-growers of the north. When it began the sun-god of these united races bathed his face in the sanctifying waters of the Indian rains and ate the fruit of the Hari-taka Myrobalan tree (*Terminalia chebula*) given him by the rain-god Sakko. This tree yields a yellow dye, and is therefore sacred to the yellow races, and also grows galls like those of an oak whence ink is made. The juice of these galls mixed with Al (*Morinda tinctoria*) produces the red dye used in India. It is thus one of the parent trees of the united races who became sons of the red man. This tree was also sacred to the calculating or measuring god, for it was the leaves and flowers of the almost exactly similar tree, the Vibhitaka tree (*Terminalia belerica*), called also Arjuna, that Nāla the year-god of the channel (nala) of time was taught to count by Ritu-parna, the recorder (parna) of the seasons (ritu), when he dropped his cloud mantle towards the close of the rainy season, and changed Nāla the wind-god into the sun-god ruling the year by his circuit through the heavens in the car drawn by the Sindhu horses of the moon (Sin) in which Nāla and Ritu-parna were travelling to join Damayanti, the wife of Nāla the earth goddess of the autumnal equinox.

With the fruit of the Myrobolan tree, Sakko the wet-god gave the Buddha, as a tooth-cleaner, a thorn of the Nāga lata or Piper Betle, the Betul tree of which the nut is eaten as a digestive by all rice-eating Hindus.

It was when the re-born sun-god had gained complete knowledge and mastered the arts of calculation and healing, that Tapassu and Bhallika, two travelling merchants from the south, whither the sun-god was going, reached the tree under which he was sitting and gave him a rice and honey cake. These two merchants undoubtedly represent the two Soma caskets called Tapas Penance and Diksha Consecration, said in the Brāhmanas to have been brought by Shyena

the frost (shya) bird from Krishānu the rainbow-god and given to Kadrū the tree (dru) of Ka, the mother of the year of the growing plant, the Drona or tree stem called in the Brāhmanas Ka the supreme God. But these names Penance and Consecration point to a time later than that when the path of the sun though the stars was first noticed and when the year was thought to be governed by fixed stars ruling the course of the sun and moon. Tapas has not only the later meaning of penance, but also means burning (tap), and it therefore denoted the season ruled by Sirius the dog-star of summer and autumn. Bhallika, which reproduces the Hindi name for the bear Baluk, is the constellation of the seven stars of the Great Bear ruling the year of generation measured by weeks of seven days. Sirius and the Great Bear were the guardian stars which brought to the sun-god the rice of the south and the honey-cakes of the northern sons of the bear, the honey-eating mother-goddess of the Finns, to whom as well as to the Indian Ashvins the mead-making and inspiring honey, the earliest food of the prophets, was sacred.

To receive this heavenly food the angels prepared for the sun-god a bowl made of sapphire, the blue sky of the spring and summer days, and of jet, the black cloud canopy of winter and night. The sun-god after eating this meal, inspiring him as the prophet who brought mental light and knowledge to men, became the god who ruled not only for a year, but for all time. He consecrated himself to his office by tearing all the hair out of his head, thus showing that he was no longer the god of the materialistic sons of the growing plants and grasses propagated by seed, who like the Kushika offered their hair to the rivers as the first-fruits of the grass of the body, but the God of light who diffused life through the world by the spiritual power which made all natural phenomena follow each other in unvarying order. It was as the messenger imbued with the spirit of this sun-god that the last of three Buddhas, born of Māyā, who was an actual living man, began his teaching. But this same spirit which inspired him had descended through many generations of unnamed predecessors living in the ages when history was unwritten, and was preserved only in the memory as a summary of results. These condensed histories took no account of individuals, and only remembered events which seemed to their authors, the historiographers who were the state teachers, the Hindu Prashastri or teaching priests, to have most materially contributed to the final issues. It was in this spirit that the national historians told of the beginning of scientific research, which was first systematically organised when the botanical study of the growing trees and plants, of the commercial uses of their timber and the dyes, drugs and food they yielded, was followed by the astronomical conclusions that the divine power which had implanted all these valuable qualities in the vegetation of the world, was the god of light, whose son and

regent-messenger was the sun-god. They still, like their predecessors, believed that the fixed stars were the guardian angels of all God's visible messengers, and that they, as the emissaries of the God of light, watched and regulated the paths traversed by the sun, moon, and wandering planets, which last had been, during the supremacy of the Pole-star-god, thought to be rebels against law and order, and made them all follow the routes ordained by the unseen Master and Author of life.

Hence they ceased to call the stars of the Great Bear the Heavenly Wain, the ruling stars, and took, as the director of the sun's path, a new star outside the Polar circle. This was the star in the constellation of Auriga, the charioteer, called by the Akkadians Dil-gan, the god (dil) of the country (gan), and also the little goat, our Capella. It became the driver of the sun, moon, and planets, and thus took the position formerly given to the goat as symbol of the god of generation, the ruling god of time. This became the patron star of Babylon, and the star called Aryaman in the *Rigveda* and *Zendavesta*. In the latter he is said to be the Physician or Healer, and hence he was the star-god who attended the sun-god as the Great Physician. The chariot in which they drove was drawn by the black bull,¹ the god Pūshan of the *Rigveda*, Pashang of the *Zendavesta*, who ruled the month Push, beginning the Hindu year at the winter solstice; just as the star Antares, of the Scorpion constellation, of the sons of Dan, the Hindu Dānava, had ruled the earlier year of the barley-growers of Syria, which began at the autumnal equinox. This last was that beginning with the Hindu festival to the dead Kushika fathers, to whom parched barley was offered; and in Hindu astrology it was ruled by the Ajaekapad, the one-footed goat, the Pole-star. It was superseded by the year of the birth of the sun-god at the winter solstice, the year when, in Zend astrology, Tishtrya Sirius conquered the powers of night and darkness, as the golden-horned bull, the golden calf of Dan, worshipped at Dan and Bethel, and made into a god by Aaron (Ex. xxxii. 4), meaning the Chest or Ark of the law, of which I will speak presently. This year of the Divine Physician was when the cult of the conquering sun-god was firmly established, changed into that which began with the summer solstice, and the rule of Tishtrya Sirius as the white horse of the sun who brought up the rains of the south-west Monsoon. This last was the year of the second birth of the Buddha, called in the *Nidānakatha* the Vessantara birth, that is, the birth of the sun-god of the Vesso, or Vaishyas, the yellow trading races. This birth began by giving the great wealth gained by commerce to mankind, the wealth which, as we have seen, formed the riches acquired by the Pāndavas before the sacrifice of the sun-horse, and which was stored in the Tusita or heaven of wealth (tuso) of the Buddhists, placed in their cosmōgony above the Tavitimsa heaven.

¹ The constellation Taurus.

This meaning the heaven of the thirty-three was, as we have seen, the heaven of the Kushite races, who in India, Persia, and Egypt measured their year, not by the course of the sun-god, but by the five seasons of the year of the Persian Gulf and Northern India and the twenty-eight days of the lunar month.

It was these trading races, called the Vaishya, who after they were joined by the sons of the sun-horse, the red warrior race added the sixth season to the earlier year. The united races called themselves the sons of the date-palm, the tree of the male and female stems, instead of the bisexual fig-tree of the Kushika. The date-palm is said in the *Mahābhārata* to have been the sign depicted on the banner of the sexless sun-god Bhishma and of his counterpart Valarāma, the son of Rohini, the red cow, the star Aldebaran. Tamar, the palm-tree, was the mother tree of the twin sons of Judah, from whom the royal red-race sons of Ram and his father Zerah, the red twin, were descended (Gen. xxxviii. 30). The palm-tree was the parent tree of Babylon, and it was grasped by Leto at the birth of Apollo at Delos, just as the Buddha's mother clasped the Sāl-tree. This father and mother palm-tree is especially commemorated in the Zend ritual of the Haoma, or sacred cup of brotherhood, for the sacred baresma or rain (bares) wand borne by the high-priest at the ceremony was made of twigs of the date-palm or pomegranate tree, bound together by six thread-like ribbons split out of the palm-leaves. That these six ribbons denoted the six seasons of the Zend year is conclusively shown in the rules for making the Kōsti or sacred Zend girdle. It was made of six strands of very fine woollen thread, representing, as the Zend sacred books say, the six seasons of the year of the circling sun I have just described. Similarly the Hindu Brahmanas declare that the three strands of the Brahmin's girdle denote the three seasons of the earlier year of the corn-growing races; while the three knots in which it was tied show that these three seasons were ruled by the three stars in Orion's belt.

But the Zend Kōsti taught all the young people of both sexes who were obliged to be invested with it, not only the number of seasons in the year, but the weeks and months of which it was made up. For each strand contained twelve very fine white woollen threads, making in all seventy-two threads. These were the seventy-two weeks of the year, each of which, like that of the Pāṇḍavas above described, contained five days, the week of the earlier year of three seasons ruled by Orion. The six strands are near each end braided into three string ends of two strands each, making eighteen strands, the eighteen months of the Pāṇḍava year of the sun-horse. This year, as we have seen, became, in later chronology, the wheel year of twelve months of thirty days each.

To every Zend invested with the sacred girdle the sacred shirt was also given. It was, as the Zend sacred books tell us, first made

of hide with the hair stripped off, the skin of the totem parent animal, the skin of the antelope, the spotted deer and goat, worn by every Indian Brahmin Kshatrya and Vaishya at their initiation to manhood. It was afterwards made of wool, hair, silk, bark, or hemp-cloth, and last of all it became the cotton-shirt worn by all Parsees and Sabæans on the Euphrates. It is made of the originally Indian cotton called Kapat Sindhu, the cloth of the moon (sin) land of India in the earliest Babylonian inscriptions. It became in the religion of Zarathustra the sacred dress of the priests called the Chista, or chest of the law, the inspiring ephod of the Jews. The Zend priests were, as the *Zendavesta* tells us, not only inspired by the holy ephod, but also by bhang, or hashish, made of hemp (*Cannabis Indica*), which was looked on as a more divine source of inspiration than the intoxicating drink of the earlier prophets. The *Zendavesta* tells us how Zarathustra, son of Pürushaspa, the sun-horse (aspa) of the east (puru), sent out his inspired priests, the Athravans, clothed in the chest of the law, the ephod telling the oracles of god, to spread the new faith. And these were the Atharvans of the *Rigveda*, who measured the path of the sun by the Turiya, or gnomon-stone. The god whose worship they preached was Ashura Mazda, the god of the eight (ash), the god of divine knowledge. He was the Hindu Ashtika, the son, according to the account in the *Mahābhārata*, of a father and mother called Jarat-karna, he who makes old, and who is worshipped in the Brāhmana ritual as the snake Arbuda, the god of four (arba) seasons; and Ashtika was also the grandson of the father-god of the forest races, the snake-god Vāsuki, whose image was the male bamboo, the symbol of the growing tree. Ashtika was also, like the Baidyas, the physicians, son of Gālava, the pure Soma, for, according to another story, Gālava made Vishvāmitra, the sun and moon god of the Vaishyas, the father who begot him on Madhu, intoxicating drink, daughter of Yayati, the son of Nahusha, the constellation of the Great Bear, mother of Ashtika the eighth.

In another form he was Krishna, the eighth son of Vāsudeva, the god Vasu, god of the creating tree, and Devaki, the bright (dev) mother goddess of the star Rohini Aldebaran, mother-star of the cow-race, and the twin brother of Su-bhadra, the mother of Abhimanyu, whose history has been told above. Krishna was born after Vala-rama, the seventh son, the leading star of the Great Bear. He became Vishnu, the Preserver, god of the Vaishya race, who bears the discus, the symbol of the year of the ring of circling months. It was Ashtika or Vishnu who helped Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, the circling sun, to destroy the false snake-gods of the earlier belief in the gods of darkness. He also, as Assur, became the supreme god of the Semite Assyrians, the one god of their Pantheon, who had no female partner. This was the god placed by Zarathustra in the

highest heavens, the Garothman, or glittering (gar) home of endless lights, the dwelling-place of the bird called in the *Rigveda* the bird of speech (Vāk), Garotman, which is alone in heaven,¹ the Pole-star Vega, called by the Egyptians Ma'at, the vulture mother of the year, dwelling in the constellation of the Vulture, the earliest name of that we call Lyra. She was the goddess of law and order, who maintains the unvarying succession of natural phenomena. This Pole-star goddess, who was the Pole-star from 10,000 to 8000 years B.C., is worshipped by the Sabæan Arabs as El Nasr, the Vulture.

But the bird of speech in the Zend creed was not the earlier Vulture, the Pole-star goddess, but the hawk. Zarathustra was, according to the *Zendavesta* and *Bundahish*, the holy hawk, Karshihta, who spoke the Avesta in the language of birds, hence he was the prophet bird of the Pole-star god. In Hindu historical mythology this mother-hawk is called Adrikā, the rock where she made her nest, and she was, by Vasu, the creator, mother of the twin fish-gods, Matsya, measuring the fish, and Satyavati, meaning she who is possessed of truth (sat), the mother of the Kushika and Pāndava kings. Thus they were, like Vishnu, the children of Vasu, who was the king of Chedi, the land of the birds ('hed, or Chir), and father-god of the Chiros, who, like their congeners the Kharwars, still worship Besra, the hawk, as a totem god. These Chiros ruled Magadha, now Behar, when the Buddha attained his final enlightenment in that kingdom, and they were only conquered in the sixteenth century by Sher Shah. I myself have visited the present descendant of the old Chiroo Rajas. They are also called Suras, or Su-varna, the men of the race (varna) of the Su, the southern form of Khu, the bird, and these Su-varna were the great trading race of Western India. They were also called Tur-vasu, the people whose creating god, Vasu, is the Tur, or revolving Pole, and they, as the sons of the Pole and the Pole-star, called the island in the Persian Gulf, the modern Bahrein, where they fixed their first foreign station, Turos. This island, whence they traded with Assyria and Egypt, was that called by the Akkadians Dilmun, sacred to En, the supreme god (dil), called also En-zag, the first-born (zag) Lord (En), and also, as Dr. Sayce tells us, Pati, meaning Lord in Sanskrit. He was the god called also Ia-khan Ia, the fish (khan), to whom the number forty, the forty weeks of gestation, were sacred.

It was from this island that the Phœnician land trade started, passing up the Euphrates to the Mediterranean coast, where they joined themselves with the whiter races of the north and became the red men, called Rotou by the Egyptians. They there took the name of Phœnicians, meaning also the red men, who used the red dye made from the Murex shell-fish for which Sidon, the fish-town,

¹ *Rigveda*, i. 161, 45, 46.

and Tyre, the town of the rock (tsur), were famous, and in their new home they still, as Herodotus tells, remembered that they came from the Persian Gulf. In their trade with Egypt their ships crept along the sea coasts of Southern Arabia, where they founded the kingdom of the star-worshipping Sabæans. Their parent star-gods were those of the people of Western India, whose mother-stars are (1) the Pleiades, called in India Krittakas, or spinners, and in Arabia Turayya, or the stars of the revolving pole; (2) Aldabaran, the Indian Rohini, the red-cow mother Queen of the Pleiades; (3) Canopus, the Arabic Suhel, the Indian Agastya, the giant who drank up the waters of the ocean and regulated its tides; and (4) El Nasr, the vulture, the star-Vega, the Hindu mother-star, Tārā, who was Gandhārī, the vulture-mother of the Kushikas. When the sun-god superseded the Pole-star as the supreme god of time, the hawk, the bird of speech, became the mother-bird. This hawk-headed god, leader of the new faith, appears in Egyptian theology as Hat-hor, the mother of Hor, or Horus, the supreme (hor) god, both of whom are hawk-headed. He was, as we have seen above, the supreme god (hor) of the worshippers of the solstitial sun. And in his combat with the dragon, the circumpolar stars Draco, he is represented in the Egyptian bas-relief, to be seen in the Louvre, as a knight with a hawk's head riding the sun-horse. This combat is described in the *Rigveda*, i. 32, 5, 9, as that in which Indra, the rain-god, slew Vyansa, the son of Danu, who was first the cloud with the (vi) broad shoulders (ansa), and afterwards the dragon or crocodile circumpolar stars. These were the parent-stars of the sons of the Akkadian judge, Danu, who worshipped the Pole-star, and who were the Dānava of Hindu historical mythology, the Turanian sons of Danu of the *Zendavesta*, the Danaoi of the Greeks and the Hebrew sons of Dan. The obelisk standing in the northern angle of the solstitial cross of Horus, which I have already described, is the prophetic Gnomon-stone marking the daily and annual progress of the sun, which was worshipped by the Jews as Chiun, the pillar;¹ and these obelisks have been found by Mr. Bent in the Phœnician temples of Mashonaland, in South Africa, surmounted with the vulture, the goddess ruling the Egyptian year, and the mother-vulture also appears on the vulture stele at Girsu, or Telloh, on the Euphrates. This obelisk-god was the red-stone god which the pre-Mahommedan Arabians, according to Pococke's *Specimens of Arabian History*, worshipped as Hobal, whose name means bare, stripped of leaves. He had seven arrows in his hand, the seven days of the week, and there were in his temple 360 statues, the 360 days of the year. The burning of incense to represent the clouds and mists, amid which he was born, was an essential part of the worship of the sun-god, on whose altar of incense no animal offering could be made

¹ Amos v. 26.

and no libation poured.¹ Incense was, as we have seen, derived from India. But the united yellow Turanians and northern red men, sons of the sun-horse, who had come from India to the Persian Gulf, found in the *Boswellia Cartérrii* of the Arabian country of Oman, a counterpart of the Salai tree (*Boswellia thurifera*) they left in India. This is called in the inscription on the vulture-pillar at Girsu, giving a list of Euphratean imports, Gishkal, the mighty (kal) tree. It was from the fact that the principal trade of these mixed Turano-Dravidians and red men, who had now become Arabs, was in frankincense and other odoriferous gums that the Egyptians called them Iibsti. This name, as De Glaser has proved, means collectors of gums, and it is that written Habasa in the Sabæan inscriptions. They were also called in the Sabæan tongue Atyāb, or incense-men, a name which became Æthiopian in Greek. They were also, like their Indian ancestors, called by the Egyptians Kasha, or sons of Kush, a name given, like that of Æthiopians, not only to the people of Southern Arabia, but also to those of Somaliland and Abyssinia, whence the Egyptian kings, who bore on their foreheads the Uraeus snake, the Nāga snake of the Indian Kushika, came. The epoch of their rule in Southern Arabia is called in the catalogue of the kings of Edom, the red land, in Genesis xxxvi., the reign of Husham of the land of the Temanites, the land of Southern Arabia, the Akkadian Te, the Assyrian Temennu, the foundation of life, meaning the Lord of Seed. Husham is called in the *Zendavesta* Hushrava, and in the *Bundahish* Kai Khus-rob, showing that the Hu in Husham and Hushrava is derived from an original Khu, the divine bird of the Akkadians and Egyptians. He was the king who propagated by arms the new faith in the supreme God of Light, for he is said in the *Bundahish* to have united the Aryans into one kingdom, and to have destroyed the idol temples on the Chaechasta lake, the modern Urumiah. This is in the land of Baku, the petroleum-yielding region to the south of the Caspian Sea, ruled, according to the inscriptions, by Gudea, King of Girsu. It is called in the *Zendavesta* Ragha, and is said to be the birthplace of Zarathustra. This northern invader, who preached the belief in the sun-horse, is called in the *Rigveda* Shushrava, the glory (shrava) of the Shus, or Hus. He is said to have conquered Kutsa, the son of Arjuneya the fair (arjuna) god of the yellow race, priest of the Varsha-giras, or praisers (giras, gir) of the rain-god Varsha, sons of the Nahusha, or Great Bear. This great king was the king of the people called in the Bible Hushim² and Shuham,³ the sons of Dan, whose rule, as I have shown above, extended from India to Greece. The subjects of this great confederated empire, comprising, like the later Persian Empire, the whole of South-Western Asia, were the Midianites of the Bible, the travelling merchants, selling incense and spices, who bought Joseph, the

¹ Exodus xxx. 9.² Genesis xlv. 43.³ Numbers xxvi. 42.

Akkadian Asipu, the divining prophet god, from his brethren after he had been stripped of his coat of many colours, the stars that ruled heaven before the sun-god.¹ They made him the interpreter and preacher of the worship of the sun-god in Egypt. They were the wealthy races, whose widespread territory was divided into semi-independent districts, each ruled, like the States of Greece and those of Palestine described by Joshua, by its sovereign city. Their chief priest was Jethro, meaning Riches, and it was his daughter Zipporah, meaning a little bird, whom Moses married, and she was, as we are told in Numbers xii. 1, a Kushite. These Kushite Midianites were the star-worshippers who looked on the starry heaven, called, as we have seen by the Buddhists, the heaven of wealth, as the dwelling-place of their parent gods. It was by these parent stars that they steered their course over sea and land; and they were the early astronomers, who wrote their history on the heavens in the names and attributes of the constellations, and in the historical myths which told the meanings meant to be conveyed by the names given and places assigned to these guardian stars. Midian is, in Gen. xxv. 1, the son of Abram's second wife, Keturah, whose name means incense, derived from a root meaning to enclose; and Medan, the Mede, father of the race of Zarathustra, was a brother of Midian. They were the people to whom the fixed stars, revolving regularly round the pole, were the guardians of law and order, while the moving stars, the planets, were rebels against the star-king, the Pole-star.

These Midianites were overcome by Gideon of the tribe of Manasseh, the eldest son of Joseph, called in the list of Syrian cities conquered by Thothmes III., Yoseph-el, or Joseph the god. Gideon means the cutter-down, and he is also called Jerubbael, or he with whom Baal contends. He cut down the Ashōra or wooden pillars denoting the parent tree-god, and also the parent village groves; and Baal, the name of his antagonist god, is spelt in Hebrew, Bahal, with an ain. This ain, in derived words, represents a northern guttural, and hence Baal is the Slavonic god, Bug or Bag, meaning the distributor, the Phrygian Zeis Bagaïos, the Indian Bagha, god of the tree of edible fruit, the fig-tree. The gods and kings of these Midianites who ruled, while Baal the fig-tree was supreme god, were Oreb the raven, the prophet bird of Odin and Elijah, and Zeba the plant. After Gideon had overthrown them and destroyed their tower, Penuel, the stone face (pen) of God, the gnomon-stone, he consecrated the Ephod, the sacred shirt of Zarathustra, the inspiring dress of the oracular priests of the circling sun-god.² This new worship of the Ephod is that which distinguishes the age of which the history is given in the Book of Samuel. His name means the Name (Shem) of God, and he is the

¹ Genesis xxxvii. 25-28.² Judges vi. vii. viii.

king Samlah of Masrekah, the vine-land, who succeeded Hadad, the successor of Husham, in the list of the kings of Edom. He is the Greek Semele, mother of Dionysus the vine-god, called in the Phœnician inscription found in a bay of Attica, Pen Samlah, the face (pen) of Samlah. He or she is also Semi, the daughter of Hadad Rimmon of Damascus, who was king before Samlah, and who is said in Gen. xxxvi. 35 to have, like Gideon, conquered Midian and Husham in the field of Moab; Hadad, meaning the sharp, the swift, was the son of Be-dad or Ben-dad, the son of the beloved (Dad), or Dodo, who, as we are told in the inscription on the Moabite-stone, was worshipped under that name both in Southern Palestine and Moab. His daughter Semi, she of the name (Shem), was sent by her father, the sun-god, to get water from the sea to drive away the evil spirits from the springs. Hence she was the goddess of the springs; the Hindu Kushite mother, Gandharvi, worshipped as Dharti, the wetting (dhara) goddess, by all aboriginal Hindu tribes of Northern India. She was the bi-sexual goddess Semiramis or Semiramot, meaning the Exalted Name, who was the supreme mother-goddess of South-Western Asia, whose temples were at Babylon, Heirapolis or Mabug, on the Euphrates, and in the Philistine city of Ashkelon. She was goddess of the summer solstice, whose five days' festival, the five days week of the earliest solar year was held, as Bérössus tells us, at Babylon, on the 16th of Loos, the 9th of July. It was then that she attained supreme power as the ruling goddess of the year, and imprisoned underground, on the second day of the feast, her husband Ninus or Nimrod, who had been the giant hunting star Orion called by the Akkadians Dumuzi, the Tammuz of the Hebrews. He who had led the stars round the pole in the astronomical mythology of the year of three seasons and who was, as we have seen, the father star of the Indian Brahmins, became the underground channel which conveyed the Soma or water of life to the holy wells of Semiramis, who was like the Hindu Su-bhadra or Durgā, the mountain goddess of the healing wells of the sun-god, the Hippo-krenai, the Greek fountains of the sun-horse (hippos). For her festival was always held on the hills of Semiramis, the High Places of the Jews, and in plain countries where there were no hills artificial mounds were made and called by her name. Orion, called Tammuz, Ta'uz or Thoas, was the father of the son of his daughter Semiramot, the Phœnician Adonis or Eshmun, and his mother was before his birth changed into a tree. In one story the tree was the pomegranate, the tree of Rimmon, the pomegranate which supplied the twigs making the Zend Baresma or rain wand, and in another the almond tree, the rod of Aaron, the Ark or priest of the Ephod, which budded when he became the chief of the Kohathites, meaning the prophet priests, and the Jews still carry almond branches when celebrating their spring festival. Semiramot or Nana, meaning the

grandmother, conceived her son when she placed the pomegranate or almond, the divine seed in her bosom. The divine name or mother-word concealed under the form of the bi-sexual mother of the name (Shem) was Jahav, meaning the god who gives life. This the Jews were forbidden to profane by pronouncing it, and the bi-sexual spirit-god is still invoked by them in the daily prayer of their liturgy. "In the name of the union of the holy and blessed Hu and his Shechinah, the hidden and concealed Hu, blessed be Jehovah for ever." In the service for the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles these two combined essences of the one god are invoked as the masculine Hu and the feminine Yah. Hu is the God of the Zends called Hu-kairyā, the creating (kairyā), Hu, and his counterpart is Anahita, the virgin mother of the springs of the mother mountain, the sources of the Zend parent river the Euphrates. The chief assistants of the king of the Hus called Khusrob, Hushrava or Vistāsp, the sun-horse (asp) in the propagation of the creed of the circling sun-god taught to Zarathustra by the prophet bird, were his brethren Frashaostra, the Hindu Prashastri or teaching priest, and Jamāspa the twin (Jama) sun-horse (aspa), the twins night and day. They belonged to the clan of the Huogva, the Sanscrit Shu-gva, the coming (gva) Shu; and the mother spirit of the confederated priesthood was Ilvog-vi, the wife of Zarathustra; while the wife of Hushrava or Vistāspa was Hutāosa Queen of the Naotaras or new (nao) stars, the planets Mercury and Venus which, as the morning stars, ushered in the day of the sun-god of the East, Purushaspa, the Eastern horse-father of Zarathustra. These new stars superseded the fixed stars which ruled the year in the Pole-star ritual, and it was Hushrava or Vistasp, the king of the new faith, who lighted for the world the Bahram fire, the perpetual fire in the sun-temples. This was like the Jewish God, who gives life, made of the two essences. The female or receptive essence, the Phœnician goddess, Baau, the Akkadian Bahu, the Bchu or deep of Genesis i. 2, and the active essence Ram, whose name appears in that of Semi-ram-ot. He was the Hindu sun-god Ram, the Assyrian Ram-ānu, the god (anu) Ram, the Syrian god Ramas, called by Hesychius "the highest" of their gods who became Rimmon, the god of the pomegranate, and who was Ab-ram, the father Ram of the Jews.

It was the introduction of the worship of this sun-god which produced the elaborate ritual of the Babylonians and Zends, in which every day was dedicated to one or more of the divine manifestations by which the unseen God who creates time and life revealed Himself to men. In the Zend ritual this service was supplemented by the invocations directed to be made in each of the five divisions of day and night. These were addressed to the ten gods who presided over the ten lunar months of gestation.

The worship of the name of God still survives in the sect of the

Tariki Kadril, the Dervishes found everywhere throughout the Mahommedan East, whose service consists in pronouncing the name of God. Their high priest is still like the sun-god, the Great Physician, supposed to work miracles of healing by treading on patients brought to be cured by the holy foot of the earthly vicegerent of the circling sun.

Samuel, the name of God, was the Jewish embodiment of faith in the God of light which marked this age, when men first began to call on the Name of the Lord. He belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, of the two ashes (eper), the united red and yellow race, and his father was El-kanah, meaning he whom God has possessed, the inspired prophet, and his mother Hannah Prayer. He was born in the reign of Eli, the god El, god of the Pole-star, the old man of the Kalevala, called in Phrygia Pappos, the grandfather, and of his sons, the childless Hophni, the fighter, the Greek Poludeukes, the much wetting god, represented as a boxer, and Phinehas, the mouth of brass, the Greek Kastor, the pillar (stor) of Ka, he who proclaims the Name of the Lord, the father of the future line of priests. His mother brought Samuel every year a linen ephod, and it was he who crowned Saul, called in the list of the Edomite kings Shaul of Rehoboth, by the river, the successor of Samlah. He, as Dr. Sayce has shown, was Shawul, the sun-god of Babylon, called in Genesis the god of the Rehoboth—that is, of the streets of Nineveh called Ir-Rehoboth, the city of the streets, in Genesis x. 11. He was the sun-god Benjamin, meaning the son of the right hand, the mighty sun-god rising in the east, and was anointed by Samuel at Ramah, sacred to the god Ram. He received at his investiture¹ the thigh of the sacrifice, the portion set apart for the priests, and dedicated to the seven stars of the Great Bear, called in Egyptian astronomy the thigh of Set, the god of the southern sun of winter. This sun-god was deposed at Gilgal, meaning the place of the “circle” where he had refused to slay Agag, meaning “the blazing fire” king of the Amalekites or artisans, the believers in the earthly fire-god, to whom they offered their children. Thus, this deposed sun-god was the god to whom animal and human sacrifices were offered, which, as we have seen from the Hindu ritual, were discontinued when the offerings made to the sun-god, the physician, were changed to running water, barley, the sap of plants, and milk, the Jewish shew-bread given to David.² He was the sun-king anointed by Samuel, his spiritual priest, the god Dodo, the sweet singer and player on the harp, the lyre placed by Hermes in the constellation of the Vulture-star Vega. He was the god who woke Saul the sun-god from his despondency, as Eshmun, or Adonis, was in his birth festival in Phœnicia and at Jerusalem, awoke from his sleep at the end of his year, as the sun-god to be revived again on the eighth day, the sun-

¹ Sam. ix. 24.

² 1 Sam. xxi. 6.

god of the new year, by the music played for seven days on the flute called Gingras, the Akkadian Gingiri the Creator, by his mourning priests. David, or Dodo, the eighth son of Ishai (Jesse), meaning "That which is," was descended through Obed (worshipped) from Ruth, the Moabitess, and Boaz, the moving one, the god sitting in the midst of the circling shadows. He was Boaz the second, or golden pillar, the gnomon-stone before the temples of Solomon and those of the Phœnicians.¹ While the first pillar, called Jachin, a Hiphil form of Chiun, the pillar was the green pillar of Usov, or Esau, the goat-god of the earlier race who reckoned time by the growth of the crops and the months of gestation.

David was thus like the Hindu sun-god of the year and the Phœnician Eshmun, the eighth son of the Creator. He was born in Bethlehem Ephratah, the town of Boaz, the sun-god of the barley harvest, and also, as St. Jerome, Ep. 49, tells us, the place where the Jews yearly celebrated the birth of Tammuz, or Eshmun, the eighth god, and it was the place where Rachel the ewe was buried, the wife of Jacob, the mother of Benjamin the sun-god, and of Joseph the prophet, who proclaimed him to be the ruler of time, the sanctifier of the divining cup which told the oracles of God. The name Ephrata shows that the new born sun-god was the son of Eper, the ashes, and Bethlehem, according to Dr. Sayce, means the House of Lehem, that is, of the Akkadian creating, twin gods Lakhmu and Lakhamu, the creating god, Lakh, meaning the pure one, and the name is probably one in which, according to Lenormant's rule for the transference of letters in Akkadian derived words, an *l* has been substituted for a proto-Medic *r*, so that the original name was Ragh, or Ragha, the name of Zarathustra's province, the home of the fire-god and of the consecrator of the ephod, the sacred shirt, and also of the original sun-god Rā or Ram, for the name is shown by the Hindu Raja and by Reg, the root of the Latin Rex, the king, to have in all probability been originally Ragha. The ideogram of Lakh is composed of two elements, meaning the abyss and the Lord, so that the sun-god Lakh or Ragha is the god of light, born in Genesis from the abyss Bahu, whence the Zend Bahram and the Semite Semiramoth were born. In the statue of Semiramoth at Ashkelon, described by Diodorus, she was shown as standing with one foot on her mother Derketo or Atergatis, the fish-goddess, and both these names are forms of the Hebrew Tirhatha, meaning a chasm or division, the primæval watery void in which the fish was the only living thing. This twin bi-sexual god Lakh was the child of Mummu Tiamut, the constellation Kratēr, the Cup, which in astronomical notation stands just above that of Hydra, the water-snake, called in the old Akkadian astronomy of the fixed stars "the constellation of the prince of the black antelope." This is the Indian Krishna, the

¹ Herod. ii. 44.

antelope rain-god, who sends the rains of the south-west monsoon on the lands sacred to the black antelope or gazelle-god of the barley-growing races of Mesopotamia and Northern India, the antelope sacred to the Akkadian god of the living and the dead, Mul-lil, lord of the dust-storm (lil). Bethlehem, the house or temple of the rain-god who brings the pure water of life from heaven, was the holy shrine of the descendants of Boaz, the golden pillar, the gnomon-stone of the barley-growing races, and David or Dodo, the youngest of his eight descended sons, who was to become the divine physician, was¹ the brother of Zeruah, meaning, like Tirhatha, the Cleft, and of Abigail, she whose father (ab) is exaltation. They are said to be the daughters of Nahash.² Nahash is the Arabic Nagash, the Hindu Nahusha, the name of the Great Bear, called in Hebrew 'Ash, spelt with an ain, representing an original guttural, and Nahash was the king of the Ammonites conquered by Saul and David. As the constellation of the Great Bear, the guardian of the circum-polar stars, he ruled time before the office was assigned to the sun-gods Saul and David.

But the Bible gives other names for David and his father besides those of Dodo, Ishai, and Nahash, for he is called in Gen. xxxvi. 38 Baal-hanan, the son of Achbor, who succeeded Saul as king; in 2 Sam. xxiii. 24 and 1 Chron. xi. 26, El-hanan, the son of Dodo of Bethlehem; and in 2 Sam. xxi. 19 and 1 Chron. xx. 5, El-hanan, the son of Jair, who is called, 2 Sam. xxi. 19, the Bethlehemite, who slew Goliath and his brother Lahmi, another form of Lakhmu, the name of the god to whom Bethlehem was dedicated. Goliath and his three brethren slain by David with the five stones out of the brook;³ the five days of the week of the year of flowing time, the mother goddess Rhea and Saranyu, were the sons of Rapha. Rapha in the Septuagint Version of Amos v. 26 is the star of Kiun, the pillar named among the false gods of Israel; and Von Kircher and Von Seyffarth, in their Arabian astronomy, say that Repha is the star Canopus, also called by the Arabs Suhel; and Freytag and Ramas say that Kaiwan is a name for the same star. Alberuni says that Canopus was called by the Arabs the star of the South Pole, the Hindu star Agastya, the controller of the tides, who led the Pleiades, the mother stars, and the rest of the starry host round the Pole. Baal-hanan, or El-hanan Baal, or El the merciful (hanan), the compassionate physician, was the son of Nahash, the constellation leading the North-pole stars, as Canopus does those of the South Pole; but he was also the son of Achbor, meaning the mouse. This field-mouse was, as we learn from Isaiah lxvi. 16, sacrificed and eaten by the worshippers of the materialistic gods of generation, as it is eaten now by the forest races of

¹ 1 Chron. ii. 16.

² 2 Sam. xvii. 26.

³ 1 Sam. xvii. 40-52; 1 Chron. xx. 48.

India. Another of his fathers was Jair, meaning Jehovah's Light; and in this name we find a link connecting David, who wore and consulted the ephod, with Gideon who first made it the Israelitish god of the oracle. For Jair¹ was the son of Manasseh, the tribe of Gideon, and the owner of thirty cities called Havvoth Jair, or the towns of Jair, in the country of Gilead, to the east of Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Gad, the bull god, the Akkadian Gud, the bull. It is thus shown that it was under the rule of the Gadites, governed by Jephthah, meaning set free by God, who succeeded Jair, that the tribe of Manasseh were the national prophet tribe; and, according to Judges xviii. 30, Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the prophet-priest of the sons of Dan, who afterwards became Jonathan the son of Saul, was the grandson of Manasseh. Jair, who succeeded Gideon's family as judge of Israel, had not only thirty cities but also thirty sons.² We can trace in Jewish history, how the Light of God, the sacred Bahram fire, or the national altar, came from the east of Jordan to Bethlehem with the worship of the sun-god, whose star heralds were not the fixed stars but the planets Mercury and Venus, the morning stars, of Hutaosa, Hushrava's queen. The first leader who brought these planet rulers of time to the east of Jordan was Joshua of the tribe of Ephraim, the two ashes (Eper), whose rule, according to Jacob's prophecy,³ succeeded that of Manasseh. Joshua's earliest name was Hoshea, the Yah or god of the Hus, the sons of Dan the judge, and he was the son of Nun, the Hebrew fish, the creating spirit god of the Akkadians and Egyptians, and who in Egyptian theology ruled the eight creating spirits. He was the god who first propagated life in the mother waters whence the land rose, according to ancient cosmogonies. He set forth from Nebo, the mountain of the planet Mercury called Nebo, where Moses, the Akkadian Mäsu, the star Regulus in the constellation Leo died. Hoshea, as the rising sun of the East, led the Jews westward across the Jordan, where they took Jericho, meaning the yellow moon city, guarded by Rahab, the Assyrian Iahābu, the alligator or crocodile, the stars of the constellation Draco, surrounding the Pole, conquered by Horus and Indra. The assault on Jericho was made from Gilgal, meaning the circle where Hoshea set up the circle of twelve stones, representing, not the twelve tribes of Israel, for there were thirteen tribes, but the twelve months of thirty days each, the sun circle of 360 days. It was here that he first united the red race who worshipped the sun, and the yellow race who worshipped the moon as the measurers of time. The sign of the union was the rite of circumcision, shown by the rule that children should be circumcised on the eighth day to be a rite of sun-worship; and all the Israelites were circumcised by Hoshea at Gilgal, with flint knives, before they attacked Jericho.⁴

¹ Numbers xxxii. 41.

² Judges x. 3-5.

³ Gen. xlviii. 19.

⁴ Josh. v. 2.

These flint knives show the very early age to which the history of the sun-god belongs. Gilgal, where Saul and Joshua sacrificed, was within the territory of the tribe of Benjamin, and the sacred national shrine was moved to Bethlehem on the borders of Judah and Benjamin, where the rule of the united nation was assigned to Judah. His royal sons were the offspring of Ram, the lion sun-god represented among the fixed stars by Leo the Akkadian Māsu or Moses. This constellation ruled the year of four seasons, beginning with the summer heat churned out by the revolutions of the Pole. In this year the first season was, as we have seen, ruled by Sirius, the dog-star, the star of Caleb the dog, the second ancestor of the tribe of Judah. The heat engendered by Leo heated the water of life in the adjoining constellation of Kratōr, Mummu Tiamut, and this heated water descended in the rains sent by Hydra, the star of the black antelope, whose messenger was Sirius, the dog-star. The dog-star king Caleb, the first judge of Israel, who ruled this year, was the king of Hebron, meaning the city of the confederates, and it was the first capital of David. These star rulers of the year, divided into four seasons, worshipped the sun-god of day and of the spring and summer, the sun-god Rā or Shaul, and it was to their subjects that incense was one of the most profitable articles of trade. The great central mart of the land trade across Asia was Haran or Kharran the road. There the sign of God was a triangular stone, crowned with a star. It was the home of Laban, the white (laban) god worshipped all over Assyria as the sun-god who measured the months of his year by the phases of the moon. This moon goddess was his daughter Leah, the wild cow, the Hittite Le, who was, like Abram and Jacob, buried at Hebron. She was the first wife of Jacob, the god of the gnomon-stone Bethel, the House of God, set up at Luz the almond-tree, before he married Rachel the ewe. Rachel was mother of the ram-sun of Greek mythology, the ram of the golden fleece, the stars of heaven, the ram sacred to the Hindu god Varuna, the rain (var or bar) god, and that sacrificed by Abram in place of his son Isaac. It was the lamb sacrificed by Samuel at Mizpah, the watch-tower whence the course of the sun was observed, and where he set up the Stone of Help, Ebenezer, the sun gnomon-stone,¹ when he conquered all the cities of the Philistines, meaning the wanderers.

The son of Haran was Lōt, concealment or a veil, a name derived from a root meaning incense. This was, as we have seen, brought to Haran from India and the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf. It was the father of incense who became the Greek Lēda, mother of the twin parent stars of the Argive race, sons of Argo, the constellation in which Canopus is the chief star. It was these Dorian Argives who brought to Greece and Italy, and also to Carthage, the

¹ 1 Sam. vii. 5-15.

Indian Dravidian customs of common meals, which were first like the feast of Samuel when Saul was consecrated, the sacrificial feasts on the tribal totems. These became to the corn-growing races the food eaten by the village brotherhood, the stored produce of the common village lands. They also brought with them the Dravidian rule of the two kings, one of whom stays at home and administers the law and home affairs, while the other, the Senapati, or commander of the army, guards the frontier and fights outside enemies. This double kingship is reproduced in the partnership of Saul and Abner, the father of Ner, the Babylonian cycle of 600 years, and that of David and Joab, meaning he whose father is Jehovah, the son of Zeruiah, the cleft, or chasm. It was preserved in Greece in the two kings of Sparta.

But to return to Lōt. He was the father of Ammon, meaning the supporter, the god of the revolving pole supporting the house of heaven, who became in Greece Kastor, the pole (star) of Ka, the Indian creating god, and also of Moab, the water (mo) father, the Greek Poludeukes, the wetter, who were gods of the rains of Sirius at the summer solstice. It was from Moab that Ruth, meaning beauty, the ancestress of David, came; and it was in Moab that his father and mother dwelt when he and the priests who wore the linen ephod, the sacred shirt of the believers in the pure doctrines of Zarathustra, were persecuted by Saul;¹ and it was Ammon, on the eastern border of Gilead, which was ruled by Nahash, the stars of the Great Bear, and one of the reputed fathers of David, the sun-god, the god Dod of Moab. Nebo, the mountain whence the conquering army of Hoshea set forth on its journey through Gilgal to Hebron and Bethlehem, was in Moab.

The temple of the sun-god was finally set up in Jerusalem, the city of peace, where there is the octagonal dome of the rock. This is reproduced in the eight-sided stone, with the candle, or eye, in the centre, standing in the middle of the hall of the Bektashi Dervishes, where the only ornament is the name of Allah over the Sheikh's throne. These Dervishes say no prayers at their services, which are meetings for the discussion of philosophic, literary, and scientific subjects. They are the successors of the Tariki Kadril Dervishes spoken of above, who believe in the miraculous power of the name of god and the healing touch of the high priest. Their god was the sun-god of the year of twelve months of thirty days each, the thirty cities and sons of Jair, and the thirty warriors of El-hanan, or David. The last of these in the Bible lists is Uriah, the Hittite, whose name means the Light of God. He was the last day of the last month of the year, and it was at its end that David married his childless widow, she of the seven (sheba) measures (bath), the week of seven days. This week had hitherto only been recog-

¹ 2 Samuel xxii. 3-5, 18.

nised in the year of ten lunar months of gestation, but, in the progress of astronomical knowledge, it became that used in the solar year. The belief that the sun went round the pole in his annular course led astronomers to watch the track of the moon's and sun's path through the stars, and to calculate the year of the sun-fish, the Hindu Sal-manu and also Pradyumna, the exceeding bright one, son of Krishna and Rukmini, the moon-goddess, the Akkadian Sallimanu, the Hebrew Solomon, the all-wise king. This year was, as I have shown in my book,¹ the year of 364 days, of thirteen lunar months of twenty-eight days, the thirteen tribes of Israel united by the sons of Ephraim of the two ashes. This year was measured during the first three months by the track of the moon through the thirty stars of her circle, and during the last ten by the track of the sun through the ten stars precursors of our Zodiac, called in Babylonian astronomy the ten kings of Babylon. The priests of the sun-god of these two years of twelve and thirteen months were Zadok, meaning the righteous, the Hebrew form of Sadyk, the Phœnician father of Eshmun, and Abiathar, the father (ab) of the path, the priest who calculated the paths both of the sun and moon, and both were grandsons of Phinehas, the son of Eli, the grandfather god of the North-pole.

The reigns of these sun-gods David and Solomon, who measured the year, were the great epoch of Semite Phœnician rule which extended from India to the Straits of Gades (Cadiz), the Phœnician city said to be founded by Geryon, the Greek form of Charion, Phœnician name of Orion. He was conquered by Herakles, the Phœnician sun-god called Ar-chal the conquering sun and also Melkarth, Lord of cities, whose bones were preserved in Gades, where, according to the Phœnician story, he met his death as the sun dying to the west. This was the kingdom ascribed to Solomon in the ancient historical stories of the *Arabian Nights*, the kingdom of the red men ruled by the northern races who married within their own families like the peaceful traders of the *Arabian Nights*, who in those tales usually marry the daughters of their father's brothers. These people, who were so anxious to preserve their families from inter-mixture with foreign races, were the successors and heirs of the Turanian yellow races, who first founded guilds of united brethren following the same trade or profession. These under the impulse of the northern system of endogamism made it a rule that members of these guilds should marry within the guild, and thus the spirit of research and concentrated energy employed in furthering the prosperity of the guild, and the increase of the knowledge possessed by its brethren was preserved in their families, in which all the members claimed descent from one father. One of these was that of the Asklepiadæ in Greece, descended from Æsculapius, the divine

¹ *The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay iv. pp. 379ff.

physician, to which Hippocrates and Aristotle belonged, and they were the fathers of Greek medicine and physical science as recorded in written books. But these lessons and those of their numerous predecessors were a continuance of the oral teachings of the early maritime traders, the yellow exogamous Turanians, who, like the Akkadians, spoke a language allied to that of the Ugro Finns. They were the first settlers in Turos, who came from India as the Turvasu, and this name they carried with them in their voyages to the north, where they became the Tursena of Lydia, the maritime race called Tursha by the Egyptians, the Tursena or Tyrrhenians of Lemnos and Etruria, whose language is closely allied to that of the Akkadians and Ugro Finns. It was they who worshipped as their supreme God in Asia Minor and Cyprus, the god Tur, called Pator Tur, father Tur in the inscription in Cypriote characters, found by Dr. Schliemann in an earthen whorl in the second city from the bottom of the six cities, found one above the other on the site of Troy. The city where the whorl was found was one in which the pottery is of a very archaic type and where, though some of the implements were of bronze, the greater number of the saws, axes, and knives found there were of stone. It was these people who took to Etruria the witchcraft and worship of trees and nature gods, which still survives in the popular mythology of the Etrurian peasants. Their mother goddess is Turanna, the goddess of the nut-tree. The nuts of this nut-tree of Turanna had, as Leland tells us in his *Etruscan-Roman Remains*, the same virtue as the almonds which made Nana or Semi, daughter of Rimmon, mother of the sun-god. For Turanna's favourite prince, the sun-god disguised, like David, as a peasant, brought to the king father of the sun-maiden he loved a basket of nuts. When the princess ate these, her son, the future sun-god, was conceived.

J. F. HEWITT.

A JUDICIAL SCANDAL—ARE JUDGES ABOVE THE LAW ?

PART II.

It is a time-honoured principle of the Common Law that where there is a right there is also a remedy for any infringement of such right.

“If the plaintiff,” declared Lord Holt in 1703, “has a right, he must of necessity have a means to vindicate and maintain it, and a remedy if he is injured in the exercise or enjoyment of it; and, indeed, it is a vain thing to imagine a right without a remedy, for want of right and want of remedy are reciprocal.”¹

But to this maxim of the law *ubi jus ibi remedium* there are numerous exceptions, most of them expressed to be based upon grounds of public policy. Not the least important is the exception that no action lies against a judge for acts done in his judicial capacity, and within his jurisdiction. A review of the decisions by which this doctrine of judicial immunity has been reached will show how this exception to the Common Law has grown and developed at the hands of the judges. Moreover, since those decisions are merely judge-made law, as Bentham calls it, and since they do in fact derogate from the Common Law, and, indeed from the Statute Law, they must be most closely examined, for the Statute of Westminster 2, 13 Edw. I. c. 24, which was only in affirmance of the Common Law on this subject, enacted that

“whensoever from thenceforth a writ shall be found in the Chancery and in a like case falling under the same right and requiring like remedy, no precedent of a writ can be produced, the clerks in Chancery shall agree in forming a new one; and if they cannot agree, it shall be adjourned till the next Parliament, when a writ shall be framed by consent of the learned in the law, lest it happen for the future that the Court of our lord the King be deficient in doing justice to the suitors.”

In the above remarks no disrespect is intended to judge-made law. On the contrary, I yield to none in the highest admiration of and respect for those splendid expositions of the law contained in the judgments of our leading judges. I merely desire to point out that judge-made law, when in derogation of the Common Law, unless based upon Statute Law, must be narrowly scrutinised, and the reasons for its departure therefrom must be unimpeachable and unanswerable.

¹ *Ashby v. White*: Lord Raymond, 953.

Two distinct reasons are assigned. The first is based upon the constitutional principle that "the King can do no wrong." The judges sit as representatives of the Sovereign, and therefore, so runs the argument, the judges can do no wrong. But there is also another constitutional principle that, although the Sovereign is absolutely privileged, the official through whom he acts is responsible, and may be impeached and suffer the extreme penalty of the law. It is said, however, that a judge is a judicial officer, and since he acts as a direct representative of the Sovereign, he is not in the same position as a Ministerial officer. The answer to this is, that a judge may equally be impeached. Moreover, Blackstone, in the same passage in which he declares that a judge is a direct representative of the Sovereign also points out that the Sovereign is the prosecutor in criminal offences, the writ running in the King's name. Clearly both these theories cannot stand. No one can be both judge and prosecutor in his own cause. The first theory is probably a survival from the distant past, when the King himself sat on the throne of justice as an arbitrator between two rival claimants, as depicted in the Homeric shield, or possibly it was refurbished to support a current practice. At any rate, to-day it is nothing but pure fiction, since the law is no longer King-made law. It is the law of the Constitution, and the Constitution is composed of three co-ordinate authorities—the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons, the real power residing in the latter. Hence, to-day the judges sit, not as representatives of an autocratic monarch, but as representatives of the majesty of the law of the land. And, without any disloyalty, I submit that the majesty of the law is something higher than the majesty of a personal Sovereign.

After all, this is mere theorising, and this theory has only once or twice, and that only in the earlier cases, been put forward from the Bench. But the second reason—viz., that judicial immunity is for the public benefit—has been consistently advanced by the judges. It is in the interests of the public, they declare, that the judges should be absolutely independent; that they should not be worried and harassed by vexatious and frivolous suits, or by the dread of them; hence the rule that "no action lies against a judge of a Court of Record acting in his judicial capacity and within his jurisdiction." With this broad proposition no one will quarrel. All recognise the expediency of the rule up to a certain point. But, without definition, the rule may mean anything. The real questions are: When is a judge acting as a judge and, What is the meaning of jurisdiction? To answer these questions, it will be necessary first to examine the decided cases, which I propose to take in their chronological order, that the growth and development (if any) of the doctrine may appear.

The old action upon the case *qui tam pro Rege quam pro seipso*
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was the process by which the party aggrieved recovered for himself and the King penalties recoverable under some statute for breach of the same. This action was also available at Common Law to any individual who had suffered injuries, mingled with high contempt to the King. In 1353 Sir Thomas Molyneux sued *tam pro Rege pro seipso* Hugh de Berewick, a justice of assize, for refusing to allow him the benefit of the King's pardon and declaring that the King's writ did not bind him, and for imprisoning him and threatening to hang him unless he submitted to Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and bound himself in statute merchant to the said Duke in £320.¹ This case is cited first in all the early Abridgements, and is referred to by Hawkins in his *Pleas of the Crown*, as supporting the law that a *qui tam* action lies under such circumstances against a judge of the superior courts.²

It was decided by Twifden, J., that :

"If a thing be enacted by Parliament to be done, the not doing whereof is a damage to one or two only, then no indictment lies for the non-feasance ; and upon this reason it is that the only remedy in case a Justice of the Peace refuses to take the oath of the party robbed, is for him to have an action on the case against him."³

In Viner's Abridgement it is laid down that : "Justices of Record (itinerants and others) may be indicted of taking of money and such other falsity, but not of that which goes in falsifying a Record."⁴

In *Scarage v. Tutcham* (1601) a Justice of the Peace was held liable to an action for false imprisonment because he had not complied with certain statutory requirements.⁵

The distinction assumed throughout the earlier cases between judicial and extra-judicial acts is well brought out in *Floyd v. Barker* ⁶ (1607) decided in the Star Chamber. It is there stated that :

"although the offender upon the indictment be acquitted, yet the judge, be he Judge of Assize, or a Justice of the Peace, or any other judge, being judge by commission, and of record and sworn to do justice, cannot be charged for conspiracy, for that which he did openly in court as judge or justice of the peace, and the law will not admit any proof against this vehement and violent presumption of law that a justice sworn to do justice will do injustice, but if he hath conspired before out of court this is extra-judicial . . . but subornation of witnesses [and false and malicious prosecutions, out of court . . . amounts to unlawful conspiracy."

It was also decided that what

"a Judge doth as a Judge of Record ought not to be drawn in question in that court,"

as laid down by Catby and Dyer, Chief Justices. And the reason given was that

¹ *Molyneux v. Berewick*. D'Anver's Abridgement, vol i. 8.

² Hawkins's *Pleas of the Crown*.

³ *Green v. Hundred of Bucclechurch*, Sid. 209.

⁴ Vol. xv. p. 13.

⁵ Cro. El. 829.

⁶ 12 Co. 24.

"the King is *de jure* to deliver justice to all his subjects, and since he cannot himself do this, he delegates his power to his judges who have the custody and guard of the King's oath,"

and so a judge can only be tried before the King himself. The explanation of this is obvious. The practice of impeachment had been allowed to lapse for some two centuries owing to the strength of the Crown and the preference of the Tudor Sovereigns for the more convenient methods of bills of attainder, and of pains and penalties. The doctrine of impeachment was yet to be fought, and one of its first victims was Lord Chancellor Bacon. In commenting upon this case, Hawkins put the matter clearly when he says :

"So it has freed the judges of all courts of record, from all prosecutions whatsoever, except in Parliament for anything done by them openly in such courts as judges . . . yet if a judge will so far forget the dignity and honour of his post as to turn solicitor in a cause which he is to judge, and privately and extra-judicially tamper with witnesses or labour juries he hath no reason to complain if he is dealt with according to the same capacity to which he so basely degrades himself."¹

This can only mean that when a judge acts judicially and causes wrong, he is liable to impeachment only, but if he acts extra-judicially the person wronged has his remedy at common law.

The *Marshalsea's Case*² (1612) decided that

"when the Court has not jurisdiction of the cause, the whole proceeding is *coram non jndice*, and an action will lie against them (*i.e.*, the judges) without any regard of the precept or process."

In *Bushel's Case*³ and in *Hammond v. Howell*⁴ (1670) it was held that no action lay. Here the Recorder of London, Sir John Howell, fined and imprisoned the jury, of whom Bushel and Hammond were numbered, for not finding Penn and Mead guilty of a riot, according to his directions. Judgment was given in the Common Pleas that the fine was illegal, and therefore Hammond brought his action for false imprisonment, but he took nothing by it, because the Recorder was held to have jurisdiction over the question. In giving judgment in *Bushel's Case*, Sir Matthew Hale said :

"In the case of an erroneous judgment shall the party have an action for false imprisonment against the judge?"

Up to this time it is evident that it was considered not to be illegal to fine a jury. It was also decided in *Hammond v. Howell*⁴

"that no action will lie against a judge for a wrongful commitment any more than for an erroneous judgment."

¹ Hawkins's *Pleas of the Crown*, vol. ii. c. 72, sec. 5.

² 10 Co. 77.

³ 1 Mod. 119.

⁴ 1 Mod. 184; 2 Mod. 218.

Gwynne v. Poole¹ (1692) decided that

"an action will in no case lie against a judge where he keeps himself within the limits of his jurisdiction,"

and a distinction is drawn between jurisdiction personal—*e.g.*, in Court of Marshalsea, where both parties must be of the Household and jurisdiction local—*e.g.*, the commission of a Justice of the Peace.

*Rex v. Skinner*² (1772) is sometimes cited in connection with the question of judicial immunity. Here one Skinner, a borough Justice of Poole, had slandered a jury before him and an indictment followed.

The case only has value for the following dictum of Lord Mansfield :

"Neither party, witness, counsel, jury, or judge, can be put to answer civilly or criminally for words spoken in office."

But he added :

"If the words spoken are opprobrious or irrelevant to the case, the Court will take notice of them as a contempt and examine on information. If anything of a *mala mens* is found in such inquiry it will be suitably punished."

These dicta are very vague, and Lord Mansfield could scarcely be ignorant that it had been decided so long ago as *Brooke v. Montague*³ (1605), that slanderous words spoken by counsel irrelevant to the matter in question were actionable.

De Grey, C.J., stated the views held at his time very clearly in *Miller v. Scare*⁴ (1777), in which Sir William Blackstone entirely concurred :

"It is certain," he said, "that no man ought to suffer *criminally* for an error in judgment ; but it is equally just that he should make reparation *civilly* for the damage which other persons have suffered by such, his error. But it is said that no action will lie against persons acting in a judicial capacity. Let us see how far this *general* proposition is warranted by law. (1) It is argued that the judges in the king's superior courts of justice are not liable to answer personally for their errors in judgment. And this is not so much for the sake of the judges as of the suitors themselves. (2) The like in courts of general jurisdiction, as gaol-delivery, &c. (3) In courts of special and limited jurisdiction having power to hear and determine a distinction must be made while acting within the line of their authority, they are protected as to errors in judgment, otherwise they are not protected. In all cases where protection is given to the judge giving an erroneous judgment, he must be acting *as judge*. The protection in regard to the superior courts is absolute and universal, with respect to the inferior, it is only while they act within their jurisdiction."

This last paragraph is severely criticised by Senator Clinton in *Yates v. Lansing*, and rejected as a mere *obiter dictum* for which there is no authority.

¹ 2 Lutw. 387.

³ Cro. Jac. 90.

² Loft, 55.

⁴ 2 W. Blackstone, 1144.

*Sutton v. Johnstone*¹ (1786), was an action for trespass and false imprisonment by Captain Sutton, R.N., against his Commander-in-Chief. This cause was twice tried before the Chief Baron at the Guildhall by special juries, on the first occasion the jury found for the plaintiff with £5000 damages; and on the second with £6000.

Upon motion in arrest of judgment in the Court of Exchequer the rule was refused. Eyre, Baron, in delivering the unanimous opinion of the Court, said:

"It may not be fit, in point of discipline, that a subordinate officer should dispute the commands of his superior if he were ordered to go to the masthead; but if the superior were to order him thither, knowing that, from some bodily infirmity, it was impossible he should execute the order, and that he must infallibly break his neck in the attempt, and were it so to happen, the discipline of the navy would not protect that superior from being guilty of the crime of murder. And one may observe in general, in respect to what is done under powers incident to situations, that there is a wide difference between indulging to situation a latitude touching the *extent of power* and touching the *abuse* of it. Cases may be put of situations so critical that the power ought to be unbounded, but it is impossible to state a case where it is necessary that it should be abused; and it is the felicity of those who live under a free constitution of government that it is equally impossible to state a case where it can be abused with impunity."

These words should be compared with the recent utterances of Lord Esher in the Court of Appeal.

This judgment was, however, reversed on error in the Exchequer Chamber by the Lord Chancellor, chiefly upon the ground that the prosecution was legal, and that the defendant Johnstone had reasonable and probable cause for the action he took. The judgment was unanimously affirmed in the House of Lords. This case went off on the facts, for Lord Mansfield and Lord Loughborough, in the Exchequer Chamber, admitted that the principle involved was doubtful, and one fit to be settled by the highest authority. But here this principle did not apply, because they said, "supposing the action to lie, we think judgment ought to be given to the defendant."

In *Beaurain v. Sir W. Scott*² (1813) it was decided that

"an action on the case is maintainable against a judge of the Ecclesiastical Court who excommunicates a party for refusing to obey an order which the Court had no authority to make."

Lord Craigie, in giving judgment for the defendant, Lord President of Court of Session, said, in *Miller v. Hope*³ (1824):

"There are some findings in it with which I cannot agree. 1st. That

¹ 1 T. R. 493.

² 3 Camp. 388.

³ 2 Shaw, Sc. App. Cas. 125. Lord Glenlee said, in giving his judgment, "where the only thing complained of is that a judge has performed a judicial act in an improper manner, then I think it would not do to allow an action. But if you came to a judge going *ultra vires*, though it may still bear the character of a judicial act, I think he would be responsible."

there can be no action against a judge in this Court for censure passed on a counsel. I conceive that finding to be a great deal too broad. There is no privilege competent to the members of this Court more than any other Court. There is and must be a difficulty as to who are to review their conduct, and in some cases it may be impracticable; but I do not see that there is any distinction between superior and inferior judges; and I think judges and lawyers may be sued for damages for malversations creating an injury to a practitioner before the Court. If a judge, for example, in this Court were to say that he could pay no attention to what a counsel said for a prisoner, because he was guilty of the same offence, I think, in such a case which may be supposed, the judge would be liable to an action."

*Garnett v. Ferrand*¹ (1827) was an action for trespass against a coroner for removing the plaintiff from the room in which an inquest was about to be held. Lord Tenterden, in delivering the judgment of the Court that no action lay, since the removal was a judicial act, observed that

"it was a general rule of very great antiquity that no action will lie against a judge of record for any matter done by him in the exercise of his judicial functions. . . . Corruption," he added, "is quite another matter; so also are neglect of duty and misconduct in it. For these, I trust, there is and always will be some due course of punishment by public prosecution."

In the Irish case of *Taafe v. Downes*² (1813), Mayne, J., said :

"It has been argued as if the question was whether a judge, without any offence committed, or charge made upon oath of crime, or suspicion of crime committed, had power to imprison a subject *ex nullo motu*. There is no such question here. The warrant is legal on the face of it."

Fox, J., after citing the passage in *Floyd v. Barker* quoted above—viz., "as if a judge conspired out of Court," &c., said :

"These are not judicial acts; they are not within the protection of the principle, and the person who commits them, even though he be a judge, is left open to an action; these are extra-judicial acts—making the distinction between judicial and extra-judicial acts—not as in argument here has been contended that judicial acts are such only as are done in Court, if they are necessary to the administration of justice. Here the arrest was not legal, but the act was judicial."

Fletcher, J., dissented, holding the arrest illegal and not judicial.

At the Privy Council, in *Calder v. Halkett*³ (1839), it was held that no action lay for a judicial act committed without jurisdiction, where the jurisdiction depended on a question of fact, unless the judge had means of knowing the defect of jurisdiction.

Baron Parke, in delivering judgment, speaking of the protection afforded to provincial magistrates in India by 21 Geo. III. c. 70, sec. 24, which places them on the same footing as those of English Courts of similar jurisdiction, said :

¹ 1 B. and C. 625.

² 3 Moo. P. C. 36.

³ 3 Moo. P. C. 28.

"There seems no reason why they should be more or less protected than English judges of general or limited jurisdiction under the like circumstances. To give them an exemption from liability when acting *bonâ fide* in cases in which they had, though mistakenly, acted without jurisdiction, would be to place them on a better footing than English judges or magistrates and to leave the injured individual wholly without civil remedy; for English judges, when they act wholly without jurisdiction, whether they may suppose they had it or not, have no privilege."

And he added :

"A judge is not liable in trespass for want of jurisdiction, unless he knew, or ought to have known, of the defect; and it lies on the plaintiff in every such case to prove the fact."

In *Cave v. Mountain*¹ (1840) it was decided that a justice was not liable for issuing a warrant when there was no evidence in the information of a crime having been committed, because if there had been such evidence he would have had jurisdiction; and in *Metcalf v. Hodson*² (1632), the defendant was held not liable for taking insufficient bail in a cause in a local Court, because in that Court it was a judicial act by him.

In *Kendillon v. Maltby*³ (1842) the defendant, a police magistrate, had stated, after a charge preferred by the plaintiff, a police constable, before him, that he could not believe the plaintiff on his oath. Lord Denman, in giving judgment for the defendant, uttered these remarkable words :

"I have no doubt in my mind that a magistrate, be he the highest judge in the land, is answerable in damages for slanderous language, either not relevant to the cause before him, or uttered after the cause is at an end; but, for words uttered in the course of his duty, no magistrate is answerable, either civilly or criminally, unless express malice and the absence of reasonable or probable cause be established. In the present case, I am of opinion that there is no proof of malice: there has been nothing to show that the decision of the defendant was influenced by any improper feeling."

*Houlden v. Smith*⁴ (1850) was an action for trespass and false imprisonment against a County Court judge, and the plaintiff succeeded, because it was proved that the judge had acted outside his jurisdiction, and must have known that he was so acting.

In the Scotch case, *Hamilton v. Anderson*⁵ (1858), heard on appeal before the House of Lords, Lord Cranworth said :

"This is an action by a practitioner in what I must call the Superior Courts against a judge, not for something done extra-judicially, but because, according to the opinion of that practitioner, the judge had made an order which he thinks was not a correct one."

In *Tozer v. Child*⁶ (1857), where a churchwarden, acting in his judicial capacity as presiding officer at an election of vestrymen and auditors, refused to allow the plaintiff to vote, the action was held not maintainable unless malice was alleged and proved.

¹ 1 M. & G. 257.

² Hutton, 120.

³ Car. and Mar. 409.

⁴ 19 L. J. Q. B. 170.

⁵ 3 Macq. 378.

⁶ 7 E. and B. 377.

In *ex parte Fernandez* ¹ (1861) it was held that the Judge of Assize, who committed a witness, Fernandez, to prison and fined him £500 for refusing to answer questions, had jurisdiction. Bovill, then Q.C., in his address reminded the judges of a possibility of bias on their part in these words :

"The Court will not fail to remember that in upholding the legality of the course pursued by the learned judge upon this occasion, they will be in effect asserting their own personal dignity and authority, and therefore it behoves them to strenuously guard their minds from that bias which it is almost impossible under such circumstances altogether to avoid."

The Court, however, warmly resented this advice.

Erle, C.J., correctly stated the law in *Kemp v. Neville* ² (1861), a Cambridge Spinning House case, when he said :

"The rule that a judicial officer cannot be sued for an adjudication according to the best of his judgment upon a matter within his jurisdiction, and also the rule that a matter of fact so adjudicated by him cannot be put in issue in an action against him have been uniformly maintained."

In this case there was no suggestion of malice or improper motive.

In *Thomas v. Churton* ³ (1862) Cockburn, C.J., asked

"if a judge of a court of record does this kind of mischief under the guise of duty, is he not actionable?"

And he observed later in the case :

"I am reluctant to decide, and will not do so until the question comes before me, that if a judge abuses his judicial office by using slanderous words maliciously and without reasonable and probable cause, he is not liable to an action."

Crompton, J., did not extend the law in *Fray v. Lord Blackburn* ⁴ (1863), when he said

"it is a principle of our law that no action will lie against a judge of one of the superior courts for a judicial act, though it be alleged to have been done maliciously and corruptly,"

for it is clear that if the act be really judicial the only remedy is by way of impeachment.

Scott v. Stansfield ⁵ (1868) was an action for slander against a County Court judge. The words were alleged to have been spoken maliciously, without probable cause, corruptly and irrelevantly to the matter in issue. It was held that under the circumstances of the case no action lay, and the opinion was expressed by the Court that "under no circumstances is an action maintainable against a judge for words spoken in his judicial capacity in his court, and in a cause before him in his court."

This case was the turning-point. Here was introduced the thin end of the wedge of the modern doctrine of judicial immunity. It is quite clear law up to this period that a judge even of a superior

¹ 10 C. B. (N.S.) 3.

² 10 C. B. (N.S.) 823.

³ 2 B. & S. 475.

⁴ 3 B. & S. 876.

⁵ 37 L. J. Ex. 156.

court was liable to an action for slanderous words spoken irrelevantly to the matter in issue.

In *Dawkins v. Lord Paulet*¹ (1869) it was held by Mellor and Lush, J.J., that no action lay against a military officer for an act done in the ordinary course of his duty as such officer, even if done maliciously and without reasonable and probable cause. Cockburn, C.J., however, dissented from this view, and, relying upon *Sutton v. Johnstone*, held that an action would lie if the despatches, though made under the circumstances alleged, were made of actual malice and without reasonable and probable cause.

It is submitted that Lord Cockburn's view was the sounder law.

In *Dawkins v. Lord Rokby* (1873) it was the unanimous opinion of the Court (Exchequer Chamber) that

"the authorities are clear, uniform, and conclusive that no action of libel or slander lies, whether against judges or witnesses or parties for words written or spoken in the ordinary course of any proceeding before any court or tribunal recognised by law."

*Willis v. MacLachlan*² (1876) was an action for assault and imprisonment of the plaintiff, a witness, by a revising barrister, who ordered him (under 28 Vict. c. 36, s. 16, which conferred upon him a special jurisdiction) to be removed, as a punishment for an offence committed a year previously, on a similar occasion. In giving judgment for the plaintiff, in the Appellate Divisional Court, Bramwell, B., said :

"Suppose the Court was held at an inn, and about the time it was over the revising barrister ordered a guest to be turned out of the room. It cannot be doubted that an action would lie if the Court was over."

And Grove, J., observed :

"It was the exercise of a jurisdiction which the defendant did not possess, and not an erroneous mode of action or an excessive exercise of a jurisdiction which he did possess."

In *Seaman v. Netherclift*³ (1876), the words spoken by a witness in a box were held to be relevant, and so not actionable. But Cockburn, C.J., remarked :

"Though the witness were actually in the box, he would not be entitled to take advantage of his position to say something which had no reference to the cause, or abuse his opportunity in order to assail with slander some one whom he saw coming into Court; nor even to take advantage of a question asked him to injure some one, who had nothing to do with the case, by an irrelevant assertion or accusation. In such a case it would be absurd to hold the witness privileged."

Bramwell, B., made similar remarks. In the Court below, Coleridge, C.J., said :

"It has never been decided that counsel may not be liable even for words spoken in the course of the case if irrelevant and spoken *malâ fide*,

¹ L. R. 5 Q. B. 94.

² L. J. Ex. 689.

³ 46 L. J. C. P 128.

and with express malice, all which qualities in the words must be questions of fact and for the jury."

It would be extremely difficult to show that the alleged slanderous words in *Munster v. Lamb*¹ (1883) were irrelevant to the matter in issue, and there is little doubt the decision was correct. But the judgment of Brett, M.R. (now Lord Esher), will be read with astonishment. The learned judge seems to have gone out of his way to deliberately extend the law. Up to now it was clear that a statement made by counsel irrelevant to the matter in issue, maliciously, and without reasonable and probable cause, was actionable. (*Scarlett v. Hodgson*.²)

Placing judges, counsel, and witnesses in the same class of privileged persons, his lordship maintained that in such cases the question of malice, of *bona fides*, of relevancy, could not be raised, and

"that the only question that could be raised was whether what was said was said in the course of the administration of the law."

His lordship quoted, in support of his argument, the first part of Lord Mansfield's dictum in *R. v. Skinner*, but omitted to mention the latter and qualifying passage, apparently following the example of Kent, C.J., in the leading American case, *Yates v. Lansing* (1811).

The decision of the Privy Council in *Pelicier Frères v. Haggard*³ (1891), relied on by Lord Esher in *Anderson v. Gorrie*, did not really affect the law. It had been held by the Supreme Court of Mauritius that the rejection of a plaint, without hearing evidence or argument in support, was an assumption of a power to decide a case without hearing it, which the defendant did not possess. Here there was no question of dishonesty or improper motive. Lord Watson, in giving judgment, said :

"The insufficiency or even the utter inadequacy of the defendant's reasons for dismissing the suit, cannot affect his jurisdiction to dismiss. He was competent to entertain the question whether the suit ought to be dismissed as vexatious, and equally competent to decide that question one way or another."

Of the numerous cases referred to, it will be observed that the majority are only analogous to the subject of our inquiry. But I have thought it wiser to quote the material passages here, since these authorities are cited by one side or the other whenever the matter comes up for argument.

What, then, is the total result? In the first place, it is clear that, under the old law, a *qui tam* action lay against judges of both the superior and inferior Courts, wherever the Crown had an interest. The question in *Skinner's* case was whether an indictment would lie at the suit of the Crown. Lord Mansfield said that there appeared

¹ 52 L. J. Q. B. 689. ² 1 B. and Ald. 241. ³ L. R. (1892) A. C. 61.

to be no precedent for this process, and gave counsel till next term to find one. What his Lordship intended to convey was, that an information against the justice would lie, and this is the form in which *qui tam* actions were brought, and not by original writ.

It is also clear that an action lies against a judge of inferior courts who acts outside his jurisdiction, and knows, or ought to have known, that he is so acting. And here the jurisdiction is local, as in the case of County Court Judges, Justices of the Peace, Indian and colonial magistrates, and, in the old days, the Council of the Royal College of Physicians. In the case of the judges of the Marshalsea the jurisdiction was personal, and in the case of a revising barrister or a returning officer the jurisdiction was limited to powers conferred by certain statutes. But in all cases there is a jurisdiction in another sense, which applies to all judges alike, whether superior or inferior. It is this, that whether their jurisdiction is limited or unlimited in respect of space or person, it is subject to the law of the land.

This point is well put by Senator Clinton in *Yates v. Lansing*,¹ when speaking of the judges of the superior courts he says :

"Their jurisdiction is unlimited as to space, but not as to quantity of judicial powers."

Clearly there is some limit to the judicial powers of a judge of even the superior courts. And if he exceeds these powers, then he is acting extra-judicially, and then he ceases to act as a judge. Can a man, asks Senator Clinton, be said to act as a judge when he has no jurisdiction? Will the mere forms or symbols of office, the mere occupation of a judicial bench constitute a judge? There can be but one answer to these questions; and, indeed, there is direct authority upon this point. Hawkins says :

"The judgment by virtue whereof any person is put to death must be given by one who has jurisdiction in the cause; for otherwise both *judge* and officer may be guilty of felony ;"

And he goes on to give an example—

"and therefore if a Court of Common Pleas gives judgment on an appeal of death, or justices of the peace on an indictment for treason, and award execution, both the judges who give and the officers who execute the sentence are guilty of felony; because these courts having no more jurisdiction over those crimes than private persons, their proceedings thereon are merely void, and without any foundation."²

The distinction, then, between the jurisdiction of inferior and superior courts is merely this, that with respect to the former, the judge must protect himself by expressly showing that he acts within his jurisdiction; but, as to the latter, that shall be presumed in their favour, unless the contrary be shown.

And what is meant by the words "having jurisdiction of a cause"?

¹ 9 John, 395.

² Hawkins, *Pleas of the Crown*, B. 1. c. 28, ss. 4, 5, 6.

Jurisdiction is the power to try or *jus dicere super causam*. It means the power to try a particular cause. Having jurisdiction over the subject-matter does not, therefore, give the judge jurisdiction of the cause. The subject-matter is the crime in the abstract. The cause is the individual. *Yates v. Lansing* is an illustration of this. The Chancellor of the State of New York, no doubt, had a general power to commit for contempt. He exercised this power, and Spencer, J., discharged the prisoner on a *habeas corpus*. The Chancellor re-committed him, and the Court of Errors¹ (the supreme Court of Appeal) held the original imprisonment unjustifiable. Thus the discharge was good and the re-imprisonment bad, since the matter was *res judicata*, and the Chancellor accordingly had no jurisdiction over this particular cause to re-commit. In this case Senator Clinton reviewed the English and American law up to that date (1811) in an eloquent and logical judgment.

A judge, he says, is liable to impeachment for corrupt conduct in office, but

"impeachment is not only difficult to institute and hard to establish, but when effected, what good does it do to the injured party? Does the removal of an unjust judge remunerate him for imprisonment, for multiplied vexations, and accumulated expenses? The protection furnished to a court is commensurate with its jurisdiction; for, where jurisdiction ends, the judge ceases to be a judge, and is not entitled to the immunities and rights of one."

And he concludes with this powerful peroration :

"We are at length told, with judicial solemnity, that a judge of the Supreme Court, or the Chancellor acting as such, are beyond the reach of prosecution or indictment, whether they act with or without jurisdiction, and be their conduct ever so illegal or oppressive. To these doctrines I can never subscribe. And I consider the decision of this day as extending beyond the remuneration or punishment of individuals; that it will, in all its bearings and aspects, decide whether ministers of justice may oppress with impunity! whether the Habeas Corpus Act shall any longer dispense its blessings, and whether the law shall bend to the judge, or the judge bend to the majesty of the law."

The old doctrine then was this, that, provided a judge acted as a judge, *i.e.*, within his jurisdiction, he was not liable to an action at the suit of a private individual, and if he acted outside his jurisdiction, *i.e.*, extra-judicially, he was liable to a civil action, but for an error in judgment he was not liable either civilly or criminally. If however a judge in his office committed oppression or extortion, he was guilty of a misdemeanour and was liable to an indictment at the suit of the Crown, or to an impeachment on address from both Houses of Parliament.²

The modern doctrine is that the jurisdiction of a judge is absolute and universal, and that no action lies at the suit of a private

¹ *The People v. Yates*, 6 John.

² Stephen's *Digest of the Criminal Law*, Part III.

individual or indictment at the suit of the Crown whether the judge acts within his jurisdiction or outside it, and that the only remedy is by impeachment. This doctrine is barely thirty years old, and it is not only opposed to common sense and the plain meaning of words, but to the distinction between judicial and extra-judicial acts laid down by leading judges such as Eyre, Craigie, Parke, Denman, Cockburn, Bramwell and Stephens.

In all the earlier cases judgment was given for the defendant expressly upon the grounds that he had acted within his jurisdiction. In some of these cases it is pretty clear that as a matter-of-fact this was not so as in the leading case of *Floyd v. Barker*, but this was a decision in the Star Chamber, a court subsequently abolished for exceeding its jurisdiction.

In the later cases judgment is given for the defendant upon the grounds that a judge is not liable for judicial acts, and judicial acts are made to cover everything a judge says or does in court or chambers.

Lord Coleridge was quite correct when he said there was no precedent for an action against judges of the superior courts for conspiracy to oppress, but he was equally incorrect when he went on to say that the *dicta* of the judges were opposed to any such action. On the contrary I have quoted several *dicta* which distinctly affirm that an action does lie.

It is also clear from the judgment in *Taufe v. Downes* that the issue by Gorrie, C.J., of a rule calling upon Dr. Anderson to show cause why he should not be attached for contempt for petitioning the Queen was extra-judicial and illegal, since it was *ex mero motu*, and this view was favoured by Cave, Charles and Collins, J.J., and Lord Coleridge himself, though the latter seems to have lost sight of the point at the trial.¹

The exaction of excessive bail by Cook, J. was contrary to the Bill of Rights, but the defendants Gorrie and Cook actually pleaded in their defence that "The Bill of Rights did not apply to the Islands of Trinidad or Tobago," and the defendant Lumb pleaded that Magna Charta and the statutes amending the same have no application in Trinidad.

Such propositions carry their own refutation, and Lord Coleridge told Dr. Anderson he need pay no attention to them. It would appear then that the exaction of excessive bail was extra-judicial, (indeed Lord Coleridge said he could not understand an English judge doing such a thing), and the imprisonment in default was consequently also extra-judicial. Lord Coleridge, however, gave judgment for the defendant on the ground that these acts were judicial, drawing

¹ "That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal." Bill of Rights, 1 Will. and Mar. c. 2, s. 5. For excessive bail, see seq. 10.

no distinction between judicial and extra-judicial, and assuming that everything done by a judge on the bench, however illegal, was judicial. And their Lordships in the Court of Appeal followed a similar course. They simply assumed the acts complained of to be judicial, and then held that no action would lie. The real question was, Were they judicial or extra-judicial? Lord Esher only cited five cases, viz., *Miller v. Hope*, which I submit is entirely against his Lordship's contention; *Haggard v. Pelicier Frères*, where the defendant was held to have acted within his jurisdiction; *Fray v. Blackburn*, where there was a similar decision; and *Thomas v. Charlton*, which contained a valuable dictum of Lord Cockburn that if a judge abused his judicial office he would be liable to an action. Lord Esher was convinced Lord Cockburn would not have held this view if he had considered the previous authorities and had been called upon to decide the question. As a matter of fact seven years later Lord Cockburn in *Dawkins v. Paulet* maintained the same opinion and relied upon the *previous* authorities, which Lord Esher apparently entirely neglected to consult, and *Scott v. Stansfield* was cited without comment. In his judgment Lord Justice Smith stated that the plaintiff's contention that defendants had acted outside their jurisdiction was not well founded. "It is," he said, "contrary to the allegations of the statement of claim, and has been negatived by the jury, by their finding that the defendant overstrained his judicial powers."¹

First, para. 23 in the statement of claim, reads thus: "All the acts of the defendants were malicious, were wholly without jurisdiction, and were done with knowledge of the absence of jurisdiction." Secondly, if there is any meaning in ordinary language, "overstraining judicial powers" means "extra-judicial acts." Thirdly, the verdict of the jury was a general verdict in favour of Dr. Anderson upon all the issues.

But as in *Munster v. Lamb*, Lord Esher, not content with affirming what was established law, went on to extend the modern doctrine that whatever a judge does in court, or on the bench, is a judicial act, even to the extent of killing a counsel practising before him. This surely is a monstrous doctrine, and opposed equally to common sense and justice as to the well-established legal distinction between judicial and extra-judicial acts. It is extremely unfortunate that this important case should be embarrassed by the question of Lord Esher's interest. Upon the authorities it would appear that Lord Esher had such an interest in the decision of *Anderson v. Gorrie* as to prevent him from sitting. I do not for a moment suggest that the fact of a similar action pending against his Lordship influenced Lord Esher's decision. And, indeed, in *Munster v. Lamb* he expressed the same views. But the fact remains that three months

¹ L. R. (1895), 1 Q. B. 672.

after the hearing, Lord Esher's counsel in his case relied on *Anderson v. Gorrie*, and Lindley, L.J., in delivering judgment, cited this case only. As a matter of strict law,¹ and, with all respect, I submit that Lord Esher's interest was such as to have precluded him from sitting, and the Court would only have erred on the side of generosity and scrupulosity if it had consented to constitute a Court without Lord Esher to hear the appeal.

I quite concur that no judge would be able to stand up against the expense and vexation that would result from liability for judicial acts; and it would be no less unjust than impolitic to expose him to amenability for errors to which all men alike are subject. This is the true principle and the real reason why judges, acting as judges, that is acting within the sphere of their delegated authority, are protected.

The modern doctrine maintains that to secure the independence of the judges they must be privileged, whether they act within or without their jurisdiction. Upon this point I will again quote Lord Cockburn:

"I cannot believe that judges or juries would fail to discharge their duty fearlessly according to their oaths and consciences, or witnesses give evidence less truthfully from any fear of exposing themselves to actions at law. I am persuaded that the number of actions would be infinitely small, and would be easily disposed of; while, on the other hand, I can easily conceive cases in which judicial opportunity might be so perverted and abused for the purpose of injustice, as that on sound principle, the authors of such wrongs ought to be responsible to the parties wronged."

At present, however, it is apparently the law that judicial immunity is to ride over the rights of the people, the constitution of the State and the law of the land. It remains then for the House of Lords or, failing their Lordships, Parliament, to decide whether the modern doctrine of the Divine Right of Judges is to be substituted for the obsolete doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, and whether the law is to bend to the judge or the judge bend to the majesty of the law.

HUGH H. L. BELLOT.

¹ *R. v. Justices of Great Yarmouth*, L. R. 8 Q. B. D. 525.

[N.B.—Further information upon this case can be obtained from the Secretary of the Civil Rights Defence Committee, 5, Mitre Court, The Temple, London, E.C.—Ed. W.R.]

THE SOUND AND THE SKAGER RACK.

THE picturesque valley encompassed by bare rocks in which Gothenburg lies seems at first sight more romantic than the rich pastures on the eastern coast of Jutland. But the life and movement of the harbour bear witness to her prosaic importance as the queen of Swedish commerce. Right across runs a taciturn canal, which washes the principal street and dies in the western gulf. The houses seem taller and the shop-windows more elegantly arranged than those of Amsterdam or Leyden. The demand for neckties and walking-sticks is manifestly large.

A journey of some hours by rail leads to the Falls of Trollhattan. The well-known poem of Robert Southey about the waters that come down at Lodore would perhaps be more truthful if it had been written on this spot. Only the Falls of Schaffhausen can be compared to them for grandeur among the same sort of natural wonders in Europe. The trumpet-like sound of the waters fades into gentler music in the distance.

A long and tedious route leads to the Norwegian capital, which appears too unmistakably *simplex munditiis* to lovers of luxury and pride. But her situation and environment are charming. From the Oscarshal (where the King resorts in summer), or, higher still, from Holmenkollen, among evergreen pine-trees, a superb view over the city and fiord may be obtained. Not far from the King's summer-house is the antique wooden church of Gol, whose "dim religious light" may serve to console the wayfarer for the saddening triumph of autumn.

The chief street of Christiania is the broad Karl Johans Gade, which leads up from the eastern station to the palace. Here on opposite sides are two buildings of importance, where young men flock to study and older men meet to legislate. The proximity of politics and learning recalls the conception of Stein, who hoped that the presence of a great university in Berlin would have a good effect on the Government. The chief Prussian and Norwegian temples of the thoughtful goddess were founded within a few years of each

other. Both have displayed a readiness to welcome new ideas and furthered the cause of freedom in countless fields of thought.

The life and movement of the city are practically confined to this street and the harbour. There the dramatist Ibsen is in the habit of walking every day, and his countrymen are said to regulate their watches by his appearance. It was my fortune to lunch in a restaurant at a table not far from where he sat, but his face did not specially attract me. Those who feel more sympathy with his works and relish his portraits of exceptions would be fascinated by his grim and crabbed features, unrelieved by any frank or genial smile. For of such are the world's reformers.

Enclosed in a shed on the grassy ground behind the university buildings are two Viking ships, which date from the Middle Ages. No relics of the past are more essentially poetic than those which mark the earliest triumphs of man in his awful struggle with things. According to all accounts the lot of Norwegian fishermen and peasants is still peculiarly hard. For Nature is a cruel stepmother, and life becomes almost tragic for them by excess of work. Do they seem as happy as the thoughtless Andalusian peasants who bask and slumber in the sunshine? Is that labour, whether of hand or head, to which we children of the north are born a blessing or a curse?

The passage from Christiania down the fiord is delightful in summer weather, as the well-wooded mountains gradually recede. But the waters of the Skager Rack are apt to be less innocent at times. Now that the new canal across Holstein has been opened it is no longer the only entrance from the North Sea to the calmer and less briny Baltic. It may be safely prophesied that steamships crossing in the future will look to Kiel for the requisite supply of coal.

There is, indeed, no small contrast between the harbours of Christiania and Kiel, the one teeming with harbingers of peace and comfort, the other proud of dire engines of destruction. When I was last in Kiel the sky was ablaze with fireworks, bouquets of bright flowers were on sale in the streets, an ironclad was flying her "Pour la merite" flag, songs of praise were ascending to the King of Kings, all on account of the great triumph of German arms which sent ten thousand Frenchmen to their long home more than twenty years ago. When I was last in Christiania a sense of quiet seemed to reign around, as though all desired to make the best of the soft northern sunshine and lingering glory of summer before cold and distress set in. Sailors were chatting peacefully at the landing-stage as forgetful of all their labours as Odysseus, asleep once more on the shore of Ithaca.

It sometimes surprises citizens of the United States to find our
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old Europe so dreadfully stupid and quarrelsome. The prodigious cost and splendour of modern armaments are enough to drive sober people to despair. "Oh! Fortunatos," *nimium sua si bona norint* are they who cultivate their own gardens and leave greater nations to their follies. That the Norwegians may never be led astray by an idle desire for grandeur should be the constant prayer of all their pious friends.

MAURICE TODHUNTER.

ROBERT BURNS :

A CENTENARY RHYME.

A HUNDRED years have passed away
Since that warm heart became cold clay ;
But his brave songs still move and sway
 All generous hearts,
And pierce men's inmost souls to-day
 Like lightning darts.

Ah ! not with words of deafening sound
Should singers gather near the mound
Where calm he sleeps beneath the ground ;
 Far better tears !—
He has been wept, the whole world round,
 This hundred years !

The daisy well might weep for him,
The eyes of gentle beasts grow dim,
And human grief flow o'er the brim,
 Like swelling tide ;
Death stabbed Earth's heart with purpose grim
 The day he died !

O Mother Earth ! you, too, should weep,
For him who sleeps his last long sleep
Upon your breast, for true and deep
 Was his heart's love
For you, and all who their souls keep
 Mere pelf above.

But more ! Humanity should raise
For him a pæan of deathless praise,
Who vindicated in his lays
 The Rights of Man,
Denouncing the oppressor's ways,
 The tyrant's ban.

Lordlings and peasants were the same
 To him, whose clear eyes saw no shame
 In lowly birth, who found no blame
 For Frailty's slips,
 Who gladly kissed Love's quenchless flame
 With glowing lips.

He sang of Liberty and Life
 And Love, and in him passion's strife
 Was waged for mistress and for wife;
 And every lass
 He pledged, where earthly loves are rife,
 In flowing glass.

And so he lived—a man of men,
 A human incarnation—when
 Shall the world see his like again?
 Ah! never more!
 He was of those whom, spite of stain,
 Men still adore.

Like the old gods of Greece and Rome,
 He rules us, makes himself at home
 Within our souls, as Jove would come
 To claim a bride,
 As Venus rises from the foam
 In naked pride.

And, therefore, Byron's thunder-song
 Appeals to us with force less strong;
 And Shelley cannot hold so long
 Our hearts in thrall;
 They sway a few—he sways the throng—
 He speaks for all.

Nature to Wordsworth was a soul—
 To Burns she was Life's source—the goal
 Of man's desires: he gave the whole
 Of life to her—
 She was his happiness, his dole—
 His spirit's spur.

And so the hapless one's who stray
 From virtue, who are led away
 By passion's wiles, will pause and pray,
 Whene'er they hear
 The words which he alone could say,
 And drop a tear.

And many a woman crushed and torn
By human cruelty and scorn,
By early vice and shame outworn,
 From him gains hope,
And through him men for murder born
 Escape the rope.

O Soul of Man ! for such, indeed,
You were, great singer ! in our need
We lean on you—you are no reed,
 But Nature's chief ;
From you, even when our pierced hearts bleed,
 We find relief.

You who forgave must be forgiven,
Unless, indeed there be no Heaven,
Unless in vain we all have striven
 To reach the light,—
Unless for life there be no leaven,
 But endless night.

But surely this can never be !
Heaven must be theirs who make men free ;
And so, after a century,
 A free world turns
To bless that shrine of Liberty—
 The grave of Burns !

D. F. HANNIGAN.

THE SPIRIT OF THE NORTHLAND.

ALL those who, for a space, have dwelt within the realms of the white Arctic world can scarcely fail to have been profoundly impressed both with the folk-lore and the folk-life of a race whose traditions range back through an unnumbered space of years to that imperishable past, wherein humanity, virile and adolescent, stood face to face with the vast elemental forces of an unconquered Nature-world.

We of the nineteenth century are often reproached with being the "degenerate" offspring of an age corrupt and cankered. Modern literature has been upbraided with its fibreless impotence, its neurotic and erotic emotionalism, its sickly hued and fantastic symbolism. Moral obliquity, insanity, exaggerated sex-sentiment mark, we are told, and also sorely mar, the waning years of a century which has attempted too much, and which has achieved too little! The Parnassians and Pre-Raphaëlites, the Diabolists and the Decadents, present, so writes a famous modern censor, "a lamentable spectacle of the doings of men groping their way through 'the reddened light of the dusk of the nations.'"

Without venturing on any analysis as to the justice or the injustice of these charges, I would merely point out that, despite the follies and frailties, the vices and the vagaries of a "tired age," signs are not wanting in the life and literature about us of a certain sane and wholesome striving towards more virile ideals. And may not this "regeneration" be widely attributable to that old Berserk spirit which has so woven itself into the very woof of our national character and our national literature? Has not the mingled passion and piety, the ruggedness and the idealism of the old Norse Sagas often before found re-incarnation in our own old Anglian legends? In studying the Scandinavian Saga of Grettir, side by side with our own old chronicle of Beowulf,¹ are we not forcibly impressed with their similarity of conception and ideal? In each we note the same fierce hunger of adventure, the same half-dreamy and half-sombre vein of introspection, and, above all, the same closely and carefully mirrored presentation of the surrounding Nature-world. Through the rough, yet rhythmic, phrases of each of these old warrior bards

¹ The date of this legend is uncertain. But various experts hold the MS. (at present extant) to have been written about the eighth century, and possibly re-cast from some Jutish original.

do we not seem to hear the wild surge of the sea, the shrill blast of the storm, and, beyond all this, a certain under-current of sadness and isolation? Hrothgar, the king over whom Beowulf, half-hero and half-deity, throws his protection, is continually "seethed in the sorrow of the time," and the heroes of the Saxon epic and the Viking Saga alike, seem for ever haunted with well-nigh resistless desire to seek "war-flame" and booty far o'er the "wasty sweep" of Ran's blue billows.

In the confined and cultured regions of our modern England lingers but few traces of those days when, we are told, the Anglian islanders "dwelt in a dangerous and dark land—wolf-haunted, full of rough fen-ways, and of lake-depths, which none of the sons of men could fathom." Yet, although throughout this "Anglian land" man has been powerful to conquer Nature, in the Arctic world it seems even now as though Nature still bids a proud defiance unto man.

Those who doubt this I would bid wend their way to that far Northland, where their eyes may rest upon a Nature-world full of a wondrous fairness, half-hidden, half-revealed. A world whose gleaming suns and frozen snows seem as meet symbols of the profoundest mysteries of life and death. A winter-world, cold, calm, yet beautiful, through whose vast solitudes the voice of wind and wave echo the stories of strange things, unseen by mortal eyes; a summer world fragrantly fragrant, and fraught with a thousand forest-idyls and flower-poems. Legends all beautified with myth and metaphor, and wherein the poet's gracious touch has illumined even the simplest woodland blossoms with the pure harmony of an unstudied, yet most perfect art.

Hushed now, alas! are all the voices of the Viking bards. Yet I believe that nothing will ever erase the impression wrought upon the wanderer by his first glimpse of the beautiful wild North! Speaking for myself, a like scene is engraven upon my mind for all time.

The vessel upon which we were sailing had passed out of the open sea, and was slowly winding her way through a long, lovely group of rocky, emerald-green isles. The early light of the just rising sun filled all the scene with the soft lustre of an ethereal, almost unearthly, radiance. Long veils of vapour, colourless and calm, floated softly across the pale rose-shadowed sky. The slender shafts of darkling pines and feathery rock-aspens quivered their soft sprays in the breeze, whilst dreamily across the silence rang the music of the herd-bells and the soft, slow rippling of the wood-fed mountain streams. The presence of man—a presence which we are prone to consider inevitably marked by the existence of smoke-darkened chimney and unlovely masonry—was nowhere visible. The Ice-Spirit and the Snow-Queen might still hold their mystic

fairy-courts within these sea and rock-girt isles ; but the smoke-demon and the stucco-fiend had not yet made their entrance. There were no dwellings, save a few wide scattered fisher-huts ; and these, with their soft moss-grown roofs and lichen-thatches, seemed all in harmony with the wild, and yet grandly simple, scene.

Now, as we wound our smooth way through the isles, the redly dawning day brought us in time to Stavanger, one of Norway's most ancient coast-towns. And here along the shores were clustered a few groups of peasant-folk. Blue-eyed, golden-curled children of the North, with the frank, fair faces, and the sturdy forms, which mark the brave old Berserk blood that has been little intermixed with any weaklier Southern strain.

At Stavanger we landed, strolled musingly through the uneven-paved streets and, lingered before the little wooden booths filled with carved ivories and with soft, rare Arctic furs, until the time came for our vessel to quit the little primitive seaboard hamlet, and we embarked once more upon our way to Bergen.

Bergen, viewed from the cosmopolitan standpoint, would not, perhaps, command a great deal of regard. But yet all round it seems to linger much of that tranquil, old-world grace which still casts a halo over many an ancient cathedral city. It is restful, shadowy, silent. Athwart the shadows of its linden trees the sunlight falls in chequered patches on the smooth paved streets. Within the broad old market-place the fisher-folk cluster in amicable groups around their shining creels of freshly caught fish ; whilst the comely, white-capped house-mothers, sitting amidst the fragrant shadows of their leafy fruit-stalls, ply their homely trades of sweet garden-grown herbs, or of dewy wild strawberries fresh gathered from amidst the green glades of their native pine-woods.

To worthily portray a scene like this—a scene made lovely with a haze of sunlight glancing from off the deep, dark waters of the Northern Sea, over the floating flaxen curls of fisher-children, and over the silver moulded crosses of the fair Madonna-faced Norse maidens—to worthily portray all this would need, in truth, the dreamy, shadowy outlines and the pale, pure colouring of some mediæval missal-painter. One who should deeply love the tranquil beauty of that sea-born city, whose foamless waters are made lovely with an ever-changing line of white-sailed vessels, and above whose shining harbour-bar rise the proud domes of a stately building. A building made wondrous with the myriad trophies of an imperishable past,¹ and wandering through whose winding labyrinths within the bright length of a summer's day the child of the nineteenth century may live once more through the slow life-growth of the ages ; may see the wondrous "rune-graved" history-page unfold itself before his eyes,

¹ The antiquities in the Bergen Museum seem verily to contain the entire Viking history "writ small."

and feel the mighty heart-pulse of the world throb back again into the dusky twilight of the shadowy Stone Age. Those days when man-primæval fashioned his dwelling in the riven hearts of rock-hewn caverns, slaked his thirst in the foam of mountain torrents, and stayed his hunger with the flesh of reindeer slain with flint-pointed arrows, and baked midst the smouldering embers of rude peat-turf fires! And thus along the progress of the ages we yet may trace the dauntless record of the mighty Viking race. On through the great Bronze period, when the barbaric fancy of the wild Norse-born tribes had first become enamoured of the gleam of glittering metals, and their mighty jarls, glittering "war-dukes," had gone forth to battle armed with bronze-handled poignards and with metal-engraven shields. Haughty, turbulent, fierce-living days, when offences could be washed out alone with blood. When vengeance, swift and unsparing, was deified as the first of virtues. When through the roystering feast-nights men drank deep to Odin and to Thor from out their foaming wine-filled tankards, and with the first red dawn strode forth to pillage or to plunder, to slay or to be slain! Remorseless towards their foes, yet, in defeat, themselves disdaining pity; so merciless, in truth, that it scarce seems strange that the creeds of pity and the codes of pardon taught by the world's Redeemer should have taken root but slowly midst this iron-willed people, whose traditions had taught them to regard an inherited blood-feud as a sacred and solemn bond. And that long years, oft stained by fierce relapses into carnage, had to run from the day when a warrior-king, with an imperiousness which savoured rather of Valhalla than of heaven, first bade his lieges choose betwixt "Thor's Hammer and Christ's Cross," and the epoch when it could with any truth be said

"All the old gods are dead,
All the wild warlocks fled,
But the white Christ lives and reigns."

When, on quitting Bergen, one goes further north and further inland, the country grows more lonely. The lichen-grown roads and pathways wind in and out arched aisles of forest pine and of quivering aspen. Here and there through the dim, dusky shadows of the silent woodlands one may catch the glimmer of some distant hill-lake, whose blue, shining waters are all fringed with flowering reed-blooms, or crowned with the crests of pale dream-lilies. Whilst now and then across the stillness ripples the herd-bell music of some far-off mountain Saeter, or the clear flute-notes of some wood-born lark. As one journeys on through the deep forest glades and heathery uplands of this wild Norse-land, one comes across but few of the dwellings of men, although here and there, half hidden amidst towering pines, may nestle the log-built homestead of some forester

or goatherd, or along the steep banks of some green woodland lake may be scattered the simply fashioned wooden huts and houses of a few poor fisher-folk.

The Norwegian forest-peasant is mostly poor—terribly poor. He lives almost entirely upon the goat's milk of his flocks and upon the hard rye-bread of his hill-side plot. Now and then some salted fiord-fish, or some wild fruits of the woods, may help to eke out his scanty store; or it may be that some prosperous neighbour may grant him a few measures of white meal, or a stoup of red wine, in payment of the thread-flax spun at the busy housewife's distaff, or in return for the carved ivory toys and wooden trinkets which he himself fashions through the chill length of the dark wintertide.

And these trinkets, although of but slight money-value, are nevertheless often wrought with a rare delicacy of touch and with a minute grace of finish which shows that no ordinary skill or patience must have gone to their creation. They are sometimes fashioned into miniature spindles or carioles, whilst here and there one may come across some ancient betrothal casket, whose panels are all encrusted with carved bridal crowns, or with delicate tendrils of the "Love lies bleeding." The peasants who carve these things are, for the most part, wholly self-taught. They have no means to purchase any, saving the very crudest, implements for their work, and it is well-nigh pitiful to think how long and laborious must be the hours expended at their toil, ere the rude slab of ivory can be transformed into a dainty form of graceful workmanship, or before the rough, forest-grown pine-panel can be moulded into any semblance of artistic outline.

Yet, although life at times goes hardly with him, and though he is often confronted with the sharp pangs of poverty and want, yet the Norseman endures it mostly with the steadfast fortitude of his race, and with a manly dignity which knows no self-pity, and which seeks no alms. A free-born son of mountain and of moor, his fearless, frank blue eyes can look the whole world straightly in the face. He knows no shame of the honest herdsman's toil which brings the hard-won bread to feed his homestead. He is courteous, candid; kindly; blithely rejoicing in those gala-tides which mark to him the passing anniversaries of his saints' days or his village festivals, and ever ready to tell you all that you seek to know of the primitive homelife of his pine-clothed valleys.

And as you hearken to the poetic utterance of that slow, dream-filled Northern speech, which seems to have caught the echo of the nature-music of the fiords and streams—as you listen to these tones, all the jarring tumult and discordant jangle of the restless life of cities seems to fade from your memory like some mad, sick, delirium dream, fever-begotten midst the unrest of a pain-tossed night. And in its stead rises the vision of a life such as dead poets wrote and

sang. A life like that which the "earth-children" lived whilst the world yet was young—a life not free from toil, but all unvexed with the hot fret and strife of gold and gain; a life made lovely with the width of purple moorland and the stretch of pathless ocean, with the mighty hush of mountains, and the song of yellow cornlands. And as you hearken to the unwritten saga of the simple Norse-life of these days, which seems to have changed so little since the times of the old seers and skalds, your heart is stirred within you, and you seem yourself to live through all the pastoral idyl of that Northern life, to watch the waxing and the waning of the seasons, to feel the glorious inrush of the spring-tide—that time when, in the phrase of the old Norse legend, "Baldur the Beautiful, the sun-god," has wooed the white Snow Maiden from the chill silence of her virginal dreams and has wakened her to the new sweet pulsing life of youth. You seem to watch the ripening splendour of the brief, bright summer-tide, with its maze of leaf and blossoms, its song of birds and rippling waters; to stand upon the yellow uplands, which look like some waveless summer sea, and watch the sturdy, straight-limbed reapers flash their bright sickles through the whispering corn, whilst at their side the harvest maidens twine their golden sheaves together, and all around them little groups of hamlet children gather the clusters of the fallen field flowers to weave into the sole crowns which mayhap do not press wearily on human brows, and which are brilliant with the scarlet sheen of poppies, with the starry gold of cistus, and with the azure of cornflowers. And as the seasons pass, you watch the reddening foliage take a deeper tint and deeper, till it dies in ruddy splendour midst the red gold hue of autumn, an autumn-tide which in its turn passes, as with lingering, half regretful loveliness, into the desolate stillness of the chill white Arctic world. Dark days of nature-sadness, when the wild north wind lashes the foaming Arctic billows into surf waves on the shore; when the sturdy, stalwart stone-pines bend like frail reeds beneath the pitiless blasts, and the throngs of meek-eyed women kneel at the altars of their village churches, praying the untaught prayers of love and faith for their beloved, gone, like their Viking sires of old, to seek the brave seafarer's fate abreast the wild waves of the Northern seas.

And this same chill, unbroken night of nature seems to knit all human hearts in closer bond together, and it may be that you find yourself sitting likewise before the ruddy embers of the peat-turf fire, joining in all the kindly greetings of good-will and amity, or giving ear to the wondrous sagas told by the old hamlet fathers. Weird tales of fjord and forest, dark with the strange deeds of those eerie elves and eldritch who are said to beguile men with their Will o' the Wisp lights into perilous morasses, or into the borders of those fathomless far-shadowed lakes which are said to be ice-cold

through the hottest midsummer's noontide, and where the fair-eyed soulless Undines chant the magic music taught them by the evil-begotten trolls. Where the red dwarfs seek, so runs the Icelandic Edda, in the sunless earth cabins to find that gold which brings a curse to all who hold it, and the ghoulish death-vampires drink the ruddy blood of babes, chant their foul malisons, and hold their unholy orgies midst the black shadows of the moonless nights. Then, all at once, breaking in upon the 'eerie spell which has begun to fall on all, it may be you hear the silvery haired old pastor give utterance to some fair record of saintly tradition; some tale of pure St. Francis, round whose footsteps, it was said, the timid song-birds clustered unafraid; or of that saintly woman in whose keeping cruellest minded malice could find no baser thing than the white-and-red roses of the trees of Paradise!

And thus the early winter months roll by, until that festive-tide draws nigh when every hearth is gaily decked with fresh pine-branches, when the little children cluster with shining eyes about the glittering Yule-tree, and, standing beneath the bright sheen of its gold and silver stars, you hear them chant the sweet carols of the white-winged Noël angels; and you note—it may be with dimmed eyes—how, through all the blithe rejoicings of that festive-tide, not one—even amidst the poorest households—neglects to fix the little oat-sheaf above the panels of his house-door, so that the little gentle Christ-birds be not forgotten on the Christ-child's day!

Occasionally the traveller, wending his way through the fir-forests, may light upon some wealthier hamlet lying in a more fertile district; a hamlet whose red-roofed wooden homesteads each have their own trimly thatched stacks of peat and brushwood, and where the white house-doves flutter all day in the eaves or about the russet apples and the ruddy cherries of the grass-grown orchards. In such hamlets as these may also often be seen some of those ancient churches, which are still filled with the quaint mediæval relics which once marked the dawning days of early northern Christendom, and where the delicate-hued and richly embroidered altar-cloths contrast most strangely with the rough baptismal fonts and the crude oil-paintings which adorn the walls. Figures carved out on coloured wooden shrines also abound, both allegoric and symbolic in their substance. Here brave St. George—seemingly patron saint of Norway as of Britain—wrestles with the fire-spitting dragon, and thrusts his bright cross-hilted sword right through the monster's scale-bound heart. Here good King Olaf checks his fiery war-steed to give alms to a poor crippled mendicant, whilst, all around him, saints and fiends innumerable depict the first crusade of the white cross of Christendom against the fiercely flaming swords of heathendom! And amidst all these symbols of the early Catholic faith, few things seem stranger than the ancient "*skampallen*," those dreaded

stoole of penitence, whereon the impious traitor, the forsworn, or felon, he who had broken the most sacred laws of Church or State, was doomed to stand in shameful penance at the foot of the High Altar, so that the whole world might gaze upon the dishonour of one who was thus held to be condemned of heaven and accursed of men! A custom which some say a later age has ill-dispensed with.

As one wanders through the deep heart of the northern forests every fjord and feld seems ever more illumined with the living incarnation of the old-world sagas. The west wind still sighs in the tree-tops, mournful yet musical, even as the fabled chords of Brage wind-harps.

Still from the loftiest mountain heights the golden-crested eagle seems to wing his way above the mighty branches of that Tree of Idrasil, the stately offspring of that forest king amidst whose dense dark leafage, sagas say, the warlike Odin hung throughout the unbroken space of nine moonless nights.

Still in the lightest summer's breeze the frail, fair aspen bends and quivers, mourning, ever mourning, so runs the ancient legend, that from out its wood men's impious hands should have fashioned a cross to slay the one divine life of the world.

Still on the Viking mounds and cairns there blooms, so Norse traditions tell us, the same tall lily, whose blood-red plumes are stained as though they sprang from a soil where warriors long ago have fought and died.

Still 'neath the forest glades of fair Faleïda the Northland pilgrim may dream how the sweet vision of pure Ingeborg flits before him, musing with chaste sorrow of the brave Fridjthof, to whom she had pledged her troth ere a kinsman's bitter blood-feud had bartered her into the bondage of a loveless wedlock.

Strange and pathetic history, not unlike that of our own tale of Sir Lancelot and of Guinevere. Like in its sadness, yet unlike in its shame, since when did the azure-eyed Lyonesse Queen, as frail as fair, rebuke her temper with an utterance noble as this :

"No ! Bele's daughter steals not her
Her happiness, however near it be.
Thy story of islands fabled in the gorgeous clouds,
Where evening's blush is spread,
I cannot, *will* not, hear
What would the South with me the Northland's daughter ?
Too pale am I, for all its rose-retreats !
Its burning sun would parch a soul like mine,
And full of longing would my soul oft turn
To yonder pole-star ever steadfast standing
A heavenly sentinel o'er our fathers' graves.
. Fridjthof, heaven's lofty norns
Command ; let us give way. At least our honour
Shall be saved from out our fortune's shipwreck."¹

¹ *Saga of Fridjthof.*

After leaving Faleida, amidst whose pine woods we had lingered many days, we continued our way through fjord and forest, past Sande, with its rushing cascades dashing their diamond spray of glittering foam-bells high into the air; past Förde, with its tranquil river fringed with silvery reeds, which winds through the green pastoral country-side until it reaches the borders of the mighty Sogne Fjord, till one evening, as the sun was setting, we found ourselves standing midst the deep shadows of the dying day in the world-famed Gudvangen Pass, gazing with wonder-filled eyes upon the cold, pure beauty of the lofty Naerodal Mountains. The austere grandeur of the hills stood out in grim and phantom-like array against the pale, pure colouring of the evening sky. And the white snow peaks had caught a rose flush from the setting sun, which gave them the semblance of a mystic pathway to heaven. A pathway, also steep and hard to mount as that by which the earth-born pilgrim must cut his lonely ice-steps, one by one, up the celestial life path which leads to the far-off fairness of the Land of the Immortals.

And all alone upon the summit of the loftiest rock-ridge, and silhouetted darkly against the pale, pure sky, there grew one slender stone-pine.

It seemed as though none of its kindred had found strength to grow beside it in that high and rarefied air. The other trees clustered in closer clumps within the sheltered crevices of the lichen-grown rocks; and the swallows and the finches fluttered about their branches; and the slender wild harebells broke into blossom at their feet.

Only the pine-tree stood alone—alone always! And, as I looked on its unbroken solitude, the verses of one of the strangest and saddest of all German poets drifted across my mind:

“ Within the chill white North, a lonely pine-tree stands,
And he dreams of a distant Palm, who far-off in the Eastern lands
Mutely and mournfully watches amidst burning desert sands! ”¹

I have translated the beautiful lines but crudely, yet within them lies the pathos of full many lonely lives, and I wondered whether the poet who penned this tender Nature-poem might not have had with his thoughts the memory of some life as lofty, yet as lonely, as that of this sad Northern pine.

After quitting Gudvangen, we wended our way along the winding Naerodal passes through Stahlheim, with its stupendous crags and giant boulders, which look as though they had been hurled over earth's surface in the Titanic pastime of the fabled Valhalla gods, past Odda with its shining blue fjord waters, and so along the borders of the sombre lake, and beneath the shadow of the mountains

¹ Heine.

of the Northland. The Northland so full of serenity and sadness, of fathomless mystery, and of passionless repose, and which, despite its infinite isolation, holds a charm, weird, perhaps, and intangible, yet so unconquerable that it is said that all those who have been born within the shadow of its hills love them with an intensity of love which no absence nor distance can have power to chill or to efface. And that, however well or richly life may have gone with them in other lands, their hearts still cleave with an impassioned tenderness to these same desolate Arctic hills so majestic, yet so mournful, so barren—and yet so beloved !

And even as my own eyes rested upon that cold, fair Northland, whose silence and whose solitude seem so far upraised above the fret and fume of mortal strife, almost—I also—understood whence it comes that the Northland is loved with a passion which it may be the Southland knows not.

It was sunrise when we first greeted the Northland, and it was star-rise when we bade it farewell—the star-rise of the North, a silent hour, in which the world seems to sink to its rest as with a lingering prayer.

Slowly beneath the white light of the Arctic stars our vessel wound its way towards the open sea. And the rhythmic ripple of the foamless waves broke softly against the keel ; whilst above our heads echoed the sad songs of the wild sea-birds—those birds which Northern legends say sing ever with a sharp thorn at their hearts.

And why not, for is not this the everlasting fate of all true poets ?

CORALIE GLYN.

THE AMERICAN IDEA.

It is not easy for Europeans to find out what is in the back part of American heads. The soberest judges of the present dispute between the United States and the United Kingdom in regard to Venezuela, and of the former's intervention with Spain in regard to Cuba, may very possibly pass over certain important mental operations of the American people. This is especially to be apprehended with regard to the process of reasoning which leads them, spontaneously and at once and with practical unanimity, to consider it their right to interfere in quarrels not directly concerning themselves, but which exist among nations as remote from them in space as they are otherwise utterly foreign to their own everyday life. Students of the natural history of human societies will suspect in such a phenomenon the operation of causes more general and inevitable in their working than the particular wilfulness of some leader or party in politics.

The operation of physical heredity is plain in the bellicose temperament so suddenly disclosed. Americans under thirty-five years of age, those who force the hands of their elders and twist public opinion to their liking, are the children of a generation subjected to the stimulus and adventure of war. It is not the first time that philosophers have noted the influence of accidentally intensified vitality in the reproduction of the species. The men from thirty-five to fifty, constituting, with the former class, the nation's strength, were themselves defrauded by their youth from an active share in the excitement which thrilled their nerves at the growing age. Even the older men are not beyond the reach of a spontaneous repetition of the nervous tremors of their prime. Add to this, on the score of actual environment, the general freedom and the intensity of the struggle for existence in America; the vitality resulting from a nutrition in which flesh meat counts for three times as much as it does in France and nearly twice as much as in England; and the total lack of all that check and discipline of young spirits exercised in Europe by the traditions of families and schools, by the strongly centralised governments, and by the compulsory military service in time of peace. Thus mere physical heredity and environment have strengthened immeasurably that extreme wilfulness, good-natured, over-confident and venturesome, yet nervous, impetuous, and hard, which from the beginning has distinguished the Ameri-

cans of European descent from their kindred who remain in the "old country." There could not be a better instance of a generation physically "spoiling for a fight."

This physiological character of the citizens of a country might not of itself determine their united judgments, their public opinion, as to the right or wrong of any particular line of action suddenly set before them. But it helps singularly to the free play of those habits of mind which influence the moral sense.

The judgment of a whole people does not wait for reasoning, but acts naturally—habit being a second nature—in virtue of ideas and principles which have become a part of the national consciousness. Generation after generation the citizens have learned from childhood that certain things are evidently right, and others wrong beyond dispute. Judgments in accordance rise of themselves on the slightest occasion, while to reverse them a deliberate and prolonged effort of steady reasoning would be required.

Professor von Holst, newly imported from Germany by the University of Chicago, seems not to have learned even as much as this from his study of American dead books. The "strong feeling" began long before the Monroe doctrine was given to the world, and would have existed as it does now without it. An attempt should be made to analyse the intellectual judgments lying behind the feeling to which Presidents Monroe and Cleveland have given only partly successful utterance. It is to the interest of Englishmen not to ignore their existence. The most decisive victory, whether of arms or of finance and diplomacy, would not remove in a day ideas which have been vital in their growth for a century. They would crop up, as uncomfortable as ever, on the next occasion; for the nation is like the individual citizen—

"A man convinced against his will
Is of the same opinion still."

1. Each American takes it for granted that his country has the right to be interested, publicly and actively, wherever there is question of "European interference" with American independence, or—what is not the same thing—of European encroachment on American soil. Until told with sufficient rudeness, he does not dream that any one contests this right of American nationality. The watch and ward to be kept against the Old World have always looked, in the United States, primarily toward England and next toward Spain. In Latin America it was the other way about until the middle of the century. In the latter, strenuous objections might be made to *Anglo-Americanos* or *Norte Americanos* appropriating the name "American" to their exclusive use. But all, North and South alike, show themselves at one as against Europe. This may have little to do with the popular attitude toward colonies still

attached to European Powers. It has nothing to do with the ambitions attributed to the United States :

“No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
But the whole boundless continent is ours.”

It is a primary prejudice of individual citizens antecedent to all ambition as a nation.

It is significant that the lines quoted were written as part of a prelude to Addison's *Cato* when it was to be acted in an American theatre, long before the Presidency of Monroe. The “solidarity” of Americans is also to be understood in the “manifest destiny” urged by Henry Clay against the treaty of 1819, which recognised certain claims of Spain to a disputed territory along the frontier of the United States themselves. It appears on every page of the American statesman Niles's contemporary account of the winning of independence by the Spanish American countries. Orestes A. Brownson, an heir to all the American ages in spite of philosophical and religious eccentricities, has a lucid and powerful chapter on the subject in his book, *The American Republic*. A witness beyond exception is the present Ambassador of the United States to Great Britain. In dealing, as Secretary of State, with the independence of Samoa from “possible English as well as German protection,” he expressly proclaimed “the moral interests of the United States with respect to the islands of the Pacific, necessarily dependent in greater or less degree on our American system of commonwealths.”

2. The citizens of the United States invariably look on the political action of European nations with a jealous eye to this “American system.” Sir Walter Besant, to judge from the conversation in his novels, takes the expression “effete monarchies of Europe” to be the very Shibboleth of American nationality. Here we come upon the essential idea, in whose light the American mind exists, and through which it contemplates all things foreign. It may be called an exaggerated federalism. School-districts, townships, counties, states, each within the other and all in the Federal Union, retain a distinct individual and independent life of their own, which acknowledges neither cognizance nor control on the part of any more general or central government. Even in free and Anglo-Saxon England the average American sees altogether too much exercise of central authority, too much restriction of the individual and the neighbourhood (*commune*), too much class regulation. It may be because he knows no better. This does not change the fact that he believes unquestioningly that his daughters will marry more happily and his sons make their way more comfortably in the world, that the poor around him have more grateful liberty and the rich more agreeable licence, for the sole reason that they are Americans and not Europeans. The least appearance of European encroachment

on American soil stirs in him the passions of a hundred Fourths of July. Even where there is no question of encroachment or interference, but simply of maintaining vested right, his first and spontaneous sympathies are with Cuban independence and the annexation of Canada. To him Independence is an American word.

From all this it becomes possible to compare the widely differing judgments, European and American, concerning the political morality of the present disputes. The comparison should deal only with the first and spontaneous judgment of the whole people, and not with the deliberate formulas of politicians or governments. It does not concern the intrinsic merits of the case—its objective morality, or essential right and wrong—but merely the subjective political morals of the Americans as a people. A nation's conscience, however self-justifying or erroneous or even lax, has still to be counted with and should be recognised as a fact.

STODDARD DEWEY.

A WOMAN EMANCIPATOR:

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

"The main reason why so many thoughtful women now claim direct Parliamentary representation is an unselfish one. They desire to take their full share in the service of the race; to help to solve those grave social problems now so urgently pressing, and which demand for their solution the combined resources of the wisdom, experience, and heart of both halves of humanity. They know that the time is fast coming—if indeed, it be not already come—which will need for its direction and control something more than diplomatic cleverness or political manœuvring, which will demand the clearer conscience and the more sensitive perception of justice born of imaginative sympathy. It is because they hope and believe that in virtue of their faculty of motherhood they can contribute somewhat of these elements to the world's well-being, and can thus speed its progress towards a nobler future, that they claim full right and power to follow and fulfil their highest conceptions of duty."—MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY, *The Decision in the Clitheroe Case*, p. 17.

THUS is the present political movement of woman summarised by one who has for more than thirty years been a main agent in the emancipation of her sex. The extension of paid feminine occupations (which were very limited a generation ago); the higher education of girls and women; the owning of their own wages by poor wives, and of their own property, real or personal, by richer brides; the raising of the age of protection for girls; the mother's legal right to a share in the custody and guardianship of her children; the enduring combat for the Parliamentary and local franchises; these and the many other incidents of woman's recent struggle have each benefited by the indomitable efforts and the guiding counsels of this veteran thinker and worker.

Through all these efforts the same inlying purpose ruled—as in all the aims of the much maligned "coming woman," it really does rule—the desire for higher morality; for that morality of which John Stuart Mill said in *The Subjection of Women*:—"We have had the morality of submission, and the morality of chivalry and generosity; the time is now come for the morality of justice." Long before those words were written their lesson was deeply imprinted in the heart and being of Elizabeth Clarke Wolstenholme, who had early and vivid realisation of the unjust disparity of educational and life chances that awaited intellect in one same family, according to difference of sex. For she was younger and only sister of an only

brother who entered St. John's College, Cambridge, at the early age of seventeen, and came out third Wrangler within four years afterward; obtaining forthwith a valuable fellowship, and subsequently the Mathematical Professorship of the Royal Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, from which he retired on pension some two years before his death in 1891.

Meanwhile the sister's childhood had been subjected to a domesticity so rigorous that the reading of a work either intellectual or imaginative was frowned upon or sternly forbidden; while the character of her school teaching, and her energetic assimilation of what instruction it did offer, may both be gauged by the fact that when fourteen years old she received the discouraging pedagogic assurance that "she had learnt as much as any woman needed to know." At that age, however, and when doubly an orphan, she by a happy chance spent two years at the Moravian School at Fulneck, near Leeds (James Montgomery's old school), in the atmosphere of mingled liberty and repression peculiar to that sect, and to the institution in which her girlish individuality left some influences for good.

Removed thence at sixteen, womanhood began to hover before her. Cognisant intimately of her quondam playmate brother's capacities and gradual achievements, and feeling competent in herself to equal, if not coincident, effort, yet with a keen perception as to the shortcomings of feminine education generally, and its lack of preparation or opportunity for any wide or worthy career, her deep desire (in order to best qualify herself for her chosen life of a teacher) was to enter the then recently founded and somewhat ambitiously named Bedford College for Women, where, however, was provided the widest curriculum of feminine study then accessible.

But her guardians vetoed this rational impulse, and after two or three years—largely occupied by herself in unassisted study and in teaching—the same guardianship strongly advised the investment of her inherited small capital in a high-class boarding school under her own management; so that at the same age at which the only son had possessed a comfortable and irresponsible competency as a college Fellow, together with further emoluments as examiner, &c., the only daughter was left to struggle, virtually unaided, in the responsible and desperately precarious undertaking to which her young enthusiasm had consented, as perhaps the only livelihood honourable to herself and useful to humanity. For her endeavour was to afford to girls a fuller education and a more pleasant and common-sense training than was then dreamt of in such schools; and several of the present head mistresses of public high schools had the advantage of her teaching. Yet in the thickest of her task she managed to make time for further extraneous and gratuitous effort—

as she had already been doing—in the general work of bringing about the social and political equality of the sexes.

She aided specially and actively in the agitation for the opening of further employments for women, which resulted in the feminine clerkships in Government savings banks and telegraph offices, and has had still higher-reaching effects in the appointment of women inspectors of factories and of schools. Much of this success was undoubtedly due to a volume on *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture* (Macmillan, 1869), edited by Mrs. Josephine Butler, and containing essays on given parts of the subject by Frances Power Cobbe, Jessie Boucherett, Sophia Jex-Blake, Julia Wedgwood, and Elizabeth C. Wolstenholme, with an equal number by various male advocates. The book was received with sympathy by the press, the *Scotsman* quoting with special approval Miss Wolstenholme's appeal in that zeal for humanity as well as for womanhood which we now recognise as the spirit of her every effort :

"We plead the cause of women. We ask that their gifts may not be wasted; that women themselves may not be robbed of some of the purest joys of life, those of intellectual effort and achievement; and that society which needs their help so much may not be defrauded of their best and worthiest service. Give us knowledge, power, and life. We will repay the gift a hundredfold. Set free the women who sigh in the dark prison-houses, the captives of ignorance and folly. Help women to become wise, that they may be just and true, merciful and loving."

Space permits but brief detail of the varied movements which about that period and from thence onwards claimed the energies of our worker. In 1866 she was one of the ladies (including Miss Beale, Miss Buss, and Miss Davies) who were called to give evidence and counsel before the Schools Inquiry Commission. Already from her school near Manchester she had initiated the Manchester Board of School Mistresses, which suggested the formation of kindred associations in several of the northern towns, and their eventual conjunction in a North of England Council for the Higher Education of Women. This Council helped actively in popularising the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, already opened to girls, and instituted the system of local lectures (originally for women students only) by University men, out of which grew the University Extension Movement. It also worked effectively for the initiation of the Higher Examinations for Women, and for the lectures to women students at Cambridge, which resulted in the establishment of Newnham College. In all this varied effort Miss Wolstenholme took an energetic part, adding, moreover, the force and encouragement of personal example by presenting herself for the Higher Examination, and attaining the "Certificate with Honour," 1869. But her growing thought concerning the matters of orthodoxy usually taught continually prevented her acceptance of various

eminent educational or collegiate positions offered to her, as to other leading workers; and the same scruples eventually led to the relinquishing of her own school.

During all this time the full and needful measure of justice involved in the Parliamentary Suffrage was also being claimed and fought for. Miss Wolstenholme was one of the promoters of, and obtained more than three hundred names towards, the petition for Women's Suffrage, presented to Parliament by John Stuart Mill in 1866. It was shortly before this time that she had arranged a meeting of three other friends of justice with herself, at which was founded the Manchester Committee for the Enfranchisement of Women, of which she undertook the honorary and temporary secretaryship. This Committee afterwards took the title of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage; but by this time Miss Wolstenholme's other duties had necessitated her withdrawal from office, the secretaryship being accepted by Miss Lydia Becker, who had meanwhile joined the Committee, and who thus entered upon her noteworthy career.

The instinct that prompted the women's claim for Parliamentary influence proved but too well justified by subsequent events. The surreptitious passing of the infamous Contagious Diseases Acts, with their insidious attack on the whole nobility of womanhood, and their degrading support of an unequal sexual morality; the growing legislative infringements on the industries of women specially, and other similar matters, led to the formation of the society since known as the Personal Rights Association, of which Miss Wolstenholme was the first secretary. For its greater efficiency, and swayed by the further mental impulses already mentioned, she gave up her school at Congleton, Cheshire, in 1872, and removed to London, where her assiduous attention to all legislative schemes affecting women gained her the playful cognomen—not among friends only—of “the Parliamentary watch-dog.”

Added to this task of labour and vigilance was her contemporaneous secretaryship of the Married Women's Property Committee, which she had originated, and which under her leadership and after an arduous struggle of fifteen years, secured by the Act of 1882 the present modicum of justice to married women. In the course of that agitation, she herself entered the ranks of those she championed, by becoming (in 1874) Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy; the marriage formula being, almost needless to say, that of registration—in which no degrading promise of “obedience” is exacted from the wife, but a simple, equal and mutual pledge is given by both parties. The following year witnessed her resignation of secretaryship, though not of membership, of the Personal Rights Association, her return to Congleton, where her husband resided, and the birth of her only child, a son. At the conclusion of the Married Women's Property

campaign she projected and carried out, almost unaided, the struggle for securing the maternal guardianship of children; which resulted, after three years of toil, in the passing of the Guardianship of Infants' Act, 1886.

In April, 1889, disappointed with the apparent apathy and narrowness of the then existent suffrage societies, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy founded—on a wide and non-party basis—the Women's Franchise League, herself being secretary; but in July of the following year she felt compelled to entirely withdraw herself from that League, owing to the reversion of a majority of the committee to the policy and complexion of political partisanship. In 1892, and again on a non-party basis, she inaugurated the now active and yet wider purposed "Women's Emancipation Union—an Association of workers to secure the political, social, and economic independence of women."

This Union claims for women, "equality of right and duty with men in all matters affecting the service of the community and of the State; equality of opportunity for self-development by the education of the schools and of life; equality in industry by equal freedom of choice of career; equality in marriage, and equality of parental rights." Such are the words of its honorary secretary, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, by whom the co-operation and membership of those in sympathy with the enounced views will be cordially welcomed. The Union already numbers among its Council and members some of the best known and most valued of women workers; and part of its good work is shown in the literature which will be sent post-free on application to Mrs. Elmy, Congleton. A recent though subsidiary incident of her pioneership is the publishing of the *Human Flower* series of needed and brief elucidations of sexual physiology; one for the benefit of young children, another for older children or parents, and one specially addressed to women. This action, again, is essentially contributory to the constant purpose and high aspirations, shown yet once more in a sentence of hers that concludes one of the latest publications of the Union, and may make a fitting close to this all too brief compend:

"Surely it is time that women should be recognised as the other half of humanity, equally entitled with men to every human right, and equally needful with men in the great household of the State, as in the lesser groups of the family; for only by the co-operation of women with men can the true ideal of humanity be evolved, and the fair social fabric, founded upon justice, truth, and love, be brought into existence."

ELLIS ETHELMER.

THE BOER PROBLEM.

THE Transvaal Boers are, as most people know, of Dutch extraction. Their ancestors settled at the Cape of Good Hope in the early part of the last century, and were joined by many French Huguenot families, whose names are still maintained, but their local pronunciation leaves much to be desired. Some of these settlers founded the Dutch Trading Company, which, for many years, exercised considerable sway over the destinies of that colony. A number of the colonists, having become dissatisfied with their treatment by the company, determined to "trek" with their families and movable property into the interior of the country, and founded what is now known as the Western Province of the Cape Colony. These people prospered greatly, and soon became extensive producers of wool, wine, wheat, fruit, and other products; their courage and perseverance, added to an unlimited command of slave labour and of free land, were the chief factors which contributed towards their prosperity and success. Subsequently, however, the Cape became a British possession, and was used as a port of call for the shipping proceeding to and from the Far East. The Act for the Abolition of Slavery, passed in 1834, was a heavy blow to these colonists, who, in their endeavour to evade its operations in regard to themselves, "trekked" in large numbers to other parts; some taking a northerly course, and others proceeding more towards the east. These people eventually established themselves in what is now known as the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and Natal.

Our purpose is to follow the fortunes of those who eventually found their way to Natal. Observing that the country was well watered and fertile, they determined, if possible, to establish themselves in this favoured land; and, with that object in view, they entered into negotiations with Dingaan, the Zulu king. That ruler played them false, and, at an interview with Piet Retief and some sixty of his men, caused them to be slaughtered in the most ruthless manner by his soldiers, the Boers being unable to offer any degree of resistance, as they had trustfully piled their muskets outside the king's kraal. This monster, not content with their slaughter, determined to exterminate the remaining men, with their women and children, and for that purpose dispatched thousands of his soldiers to do his bidding. These unfortunates, to the number of

500 souls, were "laagered" near what is now known as the village of Weenen (weeping) in the Colony of Natal. The men being armed with muskets, inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy before they were overwhelmed by numbers, when they and all the women and children were massacred with a refinement of cruelty known only to the savage. These massacres aroused the vengeance of their brothers who had settled in other parts; and three years afterwards, in 1840, Mr. Pretorius, taking advantage of the dissensions which had sprung up between Dingaan and his brother, Umpanda, joined the latter with some 400 Boers and a number of Englishmen from the settlement of Durban. Ultimately Dingaan was murdered by his own people, and Umpanda was, with the help of the Boers, established as the Zulu king, upon his agreeing to confine his people to the land to the north of the Tugela River. Mr. Pretorius having succeeded in establishing a Republican form of Government at Pietermaritzburg, the Boer community again began to flourish, until their former enemies, the British, invaded the country early in 1842, upon the pretext that the Boers on the borders had molested a Kaffir chief who was under British protection. This invading force, consisting of some 260 men, with two field guns, intrenched itself upon the site of the existing city of Durban, and sustained a serious defeat in a night attack upon the Boer forces. Being shut up within their intrenchments, it became necessary for the officer commanding to communicate with his General if he hoped to avoid being starved out. Richard King volunteered to execute this mission; taking with him two horses, he managed to ride through a country occupied by hostile Boers and by antagonistic natives, and covered a distance of nearly 500 miles in little more than a fortnight, and managed to communicate his intelligence in sufficient time to avert an unconditional surrender. H.M.S. *Southampton*, carrying a considerable force, under command of Colonel Cloet, arrived off Durban on the 11th June 1842, and had to shell the heights at the entrance to the harbour before the troops could be landed. The inscrutable methods often adopted by diplomacy managed eventually to extinguish the existing Boer Government. Those who were dissatisfied with the new British rule "trekked" further afield, many of them joining their kindred already established in the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal. Our annexation of the latter Republic in 1877 was a somewhat questionable proceeding in the face of the terms of the Sand Spruit Convention of 1852, notwithstanding the effete and bankrupt condition of the then Boer Government. Bearing in mind the persecutions of bygone years, it is not surprising that the Boers revolted in 1880 against a system of government which gave them no representation; their protests, made again and again, were of no avail, probably as it was seen that

nothing short of their complete independence was what was really wanted by their leaders.

The Boers are a pastoral rather than an agricultural people; they count their wealth by the number of their horses, their oxen, and their sheep. During the dry season, between April and October, the Boers "trek" with their flocks and herds to their outlying farms in the bush veldt, where they find abundant pasturage for their stock and protection for their families against the biting cold of the high veldt. It may be matter for surprise to some to learn that large numbers of cattle are often found frozen to death on the high lands of the Transvaal. I have myself seen some twenty head of oxen lying dead in the snow just outside their kraal, where they had been abandoned by their herds. The Boer has very few wants beyond what his farm can supply; his purchases usually consist of coffee, sugar, flour, saddlery, guns, rifles, ammunition, matches, crockery, cooking utensils, some clothing, and a little gin; he does not, therefore, require to cultivate more than ten or a dozen acres out of his farm, which consists of some 6000 acres or more; it is not probable that he has improved much in this respect if one may judge from the cost of most of the necessities of life at the present time in the Transvaal. My personal experience of the Boers of South Africa extends from 1877 to 1882, three of these years being spent in the Transvaal. From observation since and from information received from residents, I am led to think that the Boer is much the same as he was twenty years ago; the rising generation is better educated than it was formerly, and there is little doubt that it has become a necessity for them to acquire our language, much as their fathers may object to such a qualification. The Boer is an extremely suspicious person, and is always on the alert against being "finuked." So distrustful were they of the banking institutions that many of them kept all the money they possessed in a box under their large four-poster bedsteads in preference to placing it on deposit. Owing to the discovery of the gold fields of late years there are, no doubt, a number of Boer capitalists in the country who have disposed of their land at highly remunerative rates. It is not suggested for a moment that men of wealth such as these decline to invest their capital, but it is not improbable that some of the old stamp may still be found in that country. The Boers were an extremely hospitable people, but had greatly changed in this respect sometime prior to the outbreak of the war in 1880. If one had to make a day's journey one had, out of sheer politeness, to swallow as many bowls of coffee as were offered *en route*; they averaged about a dozen, more or less, *per diem*. In addition to his other good qualities, he is a strictly moral and a religious man, and lives up to his own code of morality. The assembly of hundreds of waggons, containing Boer families,

at certain church centres for the quarterly "Naachtmaal" was a sight to be remembered as exhibiting intense devotional feeling.

There is, however, another side to the Boer character. He has little, if any, regard for the native population by which he is surrounded; in fact, the Boer will treat an ox or a horse with more consideration than he will a Kaffir. Perhaps their early history has caused them to hate and despise the blacks; they seem to remember the wrongs done to them in the past by the natives, but they entirely ignore the fact that they owe their wealth, and even their existence, to the manual labour afforded to them by the black races. An intelligent Boer once told me that when he and his family were farming in the wilds of the Transvaal and were surrounded by hundreds of Kaffirs, he had no hesitation in shooting an insubordinate servant *pour encourager les autres*. The Boer hates being governed, and objects strongly to direct taxation. Upon one occasion, a Boer was expressing his feelings rather warmly to an official: "But why do you object to the British Government?" inquired the official. "I object to any Government. I don't want to be governed," replied the Boer. "In the event of your having any dispute with your neighbour, how could you settle it?" asked the official. "We would soon settle that!" responded the Boer, looking very significantly and raising his arms into the position for discharging a rifle.

It is to be deplored that a people who have so bravely fought for and maintained their independence should have upon several occasions disregarded some of the usages of civilised warfare. We will quote a few instances. The detachment of the 94th Regiment had halted, as required by the Boer force opposed to it at Bronkhorst Spruit, upon the threat that if the column advanced such advance would be regarded as "a declaration of war." While the column was halted, and before the men could deploy, the Boers opened fire at point-blank range, and shot down at the first discharge most of the officers and non-commissioned officers, and numbers of the rank and file. This was a most dastardly act, and quite unworthy of any enemy, more especially when that enemy had the advantage of position, were three times the number of the force attacked, which was also encumbered by a train of waggons nearly a mile in length. Upon another occasion, during a *sortie* made by the garrison of Pretoria, the Boers defending Swart Kopje fired several times after they had themselves hoisted a white flag. Again, after the defeat of the troops at Majuba Hill, Sir George Colley raised a white handkerchief on the point of his sword in token of surrender, but was shot down by a Boer, who afterwards boasted of having committed the crime. And yet another, Captain Eliot, the Paymaster of the 94th Regiment, and Captain Lambert, of the 21st Regiment, having been captured by the Boers, were sent under escort to the Orange Free State. On

arrival at the Vaal River the Boer commander ordered them to drive their cart into the drift, and cross into the Free State; the officers objected to do so, as they considered the water too high and too rapid at that point, the commander threatening to shoot them if they refused to obey. They were forced to attempt the crossing, the horses pulling up when they found their footing insecure. Upon this the Boer escort opened fire, killing Captain Eliot, who fell into the stream, and was carried down; his companion, plunging into the river, managed to reach the opposite bank, the Boers keeping up an uninterrupted fire until he was out of sight. The conduct of the Boers upon these occasions stood out in marked contrast to their treatment of the wounded and the prisoners who were captured at the several defeats at Laing's Nek, Majuba Hill, and Bronkhorst Spruit, and after the surrender at Potchefstroom; and more recently after the defeat of Jameson's force at Krugersdorp.

The Boers are good shots, particularly at moving objects; the practice buck-shooting gives them from their boyhood tends to make them good marksmen. They are also excellent horsemen, riding almost entirely by balance. Their ponies are small, fast for their size, and are as sure-footed as goats. I have seen a Boer youngster who was too short to be able to get into the saddle otherwise than by hauling himself up hand over hand by the stirrup leather.

After the Transvaal War of 1880-81, a leading Boer boasted that he would undertake, single-handed, to fight a company of *rooi-baatjes* (red-coats) if he was provided with a good horse, a rifle, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. We very much doubt if the gentleman would have been forthcoming had it been possible to put his boast to a test. The Transvaal garrisons, without exception, considered that they had not been beaten in any one particular during their investments. We always considered that the Boers got back quite as much as they gave; and when the peace was announced at Pretoria, some of the volunteers were so incensed, and got so out of hand, that it was not possible to prevent them from burning a distinguished personage in effigy. My feelings at the time were diametrically opposed to the conclusion of the peace, and that was generally felt by all the people besieged in Pretoria and at the several outposts, excepting those Boers who were compelled by the force of circumstances to cast in their lot with ourselves; now, however, I can only regard the decision arrived at as being one of the most magnanimous acts of the British Administration. The garrisons in the Transvaal, with the exception of Potchefstroom, could have held out for two months longer had it been necessary to do so; but it is not unlikely that we in Pretoria, where there were nearly 5000 people to be fed, would have had to consume a little horse flesh, as the cattle were failing through want of grass, and the greater part of the pre-

served meat and the "biltong" (dried beef) would have had to be reserved for the troops, in the event of their taking the field. The relieving force had become augmented by 10,000 men sent out from home, so that the General Officer Commanding could have attacked Laing's Nek with more than double the number the Boers could have brought for its defence. The conquest, and perhaps the annihilation, of this brave people was within our immediate reach, and yet our Government withdrew in horror from the "blood guiltiness" for which it would have become responsible. There is no doubt that the wisest and most humane course was adopted in this instance; but we do not feel that Mr. Paul Krüger and his advisers have appreciated to its full extent the extraordinary abnegation involved in this truly benevolent act.

It must be admitted that the Boers, as a race, are eminently patriotic, and when called upon to face the foe respond with the same admirable *clan* as do the French. The smart and serviceable appearance of the Humansdorp Boer contingent which came to King William's Town during the Gaika and Gaileka war of 1877 is very fresh in my memory: the men were of splendid *physique*, were good horsemen, and were excellently equipped; I do not remember to have seen, before or since, a finer body of mounted volunteers. There has been much speculation in regard to the individual pluck of the Boer race; my experience of them inclines me to the belief that bull-dog pluck is rarely, if ever, exhibited by an individual. The following incidents will serve to illustrate my contention: soon after the proclamation of the peace the Boers quickly resumed their ordinary occupation, and, as formerly, brought the produce of their farms to market at Pretoria. Upon one of these occasions, a Boer who had been engaged in the fight at Bronkhorst Spruit was swaggering about with the pouch-belt of an officer over his shoulder; presently a warrant-officer, now a major in the service, crossed the "Platz" and was accosted by this individual, but declined to notice him. Not satisfied with this rebuff, the Boer caught the officer by the shoulder, and said, "You were at Bronkhorst Spruit!" "Yes, I was!" responded the officer, dealing him at the same time a blow with his fist. The Boer picked himself up and walked off, and the officer went on his way. Again, during a reconnaissance early in the siege of Pretoria, the second in command rode into and captured one of the Boer *vedettes*, the remainder having made good their escape. The officer was armed with a revolver, and the Boer carried a rifle; the former had left his escort far behind, owing to the swiftness of his mount. Comment is unnecessary. Shortly before the occupation of the Transvaal, in 1877, a lawyer, who resided at Pretoria, had occasion to put up at the Middleburg Hotel for a night. The public room was the usual resort of the men of that village. The topic of conversation that evening was on the

projected occupation of the country by the British. There was much "tall talk" in reference to what they intended to do, and both Englishmen and their country came in for unmeasured abuse. Presently it was observed that an Englishman was present, and some of the more turbulent spirits determined upon turning him out, and approached him in that resolve. Mr. A—— promptly stood up in his corner, and, having some knowledge of the "noble art," promptly met each assailant as he came up with "one straight from the shoulder." This reception had somewhat disconcerted his ejectors, whereupon he promptly assumed the offensive and cleared the room, having to do little beyond making a demonstration.

The taking of Majuba Hill in 1881 has been considered a marvellous exhibition of pluck and daring on the part of the Boer forces. I cannot say that such has been my view of their success, nor do I think that many of those who are acquainted with many of the attendant circumstances think otherwise. It was my good fortune to have the opportunity of ascending the face of the hill where the Boers climbed up, and it took me about an hour to reach the summit. The attack on the hill was commenced soon after 6 A.M. and the crest was gained about 1 P.M. The storming party consisted of the younger Boers, led by General Smit; I have heard the numbers variously estimated as being from 150 to 500 men, the lesser number being that given by a Boer. The attack was covered by the fire of about 1000 men, who had taken cover near the foot of the hill, and who kept up a continuous fire on the brow, and with so much effect that several men were hit on approaching the edge in order to get a shot at the men under cover. It became a foregone conclusion that if a man approached the same spot from which he had managed to get a shot he was certain to be hit, as the Boers marked the spot and kept several rifles aimed at it. The men amused themselves by pushing helmets close to the brow, where they were quickly pierced by the fire thus drawn. As a consequence of this steady covering fire, the attacking force was able to climb the hill unmolested; but, notwithstanding this, the Boers took, at the very least, five hours to climb a hill which any soldier could have climbed within two. There was not much dash about that climb; indeed, I was told that the general had a great deal of difficulty in persuading his men to move on when the force was approaching the brow, which is probably true. The defenders were placed at a considerable disadvantage, inasmuch as no cover whatever had been thrown up upon the arrival of the force on the crest, and two raised places on the right and on the left rear might have very easily been strengthened and would have commanded the plateau. The officer commanding the right defence told me that just before the Boers reached the brow he had not more than a dozen men with him; the remainder had gone to the rear upon one pretext or another and had not returned; some few had,

of course, been killed or wounded, and it was not surprising that this default should have occurred, as that officer had been given the command of men drawn from several regiments, who knew nothing of their officer. This officer has since died, so that I feel myself at liberty to make use of the information he gave me. My conviction is that the panic was occasioned by the nervous tension which extended over a period of at least six hours, and was intensified by the attack made upon the supports to the rear of the position, which no doubt would have impressed the men with the idea that their line of retreat was being cut, than which nothing is more demoralising to soldiers. There can be no question as to the exhibition of good generalship on the part of the leaders, and of good marksmanship on the part of the Boers, as well as a capacity for judging distance which is surpassed by no other people. The Boers would not have had any occasion to take an accurate measurement of the distance between the cover at the foot of Majuba and its brow, so that their admirable shooting upon this occasion was due entirely to their accurate judgment in arriving at the proper range. Very little reliable information was procurable before our departure, but it is certain that our men made no stand when the Boers reached the brow; the bodies of those slain in full flight were found scattered over the plateau with their faces towards the rear of the hill. It is said that the Boers, when near the top, were extended and ordered to advance; this they did by crawling on their stomachs, their rifles being thrust forward, and all available cover being used to the best advantage. Thus was Majuba won!

During our occupation of the Transvaal, from 1877 to 1881, the Boers occupied the position of the Uitlanders of to-day, as they were not permitted to take any part in the government of the country. As a matter of fact, they had no desire to identify themselves in any way with the governing body, and therefore kept themselves aloof, in the cherished hope that their independence would sooner or later be restored to them. The remainder of the European inhabitants, constituting barely a tithe of the white population, consisted of people of British origin and of a few Hollanders and Germans. The English people were, in some degree, composed of deserters from the British army, of "ne'er-do-wells" from the mother country, of colonists from the other parts of South Africa, and of Californian and Australian gold-diggers and "prospectors." These people gravitated towards the business centres and the gold-fields at Pilgrim's Rest and Mac Mac, where they monopolised the whole of the trading done in the country; the Boers, confining themselves to their farms, took very little interest in the outside world. At that time the Transvaal was a happy hunting-ground for adventurers; these gentry preyed in the most unscrupulous manner upon the Boer community, and upon others who were weak enough to

trust them. It became a custom that, upon their arrival in the country, they declared themselves to be either lawyers, captains, or doctors. During my stay in the country I had many opportunities of meeting and studying these characters. The "lawyers," being shrewd, observant men, soon pushed their way into the "landdrosts," or magistrates' courts, of the country; some, I believe, even finding their way into the higher Courts, probably after passing some sort of local examination. The "doctors" achieved considerable success, but there were often woful exhibitions of incapacity; it must, however, be admitted that they were exceedingly careful to do no more than the circumstances compelled. One of these *soi-disant* doctors had come to South Africa as a valet to a medical man, and had had opportunities of studying medicine and surgery by observation and by the study of some of the books in his master's library; this man managed to create a very good practice in one of the smaller towns, and upon one occasion managed to amputate successfully a wounded man's leg. There were, of course, many properly qualified doctors resident in Pretoria and in other of the larger towns, but the country Boers were treated mainly by the practitioners above described; it was a fortunate circumstance that the farmers and their families were healthy people and had strong constitutions, otherwise the fatalities owing to improper treatment might have been more frequent. At a wayside inn, upon one occasion, I observed a "doctor" mixing a potion for the consumptive wife of a Boer; it was composed of bread crumbs mixed with two or three lightly boiled eggs, to which was added a lump of butter and some pepper and salt. The grateful Boer paid a good fee, and "trekked" homewards with his wife, who was benefited for the moment by the palatable meal. The "captain" was always ready to take the command of a troop of horsemen or of a company of volunteers, or was willing to take a place in the ranks if nothing better offered. There was always plenty of work for individuals of this class, owing to the frequent petty wars which had to be waged against the discontented native chiefs in the immediate neighbourhood. Those of them who were inclined to be industrious often secured clerkships in the wholesale and retail establishments in the towns during the more peaceful times; others of them, who were too indolent to work, "loafed" about and "kedged" on their acquaintance, and too frequently upon the too confiding Boers in the country districts. It was our misfortune to have been compelled to employ a number of these men in positions of some trust during the Sekkukuni wars, owing to an insufficiency in the number of executive officers and non-commissioned officers available for field duties. To my certain knowledge, the Government lost thousands of pounds by their employment, perhaps not so much through positive fraudulent intent as from incapacity, drunkenness, and carelessness. Rascality was at that time rampant through some

parts of South Africa, probably more so in the Transvaal than elsewhere—the “jumping” of a horse was of frequent occurrence, and the “lifting” of anything of value was regarded by some as quite the correct thing to do. In the dusk of the evening I was more than once offered a horse, saddled and bridled, for a small sum of money; it had evidently been “jumped” in some remote part. An incident may serve to illustrate the magnitude of some of the “swindles.” A banking corporation at Pretoria was brought to ruin by the heavy advances made to a local firm, the security held being of the most flimsy description; in the end the bank lost over £80,000 upon those advances. The identical firm were large contractors with the Government, and upon the termination of the last Sekkukuni campaign a sum of £28,000 was due to that firm for supplies delivered at the front. There were, however, counter-claims against this firm, and the officer charged with the settlement tendered only £16,000, retaining £12,000 as an offset. The firm made a legal claim for some £33,000, of which sum £10,000 was in the nature of damages, and £12,000 the balance above referred to, the remainder being alleged to be due upon outstanding claims.

The officer made the firm an offer of £3700 in full discharge of all claims, which was declined. An attempt was made to settle the matter by arbitration, and a meeting was arranged. Upon that occasion the head of the firm made two most important charges, both of which the officer concerned was able to refute by documentary evidence, whereupon the Court broke up in disorder. Finally, a high official from Pall Mall was enabled, after making as liberal concessions as were possible, to make the firm an offer of £6700 in full and final settlement. The offer was greedily accepted, and so the matter ended. The Boers have suffered at the hands of unscrupulous people to a considerable extent, and it is not surprising that their proverbial hospitality has sustained a serious check. I have seen a “winkler” touch the platform of a weighing machine with his toes in order to reduce the weight of the wool being sold to him by a Boer. Upon another occasion my Boer entertainer showed me a watch and chain, which had been sold to him by a travelling pedlar for £10, and asked me if they were worth the money. The watch was a “Waterbury,” and the chain was made of gilt metal, so I was forced to inform him that they could not be worth much over thirty shillings. The Boer was very irate, and explained to me that he had absolutely refused to purchase any of the stock offered by the pedlar, and had insisted upon having the watch and chain he was wearing, which, after considerable demur, he took off and handed to the Boer.

Those Uitlanders who remained in the country after our evacuation in 1881 have, no doubt, become Burghers of the Transvaal equally

with the Boers, and numbers of others have since been added through naturalisation, or for services rendered, so that, at the present time, there is no inconsiderable admixture of the Uitlander element amongst the burghers of the Transvaal. As a natural consequence, the Uitlanders have to-day many sympathetic friends amongst the burghers, and amongst the more literate Boers of the Republic. They must not, however, presume too far upon such sympathy; otherwise, friends can very easily be converted into enemies. The outcry raised so very persistently for the franchise by the Uitlander is not likely to influence the governing authorities, so long as that body is under the conviction that the foreigners in the country have emigrated only for a time, and that, so soon as they have made sufficient money, their intention, in the majority of cases, is to return to their permanent homes. Whether this be so or not so, it rests with the Uitlander to convince President Paul Krüger and his advisers that "they have come to remain."

In dealing with any questions which may be submitted to our Government, as the Suzerain Power, whether by the Uitlanders or by the Boers, it is suggested that the following circumstances should be considered, with any others which may be deemed of importance, before any decisive steps are taken :

1. The past history of the Boers, more particularly those episodes connected with their determined efforts to secure for themselves the independent possession of the Transvaal.

2. The persecuting and pursuing policy adopted by so many British Administrations in their treatment of the Boers during a period extending over the greater part of this century.

3. That the existing Government of the Transvaal has been established by the *vox populi*, and upon that fact alone is worthy of the support and countenance of the Suzerain Power.

4. That a most searching inquiry be made into the aims and objects of any Uitlander movement before any help is afforded by that Power.

5. That the ties of kinship existing between the inhabitants of the Transvaal and about one-half of the white population of the Cape Colony, Natal, and the Orange Free State should have due consideration before any serious policy is adopted.

6. That the magnanimity displayed by the British Administration in 1881 may not be marred by any future act.

7. It might in fairness be taken into consideration that the Boers are only now refusing to the Uitlanders what was denied to themselves by the British Administration in the Transvaal for nearly four years.

In conclusion, it can only be hoped that, whatever action may be taken by our Government, as the Suzerain Power, it may conduce towards the consolidation of the one million of white people who

have made South Africa their home, and towards the benefit of over three millions of the civilised black races who are living under the protection of the several administrations. A consistent, wise, and humane policy is required for the advancement of civilisation, for the development of the agricultural and the mineral resources of the whole land, and for their mutual protection against foreign aggression.

T. A. LE MESURIER.

JUDGES AND JURIES

"QUESTIONS of law are for the judge; questions of fact for the jury." So runs the formula, as familiar to the lawyer as any text from the copybook to the ordinary layman. Probably every lawyer remembers with gratitude that stock resource of the examiner's exhausted invention, "What are the functions of the judge and of the jury respectively?" It is one of the few questions answerable by the light of nature. You have thirteen men trying a case. One of them is a lawyer; the rest, whatever they may be, are not lawyers. Obviously the law is for the lawyer, and the facts for the other twelve. We do not need a ghost to tell us that, nor even the midnight oil. In this respect, at any rate, the law is rational, and, complying with the Aristotelian test, is "as a reasonable man would decide." The principle is so clear that it is difficult to understand how it can give rise to disputes. And yet how continually counsel and judge are wrangling as to what ought or what ought not to go to the jury. But, strictly speaking, it is not principle which is disputed. The question is not what is to be done with a fact or a point of law, once you have successfully defined it, but just whether the point is fact or is law. Settle that, and the destination of the apple of discord to the bench or to the jury follows at once, and, for once, without cavil.

But the legal definition is very far from exhaustive. The relations of judge and jury involve graver questions, of social rather than legal importance. Even legally the familiar formula does not cover the whole duty of a judge. Were a judge merely a legal assessor to the jury, settling disputed points of law as they arose, he would be a much less powerful personage than in fact he is. The power of these dignitaries of the Courts is by no means less real than it appears, rather it is the other way. Few but those who are constantly watching the working of our Courts can know how much the judge has to do with the result of even a jury trial. For one thing, he is chairman of the Court, and regulates the conduct of affairs. The judge inevitably gives a tone to proceedings and to the whole case, whether consciously or unconsciously. It lies with him to finally present the case to the jury; it is he who gives them the last version of the facts. And here it is that his great power and more serious responsibility come in. It is, indeed,

so far from true that the judge is confined to questions of law that he actually shapes the questions of fact for the jury to answer; he tells them what is the issue, and what they have to decide. That by itself gives the judge very large power. It is scarcely too much to say that in nine cases out of ten the jury take their facts from the judge. The case is presented to the jury three times: from the plaintiff's point of view; from the defendant's point of view; and finally by the judge—which brings us to the consideration we were suggesting: should the final presentment of a case be a presentment from the judge's point of view, or a purely colourless statement? Ought the judge to confine himself to a plain statement of the issue between the parties and of the evidence for and against, or should he present the facts in the light which they seem to him to throw upon the case? Should the jury be allowed to see what is the judge's own view of the merits of the contending parties? The consideration is of great importance in its bearing on the trial and on the decision of causes, and so has much interest for the whole public. This is not a matter of law; a judge may show his own mind quite clearly without exceeding the legal limits of his function, and without giving any ground of appeal. Nor does it involve a discussion of judicial impartiality or fairness. That an English judge is just is now an axiom which none will be less inclined to question than they whose daily work brings them in close contact with judicial procedure. Even when the summing-up most markedly reflects the judge's mind, it is felt instinctively, and any one who knows men can see that the strong turn given to the presentment of the case springs from very anxiety to do substantial justice. It may be a mistake, but the motive is plain.

Whatever we may think as to how judges ought to act, there can be no doubt about what they in practice do. It is often possible to see from the very outset what view the judge takes of the case; it is generally plain before the summing-up, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the summing-up itself leaves the judge's view as clear as the noonday. It is evident that the judge means it to be so. And this tendency in the English bench is becoming more and more marked; somewhat to the alarm of counsel, but apparently to the relief of jurors. And yet the language of summings-up usually betrays a sort of uncomfortable consciousness that matters ought to be left rather more unreservedly in the jury's hands. Hence the attempt to convey the judge's view of facts in verbal forms, academically recognising the complete independence of the jury. When we hear that any matter "is entirely for you, gentlemen," one looks out for some very strong view on the "lie" of the facts; conversely, no such strong expression seems complete till rounded off with the orthodox reservation, "but,

as counsel very properly remarked, it is for you to decide, gentlemen, not for me." Another device is, in putting alternative aspects of the case, to strongly accentuate the "if" in the view not accepted by the judge. Both sides are put fully before the jury; the judicial form is preserved at the same time that every man of the twelve has no doubt as to what the judge himself thinks.

What is the effect on the jury? It shows itself in two exactly opposite directions. Sometimes a strong summing-up, amounting to a virtual direction, "puts the jury's back up," and they promptly find in precisely the opposite sense to the judge's charge. True, this is rare, but not so rare as might be supposed. The usual course is for the jury dutifully to follow the judge, as is only natural. Indeed, it is so natural, that probably the one only thing that could turn a jury from such a course is the feeling of rebellious irritation provoked even in the most docile of creatures by too much talking to. The jurymen take their place, indignant that they have to be there instead of at their office. What are other people's quarrels to them? They want to mind their own business; why should they be dragged there to mind other people's? It is all very well for the parties—it is their concern; the same with the lawyers—it is their business; to them it means money. To the jurymen it means nothing but the loss of money. Of all present, it is just the jury who have no interest in the case. They have not so much as the idle spectator's interest, who at least is there of his own free will. In such frame of mind, the twelve are supposed to enter into and weigh the significance of complicated sets of facts, wholly new to them, presented in conflicting form by intellectually subtle minds trained to induce facts to tell, not their own tale, but the tale required by the "case"; a narrative broken into by, and inextricably mixed up with, points of law; the whole refracted through a medium, not clearly perceived, but always distracting the vision, the Rules of Evidence. Is it any wonder that the twelve "plain men of sense" should promptly give it up, and leave their thoughts free to dwell upon their own affairs? It is quite the most sensible thing to do. The unfortunate few who, zealous to fulfil the functions of citizenship, begin by taking copious notes (they do not keep it up long) and intently follow the utterances of counsel, only get hopelessly fogged, while the others do at least come with a perfectly open mind to the judge's summing-up. At this point the jury wake up; they begin to see daylight; and by listening to the judge they will get a cue to their finding, and the whole thing be settled in a few minutes. Of course, they take the judge's view, and find accordingly. Probably, as a fact, they genuinely do agree with the judge, for the simple reason that his is the only view of the case they get at all clearly into their heads, and then if they have any differences of opinion amongst themselves, what so reasonable as to compromise matters by deferring to the

judge? Who is so likely to know as he?—and see how it will save time! “All agreed; verdict for the plaintiff!”

It may not unnaturally be thought that if there is any truth in this description of the attitude of juries towards their cases, it is very much to the advantage of justice that judges should, by very plainly revealing their own mind, relieve juries of the necessity of deciding for themselves. One may be very well content not to dispute that proposition, but it will inevitably suggest another. If justice is only, or even best secured by reducing the functions of the jury to echoing the sentiments of the judge, why not dispense with the jury altogether, and save the guineas or shillings? From the judge's point of view, too, there is a great deal to be said. He wants to see that “substantial justice” is done. He knows that if he contents himself with a bald statement of the evidence, the jury will miss most of the points of the case, or at least what he conceives to be the points of the case. If he simply gives them the facts, without indicating their proportionate bearing on the issue, he may convey the false impression that all facts are equally important. Is it not drawing a picture without perspective, and so untruthful? The case may be put even higher. If, after hearing both sides, he is perfectly satisfied as to what the verdict should be, the judge will not jeopardise the interests of justice by leaving too open an issue to the jury. In the public interest, he will not run the risk of a verdict wholly against the evidence; a scandal only remedied by multiplied litigation, to the great hurt of the rightful party, and the weakening of public confidence in legal tribunals. Again, on grounds of public policy (though it is a strong thing to do) our judges direct the summing-up to the discouragement of certain classes of actions. In petty slander cases and in speculative actions under the Employers' Liability Act the defendant seldom finds cause to quarrel with the judge. The remark holds good of running down cases, but not in illustration of our point. There, the motive is a desire to counteract, in the interests of justice, the sentimental leaning of juries towards the party who has suffered, whether or not through any fault of the defendant. The whole question really comes to this: Is it the function of a judge to see that the jury do justice, or only to see that the jury are in a position to do justice? As a matter of practice, our judges act on the former view. If the latter is rather correct, there is much that should be altered in the present style of summing-up. The judge, in that case, should not himself indicate, but leave the jury to discover for themselves the relative importance of facts, and the relative credibility of witnesses. Above all, he should not let the jury have an inkling of his own view on the merits of parties. Would not such a course be more in consonance with the constitutional history of the jury system? One of the most obvious uses of juries is to check aggression on the part

of judges. What becomes of the right and privilege of the freeman to be tried by "his equals," if the twelve jurors are to be given their cue by the one judge? But they need not take it. True; and it may be that consideration saves the position theoretically. But, as a fact, they generally do take their cue from the judge. Is it not against the spirit of the system to place the jury in such a position that the verdict, whatever it might be, in effect will be the decision, not of the jury, but of the judge? Should not the judge rather leave the jury to act according to their own lights, and if, as is not inconceivable, they perpetrate a plain injustice by means of their verdict, then step in and use his judicial authority to prevent injustice? The statutes give him ample power in this respect—a power somewhat discounted in practice by anticipation.

But it may well be said, after all, the present plan works well. "Substantial justice" is done and litigation curtailed. Theoretic defect is at any time more than balanced by practical success. And as long as we have good judges, undoubtedly the practice now prevailing as to summing-up will work well. None the less, we can but feel that there is a screw loose somewhere. Suppose it were suggested with bated breath that the jury system, being the outcome of "the usages of a state of society which has for ever passed away," survives (in civil cases at least) the wants which brought it into being mainly by grace of past prestige!

HAROLD HODGE.

THE RURAL TOILERS OF THE NORTH.

To the worker in the dull and dreary city, with its smoke and squalor, its ceaseless hurry and daily worry, the farm-labourer's life, enchanted by distance and poetry, stands out as the emblem of that sweet communion with nature that bards and prophets have for ever dreamt of. With listless, longing eye he sees an "odd kind chiel" gaily following the "rivin' plough," singing now some love-lilt on the charms of his "bonnie, bonnie Jean," now wrapt in ecstasy by the magic mantle of the ploughman's muse.

Over the way a shepherd lad, with crook and tartan plaid, peacefully rests on the soft, green sward, dreaming of how "Bonnie Kilmeny" wandered amidst lovely beings in a far, fair land, where immortals dwell in peace. But plunged into reality, into their dull, plodding life of labour, the lovely visions fade, and the pictures painted by fancy's flitting brush dissolve into the unsubstantial elements that all day-dreams are made of. Yet still there is a joy in rural life and work denied to the dweller in a great city, just as there is a pleasure in feeling the silent sweep of progress, and that invigorating conflict of mind with mind, that is all but unknown to him who quietly toils amidst the far-off fields and valleys.

Having studied both phases of working-class life in that school wherein, as copy-books aver, even foolish men may learn, some of the fruits of that experience may, perhaps, prove interesting and useful at a time when the social condition of the people is attracting more and more the attention of reformers of every school.

An interesting study, indeed, is this north-country farm-servant. He is a Scotchman of the Scotch. In him our characteristics as a race are most fully developed. As a rule, he is poor, but not degraded; ignorant, but not vicious; animalised rather than brutalised; slow to change, but "siccar" when he does move; proud, but not conceited; in money matters, "grippy" rather than avaricious. He has a certain superstitious awe of the landlord and the clergyman, but is only very slightly tinged with the idolatrous worship of "the brute god Mammon." Those characteristics have made him for years past "the backbone of the country" to old-fashioned politicians, and a stumbling-block of offence to the Trades Union or Socialist organiser.

Some of the causes that tend to produce those results lie open to the gaze of the passing critic, but others can only be discerned when we examine closely the origin and development of those subtler feelings that help to build up the characters of men and nations. From his earliest years the child of the farm-labourer is drilled in the severe school of poverty and Calvinism, softened only by the brighter and gayer themes of Nature's own myriad singers and teachers. When we fully understand the nature of the environment, the education and the hereditary influences that are at work, moulding from birth onwards this little lump of human clay, we will then more truly appreciate the nature of the hopes and fears, the likes and dislikes, and all the staid peculiarities of our northern sons of the plough.

The religion of the older generation is stern, grand, and gloomy, like their own rough, rugged mountains. There is a wild, weird beauty in it that awes, even whilst half repelling us. Listen to a Scottish congregation singing "French," or "St. Kilda," and you have heard struck the keynote of Scottish religion. The soft, melodious roll of the organ is not there, nor the painfully accurate notes of the strictly high-class choir. Yet there is a sublimity and a grandeur in those old psalm tunes of Scotland that breathe of the mountain and the sea. They are a part of Scotland's heritage of the best that the past can give—not the best because of the artistic arrangement of notes and symphonies, but best because of the inspiring soul of music that floats with every psalm through the peaceful village church. There is a vein of sadness in them, too, through which love strikes on the harp of song a chord of glorious beauty. They are the soul of the land's religion—a religion that might be described as Calvinism, *plus* a generous amount of human sympathy. With the rising generation, however, a marked change is visible. As Calvinism passes away, the human and moral elements seem to increase. Even clergymen bear testimony that "while literature of anything but a religious character forms the bulk of Sabbath reading, yet it was generally admitted that there was less swearing and rowdy language in use than formerly, and fewer nasty habits in the field or farmyard."¹

It is partly, I think, in consequence of this strictly religious sentiment that current wisdom has decreed that no Scotchman, least of all a rural one, can appreciate humour. Like much more in life, however, this idea only lives on its past reputation. True, the light wit and shallow talk will not be greeted with uproarious laughter, nor will the brilliant repartee of talented talkers receive more than a barely patronising grin. But, of course, it is the merest truism to say that the man who laughs both loud and long is not necessarily he who finds most real delight in humour. Chronic wit does

¹ See last Report of the Royal Commission on the Condition of Farm Servants:

not, any more than empty laughter, betoken a mind tuned to the music of mirth, and a lack of demonstrative effusiveness can scarcely be attributed to an undeveloped bump of humour. In our Scottish Hodge there is a real and genuine sense of humour, which he himself at times appears half ashamed of, for when he laughs, he needs must laugh moderately, as if curbing some wicked tempter, or making a concession to his weaker nature. His occasional carousals at the country-inn partake of morbid hilarity rather than genuine and jovial mirth and frolic. At such a time he does indeed fling his cloak of Scottish reserve slightly to one side, and topical tattle prevails for the night. Even then, however, the dearth of real social and intellectual intercourse makes itself strongly felt. Lordly themes seldom engross his thoughts, nor intellectual conflicts disturb his daily life, and his occasional outbursts are but delirious gambols through his own distorted life.

One of the first peculiarities that would strike the casual visitor to a Scottish farm is the strongly marked element of feudalism that prevails amongst the labourers. From the life of the city-worker this trait has been practically eliminated, owing not so much, perhaps, to their own efforts as to the steady progress of commercialism, which has now substituted what Carlyle would call the "cash nexus" for the partially reciprocal ties of feudalism. Legally, there is not an hour in all his six months' engagement that Hodge can call his own. Practically, his working-day is one of twelve or thirteen hours, exclusive of brief intervals for meals. Even on Sunday he is not entirely free from duty—three or four hours' work being usually required of him during that day. Viewed from an economic standpoint, his position, whilst inferior to that of the ordinary tradesman, is superior in most respects to the bulk of unskilled workers in large manufacturing centres. Food is cheaper and rents are lower (sometimes by 50 per cent.), although his hire as a labourer is considerably smaller. £30 per annum, with house and "perquisites," would, I compute, be equivalent to 22s. or 24s. per week in the purse of the city-worker—although amongst both classes alike a very considerable number must be described as being decidedly below "the poverty line" spoken of by Mr. Charles Booth in his *Life and Labour of the People*.

The house accommodation (especially that provided for unmarried men) is usually of an inferior description. True, slight improvements have been here and there enforced since the formation of the County Councils, but in most cases "the *chaumer*," as it is termed, is simply a low, bare loft, situated above the farm stable, and connected with that building by a suspicious looking ladder, or stairway. The *cottar houses* of the married men contain two, and sometimes three, rooms, of small and uninviting appearance, but despite this limited accommodation, even where comparative over-

crowding occurs, it is not attended with so fatal results as in the slums of our great cities. A bracing atmosphere, and a strong, robust constitution, built up by the invigorating hand of Nature, prevents that physical deterioration that greets us in the hovels of Slumland. A healthier and more vigorous race than the rural workers of Scotland it would be difficult indeed to find.

Knowing now something of their surroundings and their temperament, we will better understand those other characteristics which have so oft been adversely criticised by friends and foes alike.

In the past Hodge has undoubtedly been open to the somewhat serious charge of "blacklegging" during important strikes—especially those in connection with railway workers, carters, and unskilled labourers generally. Trades-unionism never commanded many supporters amongst those who follow the calling of Scotland's national bard. To-day it is, comparatively speaking, a spent force in these northern districts. The new unionism of Mann, Tillett, and Burns was still-born here. The old-fashioned world into which it came did not provide those elements necessary to give it real vitality. Trades-unionism derives its greatest strength and moral backbone from associated labour, and an educated self-interest amongst its members. In the great factories and large centres of industry worker is continually meeting worker; opinions are exchanged, and ideas broadened and enlarged. The indolent are aroused by the budding agitator. Association and education breed confidence, and confidence moral unity—in which resides the main lever-power of trades-unionism. All those favourable influences are, however, absent from the life of the farm-servant. His comparative isolation produces narrow thoughts and parochial sympathies. The indolent are permitted to sleep on undisturbed by the criticisms of their neighbours. Isolation and ignorance of one's fellow-workers lessen social confidence and foster blind antagonism. This in turn produces disintegration, decay, and finally death to the embryonic trades-union.

In small villages, where the advantages of association are slightly felt, fairly flourishing organisations do sometimes exist, but even then they are composed more of day-labourers than of farm-servants proper. Apart from those isolated bodies, trades-unionism (of any school) is but in its infancy. An energetic organiser, with a strong and striking personality, might do much to foster its growth, but otherwise it offers to-day but scant hope of social amelioration to the north-country labourer.

Signs are not altogether lacking, however, of a gradual awakening of the sleepers. The concentration of agricultural lands into fewer hands is bringing larger bodies of workers into mutual contact, and from this a growth in intellectual life must to some extent burst forth. The increase of education points in a similar direction. The weekly, and sometimes also the evening newspapers, are regular

visitors at the farm. They sound amidst the fields and fens a distant echo of the labour wars waged in the far-off cities. They tell the tale of that battle fought by the London dockers, all for the sake of their "tanner." They tell of the conflict between colliers and mine-owners, in which (after weeks of bitter fighting) the workers, tired of seeing the pinched features of their wives and children grow daily thinner and whiter, returned to the pits, foiled by the solid phalanx of capital arraigned against them. Rumours, too, this press brings to them of demands for "a living wage," of Socialism, of land nationalisation, and all those claims for a wider freedom put forth by a growing number of city workers. Save, however, in the column where all are allowed to trespass on "our valuable space," such themes are usually presented to them as nineteenth century bogey-men, rather than as theories to be seriously examined or accepted.

With the extension of the Franchise to rural householders a new weapon was placed in the hands of the farm-labourers, with which to carve a way out of the social dilemmas in which they were perpetually involved. At first they were undoubtedly open to the charge so freely levelled at them of voting under the direct supervision of their masters, spiritual and temporal. The full significance of their political elevation from "Hodge, the ploughman" to "Sandie Hodge, Esquire" (as the Parliamentary candidates classically styled them at election times), was better seen by the old rulers than by the new. The men were but apprentices in the art of using the legislative machine. They did not know its varied powers for good and evil. They had to enter timidly into the stormy sea of politics before they learned to breast the waves, and swim for the shore. Nay, they had first of all to learn that such a voyage could be made, and then to select from the multitude of councillors proffering assistance a friend to teach and guide them. Naturally, then, there was at first a certain blind submission to the dictates of the landlord, the farmer, and the clergyman. In some recent County Council and Parliamentary elections, however, we can see, as I have already indicated, faint signs of a growing recognition of their individual responsibilities in the just settlement of society's present-day social problem. Often have I asked myself the question, "How will those rural toilers act when the continued spread of education, ever increasing new necessities, is added to the pressure of existing social and economic forces?"

On the answer they give to that question depends the future of the workers of the north, just as surely as the future of the workers in southern cities depends on the answer given to a similar question by the agricultural labourers of England. What *will* their answer be? Wise indeed, or fool-hardy, were the prophet who answered

dogmatically such a question. Ninety-nine persons out of every hundred know exactly what they ought to do. That they would give ninety-nine different answers matters but little. From any point of view it is easier to tell what they ought to do than to predict with even approximate accuracy what they *will* do.

Necessity has always been regarded as the proverbial mother of invention and progress. If that is so, may we not also add that their legitimate male parent is education? Whether so or not, this, at least, is true, that only by a full knowledge of the educative influences at work in country life, and by a comprehensive grasp of the new necessities springing up there as elsewhere, can we obtain a reliable clue to the probable future of our agricultural population. With the more powerful of those educative forces I have already dealt. I have examined the tendencies of their religion and the effects of their environment in the narrower sense; but there is one educative force that exists in a marked degree in every rural district with which I have not yet dealt. This force will be found in the wealth of songs and ballads for which Scotland is so justly famous.

We often repeat the saying of Sir John Fletcher of Saltoun, "Let me make a nation's songs, and I care not who make their laws," but seldom indeed do we fully realise all that the words imply. Songs and proverbs are the parents of many a wise and many a wicked law. Social laws are simply current sentiment crystallised and materialised. On the other hand, those songs and ballads spring from the very heart of the nation. Know well a people's songs, and we can clearly trace its social growth through generations of travail and sorrow, of joy and lightsome life, through weary years of harrowing despair and the keen incessant conflict with the grim gaunt forces of chaos and darkness. A nation's song-life is the outcome of its social life, but no sooner is the former created than it begins to act and react on the latter, lifting it upwards or casting it downwards, modifying and enlarging it in ways that are many and varied.

Scotland's song history has yet to be written. When it has been faithfully placed before us it will furnish the most real and genuine insight into the life of the common people that we have at our command. In those songs and ballads we can distinctly trace the social transition of the people from the bygone days of feudalism up to the commercial age in which we live.

Fascinating, however, though such a sketch might be, it is rather beyond my present theme. Suffice it to say, that the influence of those older ballad-writers, and above all the influence of Burns and Hogg, Ramsay and Tannahill on rural Scotland's life, can scarcely be over-estimated.

Down—deep down—in the souls of Scotland's ploughmen their songs have struck a firm, responsive chord. They have taught them the worth of true manhood, the meaning of real nobility. They have sown in the glens and hamlets of the North the seeds of the tree, democracy, and already the growing plant gives signs that the season of blossom—aye, even of fruit, is at hand. The existence of this increasing democratic sentiment must always be taken into account when considering the future of the labourers on the land.

Let us place all this then, side by side with the gradually changing position of our rural population. During the last ten or twelve years we have witnessed an enormous decrease in the number of "hands" employed in agricultural work. In 1871, there were in Scotland 165,096 farm-servants; in 1881, there were 149,765; and in 1891 only 120,770. Doubtless more than one cause has contributed to this result; but in the main it must be traced back to two great central facts. (1) During the last twenty years large tracts of arable land have gone out of cultivation. (2) During the same period there has taken place an enormous displacement of hand-labour by machinery. Take the effect of but one single invention. During the past few seasons self-binding reapers have rapidly sprung into popularity. According to the *Agricultural Economist*, reaping and tying corn by manual labour used to cost from 8s. to 10s. per acre; but with the new machines it only costs from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per acre. In other words, some twenty or thirty youths can now perform the work that formerly required fifty able-bodied men and an equal number of young lads and lasses. This is but one example out of many. True it is, a limited number of those crowded out peasants may, and doubtless do, find employment at some of the various kinds of unskilled labour, even in a comparatively overstocked city market. Nevertheless, the inevitable result of all this must be the intensification of the unemployed problem in town and country alike.

This, then, is the position. Equalitarian sentiment is growing amongst the farm-servants, but poverty banishes them to the city slums; the democratic spirit is flourishing, but the farmer will not hire their labour; education has developed in them wider needs and newer desires, but yet they cannot find the means wherewith to gratify those new-born wants.

Bearing all those facts in mind, can we wonder that the thoughts of this portion of the working-class are directed more and more to a system of land-reform on equalitarian and democratic lines? No special scheme has yet received their homage, nor have they given their adherence to any school of reformers—either individualistic or socialistic. Yet there is awakened in their minds the profound

conviction that it is only in a very drastic and comprehensive reform of our system of land-holding that their social safety lies. As a force in politics their influence will undoubtedly be cast in favour of the party that offers to them the most equitable and comprehensive scheme for the resuscitation of our agricultural industry and the readjustment of our land laws.

WILLIAM DIACK.

MISS OR MRS. ?

THE matter here to be dealt with is a mere trifle. But the trite saying is true that life is made up of trifles; our opinions are moulded, our judgments formed by them. A great movement is often merely the sum total of a number of trifles. So for the change which is here to be suggested it is claimed that, although of no very marked importance in itself, it is desirable because society is now ripe for it, because it will fit in with other changes which are taking place.

It has sometimes been said that it requires a child or a genius to show us our inconsistencies. A child drew attention to the one now to be pointed out. Having lived a very secluded life, he knew but little of the ways of the world, and hearing a gentleman spoken of with the prefix "Mr.," he remarked simply, "*Mr.*! But he isn't married, is he?" His logical little mind had decided that if women, prior to marriage, retain the title of their childhood, "Miss," men in a similar condition should retain theirs of "Master." It was a child's unerring insight into the fitness of things—an insight which is soon lost in the stress and strain of life, which causes us to hurry along with the crowd, thinking as they think, doing as they do. The remark of this little fellow awakens a train of thought. Imagine a "Master Herbert Spencer," a "Master Arthur Balfour!" Yet, when looked at through other than the glass of custom, these are not more funny than "Miss Frances Cobbe," and "Miss Frances Willard." Harriet Martineau, who in her time was regarded as so powerful a writer, and so fascinating a woman, saw the absurdity of it, and objected. She had no mind, she said, to be addressed as a school-girl, and requested her friends to use the prefix "*Mrs.*"

So here and there we now find women who, although having no circlet of gold on the third finger of the left hand, are, nevertheless, addressed by the more dignified title. It is done as a sort of concession to them. For it is often instinctively *felt*, even when not actually recognised, that to address a woman of knowledge and experience in the same way as little girls in pinafores, while many a sweet young ignoramus, and many a woman whose knowledge of the duties of married life is practically *nil*, are entitled to the maturer appellation merely in virtue of the said gold circlet, is absurd. As

things stand now, the whole matter rests upon the ring. The woman who wears it, even though she may never have lived with her husband, is entitled to the more dignified prefix; while the woman who does not wear it, no matter if she has reared a family, no matter what her service to the State may have been, must, except by concession, always be dubbed by the title belonging to childhood.

It would, of course, be simple enough for every one to address all middle-aged women with the prefix "Mrs." But that would mean concession. No concession is wanted; the thing is to put the matter on a different basis. As the schoolboy buds into the man, the "Master" is dropped for "Mr." and as the schoolgirl buds into the woman, the "Miss" should be dropped for "Mrs."; the original significance of the word is a matter of no consequence. The custom need cause no more confusion than it now does with the male sex. The sons are distinguished from the father, where necessary, by the insertion of the Christian name, and the daughters could be distinguished from their mother, where necessary, in the same way.

The fact that the present custom is practically world-wide is no argument in its favour. The recent upheaval which has brought about the recognition of women as distinct individualities is also world-wide. The practice now customary is merely a belated relic of the old state of things, and must quickly disappear when the note is sounded. As already stated, the reform is of no very marked importance in itself. Yet a little consideration will show that it carries with it more than appears upon the surface.

E. I. C.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

SCIENCE.

SCIENTIFIC periodicals have now become so numerous that it is not easy even for a specialist to record all that appears on any particular subject. This difficulty, as regards chemical literature, is being met in the United States by the publication of indexes on special subjects which are printed among the Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. A valuable index to the literature of Cerium and Lanthanum, by Dr. W. H. Magee,¹ has recently been issued, and forms a very complete guide for those who wish to consult all authorities on these subjects. The literature of Didymium has been similarly indexed by Dr. A. C. Langmuir, and forms No. 972 of the same Collections. Chemical science is further represented in the Smithsonian contributions to knowledge by an interesting monograph from the pen of Dr. E. H. Morley *On the Densities of Oxygen and Hydrogen and on the Ratio of their Atomic Weights*.² The atomic weight of oxygen is practically the foundation upon which the atomic weights of the other elements have been built, and it is therefore of the utmost importance to chemists that it should be determined with the greatest accuracy possible. The density of hydrogen being the unit with which the densities of all other gases are compared, it is of importance both to chemists and physicists that this also should be ascertained with as much accuracy as modern scientific methods will permit. Dr. Morley has shown much ingenuity in devising methods to overcome the numerous sources of error which are to be found in prosecuting an inquiry of this nature. In some respects his methods differ from those of his predecessors in the same line of research. For instance, in the synthesis of water, he has actually weighed the hydrogen, the oxygen, and the water formed, thus completing the chain of evidence. The quantities of gas weighed were greater than in previous researches, and every precaution was taken to ensure their absolute purity. The apparatus used for maintaining uniformity of temperature appears to have been especially efficient ;

¹ *Indexes to the Literatures of Cerium and Lanthanum*. By W. H. Magee, Ph.D. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, No. 971. Washington. 1895.

² *On the Densities of Oxygen and Hydrogen and on the Ratio of their Atomic Weights*. By E. H. Morley, Ph.D. Washington : Smithsonian Institution. 1895.

but the use of a mercurial pump for producing a vacuum in the globes used for weighing the gases is open to criticism. Liquid oxygen or air might with advantage be used to remove the traces of mercury always present in a vacuum produced by a mercurial pump. As the result of a great number of estimations, Dr. Morley finds that the atomic weight of oxygen is 15.879, and it is probable that this will now be accepted as, at any rate, the nearest approach to absolute accuracy attainable in the present state of our knowledge.

There is probably no institution that in the short space of half a century has done so much for the general diffusion of knowledge as the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. An interesting account of the origin and work of the Institution from the pen of the assistant secretary, Mr. G. B. Goode, has just appeared.¹ The founder, James Smithson, was an Englishman, who left the whole of his property, amounting to about 500,000 dollars, to found at Washington an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men. Right well have the intentions of the founder been carried out, and the United States may indeed be proud of an institution which has done, and is doing, so much good work, both in the encouragement of original research and in the spread of useful knowledge. Among the more important movements initiated by the Smithsonian Institution the astro-physical laboratory occupies a prominent position. One of the chief objects of this laboratory is to study the mutual relations of the sun and the earth, and especially to find out how the former affects the climate of the latter, and consequently the wants of man. Much good work has been already done in this direction, and when the recorded observations become more numerous we may confidently look forward to even more important results.

An almost pathetic interest attaches to that part of the Smithsonian report dealing with the approaching extinction of the buffalo. When the Yellowstone Park was organised as a retreat for the wild animals of that region it was hoped that the buffaloes would increase in number and be protected from the constant pursuit which threatened them with total annihilation. The result has, however, not been so favourable as was expected; two years ago there were 200 buffaloes, of these there remain only 50. As a buffalo is now worth about 1000 dollars, the few remaining individuals are being constantly pursued, and under existing circumstances it appears impossible to protect them in the Yellowstone Park. The secretary of the Smithsonian Institution advocates the removal of the remaining buffaloes to the National Zoological Park at Washington, and all true naturalists will unite in the desire that this effort to save a noble animal from extinction may meet with success.

Among the more important papers published in the current

¹ *An Account of the Smithsonian Institution.* By G. B. Goode. Washington, 1895.

number of the *Smithsonian Reports*, we may mention one on the "Poisonous Snakes of North America," by L. Stejneger, in which herpetologists will find a complete record of facts relating to rattlesnakes, together with a good historical account of researches on the poison of poisonous snakes.

Mr. G. P. Merrill, in his paper on the "Onyx Marbles," gives a new theory of the formation of these and similar rocks. He considers that they were deposited at the bottom of pools of warm water fed by springs, and that the varying conditions of evaporation and pressure in these pools caused the alternations of colour and texture to which the onyx marbles owe their beauty.

Mr. S. Culin, in his monograph on "Chinese Games with Dice and Dominoes," shows the ancient origin of these games, and Mr. W. W. Rockhill's "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," are of much interest to the ethnologist. Most of the papers are well illustrated, only those illustrations representing sections of onyx marbles fail adequately to reproduce the beauty of the specimens on account of the absence of the colour upon which most of that beauty depends.

When a book reaches its eleventh edition it may safely be assumed that it meets a want, and Mr. Routledge's *Discoveries and Inventions of the Nineteenth Century*¹ has now become a standard work upon the subject. Written, as it is, in popular language, devoid of unnecessary scientific mannerisms, it appeals to a wide circle of readers, and the numerous illustrations add considerably to its value. We do not consider, however, that either the method or the execution of the revision has brought the book up to date. Many statements which have long ceased to be correct, owing to the rapid progress of science, still remain in the text, and convey an erroneous impression to the reader. For instance, the chief source of the large quantity of iron produced in Great Britain is said to be the clay ironstone of South Wales and Staffordshire. Again, the charge of a Whitehead torpedo is said to consist of about 18 lbs. of glyoxyline, and the erroneous statement is made that the composition and mode of manufacture of cordite have not been disclosed. Not only have full particulars of this explosive been published in the patent specifications, but the evidence in the case of *Nobel v. Anderson*, which was published at length in the daily press, contains a very full description of the manufacture. Altogether, the chapters on explosives, firearms, and torpedoes stand much in need of revision. No mention is made of the Maxim gun, but the Gatling is fully described and illustrated. Again, we have illustrations of the dry diamond diggings on the Vaal River, in South Africa, but none of the much more important Kimberley mines. The piers at Port Said are said to be made of concrete and sand, and the transit of Venus in 1873 is

¹ *Discoveries and Inventions of the Nineteenth Century*. By R. Routledge. Eleventh Edition. London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 1896.

spoken of as the "recent" transit of Venus. When the next edition becomes necessary, it is to be hoped that a more thorough revision of the present one will take place.

The rapidly increasing consumption of cocoa in this country renders the appearance of a monograph dealing with its cultivation and manufacture specially opportune at the present time.¹ "Historicus" is evidently thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and the historical notes on the first introduction of the use of chocolate among Europeans are especially interesting. The description of the cultivation of "cacao theobroma" will be useful to dwellers in tropical and semi-tropical countries, for this appears to be one of those agricultural products for which a remunerative market may always be found. The description of the manufacture is apparently based upon the practice of one firm. The illustrations and typography are excellent, and the production of the work has evidently been a labour of love to "Historicus."

Another work, the chief interest of which centres in its illustrations, is Mr. Lowe's *Fern Growing*.² The author is well-known as an enthusiast and expert on this subject, and an experience of fifty years in the cultivation and crossing of ferns entitles him to a position of authority. The crossing of different varieties of ferns offers great difficulties on account of the special nature of the organs of reproduction. The spores first germinate and give rise to a prothallus, and it is in this prothalloid stage that cross-fertilisation must take place, if at all. Owing to the extreme minuteness of the spores direct manipulation of the individuals becomes practically impossible, and the method adopted by Mr. Lowe to secure hybrids was to sow the mixed spores so thickly that the prothalli resulting from them were almost in contact with each other. Such a method is necessarily very laborious, because it necessitates the cultivation of the whole of the prothalli until they reach the frond stage, as it is only in this stage that it is possible to ascertain whether hybridisation has taken place or not. Some of the hybrids produced by Mr. Lowe, and described and illustrated in this work, are of great beauty, and the scientific importance of the subject leads us to regret that there are so few workers in so promising a field.

¹ *Cocoa: All about It.* By "Historicus." London: Sampson Low & Co., Ltd. 1896.

² *Fern Growing.* By E. J. Lowe. London; J. C. Nimmo. 1895.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

READERS of a philosophical turn of mind who wish to know something of the doctrines of the late T. H. Green, but who have not the opportunity or the disposition to read his books, may be glad to read the summary of those doctrines as set forth in Mr. Fairbrother's book on *The Philosophy of Thomas Hill Green*.¹ It is not a big book, and it is concisely and clearly written, and conveys a good idea of its subject. In these scientific days such a pure metaphysician as Green is not likely to find many disciples, but the theory and conclusions of so profound a thinker cannot altogether be disregarded. Mr. Fairbrother treats of metaphysics, moral and political philosophy as taught by Green, and a chapter is devoted to an attempt to reply to his critics—of whom Professor Sidgwick may be regarded as the most formidable.

In *Heredity and Christian Problems*² Mr. Bradford goes over a great deal of familiar ground in showing how much the character and conduct of men, especially men belonging to the vicious and criminal classes, are due to heredity and environment. The striking feature in the book is that these purely scientific and natural conceptions are accepted by an orthodox Christian thinker. It is not so long ago when natural, not to say physical, explanations of moral conditions would have been looked upon by theologians as irreligious. Mr. Bradford discusses theories of heredity in an intelligent and candid fashion, and allows them their due weight, but wisely also lays great, if not equal, stress upon environment, a factor that is not always sufficiently taken into account. This leads naturally to a consideration of the influence of the home, education, &c., the evils of overcrowding, and other causes of vice and pauperism. From the facts of heredity Mr. Bradford deduces the lesson of our responsibility to our descendants, and from those of environment our social duties to our neighbours, in the widest sense. All this is good and practical, and of the most serious weight. On the theological side Mr. Bradford is no less outspoken. "Heredity and environment have much to do," he says, "in determining the moral and theological bias of every man"—a neglected truth which, if better known, might often moderate the bitterness of theological controversy. It is scarcely surprising to find that a man of Mr. Bradford's enlightened views should have abandoned the old vulgar idea of religion, and he holds, as most sensible men do now, that salvation is deliverance from a depraved condition, whether this condition results from heredity or environment—his Christianity comes in with the belief that such a

¹ *The Philosophy of Thomas Hill Green*. By W. H. Fairbrother, M.A. London: Methuen & Co. 1896.

² *Heredity and Christian Problems*. By Amory H. Bradford. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

deliverance is possible, while many mere physicists appear to teach that a man's birth and training settle his doom irretrievably. We go a long way with Mr. Bradford, though we do not hold his particular theory of conversion. The condition of some men, no doubt, appears to be hopeless, but for the majority we are still inclined to hope there is a possibility of improvement.

We have received the first number of a new philosophical journal, *Zeitschrift für Immanente Philosophie*,¹ edited by M. R. Kauffmann, with the co-operation of Wilhelm Schuppe and R. V. Schubert-Soldern. The last-named writer contributes an article on the origin and elements of perception; Herr Schuppe one on the limits of psychology; and there is also an article of monistic psychology by Ilariu Socoliu, and Franz Marschner contributes a paper on the theoretical basis of historical materialism. All the papers show ability and research, especially the one on Monism.

Mr. Jacobs has collected a number of essays, written, as he tells us, during the last eighteen years, from various reviews, under the title of *Jewish Ideals*.² They form a very readable volume. They suffer very little by age, several of them being of permanent interest. We must except from this remark the one written in defence of Daniel Deronda, which, appearing in *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1877, now seems rather stale. Mr. Jacobs claims to be one of the first of his (modern) race who stepped outside of the spiritual walls of the "English Ghetto," and attempted to regard "the position of Judaism from the standpoint of modern thought." We cannot say he has been altogether successful, for, though he writes as far as possible without prejudice, his pardonable racial pride and something of its exclusiveness still strikes us as affecting his way of looking at things. The first paper, that on "Jewish Ideals," a lecture delivered before the Ethical Society, defends Judaism from the charge of narrowness and rigidity which is commonly urged against it, and Mr. Jacobs argues for the use of law as a means of promoting morality. "The God of Israel" is a historical theological discussion of the development of the Monotheistic idea, and Mr. Jacobs traces this evolution from the Jehovah of Abraham to the *Substantia* of Spinoza; this evolution was, of course, assisted by "cross-fertilisation" by thoughts of other nations. Our author lays stress upon one advantage that the Jews have had over Christians, and that is the absence of a dogmatic creed, which has left them considerable latitude for philosophising. Other papers are of antiquarian rather than of theological interest. On page 55 there is a small but awkward misprint. In one paragraph "the unphilosophic agnosticism of Mr. Herbert Spencer" is referred to; a few lines further down, in the same

¹ *Zeitschrift für Immanente Philosophie, Erster Band, Heft 1.* Berlin: R. Salinger. 1895.

² *Jewish Ideals, and Other Essays.* By Joseph Jacobs. London: David Nutt. 1896.

paragraph, we read that "Spencer" has been called "the poet's poet." This might make the most ardent admirer of the author of the *Synthetic Philosophy* start; but a moment's reflection reminds us that the second reference is to Edmund Spenser.

*Father Humphrey's Recollections*¹ provide some interesting and instructive reading, and we should not think the Scottish Episcopal Church, which the writer abandoned for Rome, will feel particularly grateful for his revelations. Interesting as these papers are for the light they throw upon the growth of what is now called Anglicanism, they are still more interesting as throwing light upon the psychological phenomena known as going over to Rome, as illustrated by the writer's experience. If Father Humphrey is candid about his old friends he is not less so about himself. The Roman theory of the Church is set forth with unusual precision, and exhibits very clearly the impossibility of its reunion with other churches except by way of absorption; and the division which still exists in the Church of England over the doctrine of the Real Presence is admirably criticised in a long quotation from a pamphlet by a Redemptorist Father. If Anglicans would like to learn how they appear in the eyes of Roman Catholics they should read Father Humphrey's book.

Conversion is the title given to twelve selected sermons by the late C. H. Spurgeon (Passmore, Alabaster & Co.) The merits and demerits of Mr. Spurgeon's preaching are too well known to require any criticism on our part. We can only look upon his theology as a "survival" which is probably destined to survive, though as a diminishing quantity, for some time to come. It may be summed up in a sentence to be found upon p. 113 of the present volume. "Diminish your ideas of the wrath of God and the terrors of hell, and in that proportion you will diminish the results of your work," or, in other words, your congregation will fall off, which shows that Mr. Spurgeon had not a very elevated idea of the intelligence of his flock.

We have received from the author, Mr. R. Sadler, a new translation of the Book of Daniel (London: Sheppard & St. John) and also one of the first chapter of Ezekiel. Some of Mr. Sadler's corrections of the authorised translations are very trivial, others are a little more to the point, and though these pamphlets are "earnestly commended to the notice of Biblical students by the translator," they do not throw much light upon their obscure originals. Criticism, in the proper sense of the word, is beyond Mr. Sadler, and he evidently does not accept the view that Daniel is an apocryphal work of late date.

¹ *Recollections of Scottish Episcopalianism*. By Father Humphrey, S.J. London: Thomas Baker. 1896.

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

PROFESSOR SELIGMAN'S *Essays in Taxation*¹ is, from several points of view, a timely and useful contribution to the thorny subject of taxation. The history of taxation is in the main the history of class antagonisms. Thus in the United States at the present moment the contest in its most acute form is between the agricultural and the commercial classes, each trying to roll off the burden of taxation on to the shoulders of the other, or some third party. The heavy indictment which Professor Seligman brings against the general property tax, the main source of public revenue, should do something to bring about its abolition. It is, he says, "a failure from the triple standpoint of history, theory, and practice." It is not an American invention, but a relic of mediævalism. As a matter of fact, it is merely a tax on real estate, and any attempt to make it a general property tax is foredoomed to failure. It is impossible in any complicated social organism. "It puts a premium," says the professor, "on dishonesty, and debauches the public conscience; it reduces deception to a system, and makes a science of knavery; it imposes double taxation on one man, and grants entire immunity to the next." And this indictment the professor supports by incontestable evidence.

This should prove a warning to those in this country who seek to tax personalty by a similar system.

Its retention in the States Professor Seligman thinks is due to ignorance or inertia.

It is probable, however, that the inflexibility of the American Constitution is chiefly to blame.

The single tax, as advocated by Mr. Henry George, gains no support from the professor, since it is an entire negation of the first principle of taxation—viz., that of relative ability or faculty.

The inheritance tax, on the other hand, is the product of modern democracy, and the professor considers that progressive inheritance taxes will largely develop in the future. The essay on the taxation of corporations, by which are meant banks, insurance, railway, and other companies, appeals chiefly to American readers, but Englishmen may turn with profit to the chapter on "Betterment," where Mr. Bauman's errors are exposed, except such as the professor considers "too frivolous to deserve any reply." It is admitted, that there may be cases where it has not worked well, but "the evidence of experience, and the popular verdict as to the methods employed are overwhelmingly in its favour."

¹ *Essays in Taxation.* By Edwin R. A. Seligman, Professor of Political Economy and Finance, Columbia College. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Professor Seligman cannot be too highly commended for the able manner in which he has made use of the historical and comparative methods in the treatment of this intricate subject.

Every student is familiar with Mr. Lawrence's *Handbook of International Law*, and indeed every naval officer, for it was adopted by the Admiralty immediately upon its publication in 1885. *The Principles of International Law*,¹ by the same author, is simply an expansion of this little handbook of 120 pages to a goodly volume of over 600 pages, and we are glad to find that Mr. Lawrence has adhered to the excellent divisions and subdivisions of his earlier work, which it would be difficult to better. Mr. Lawrence could not have chosen a more propitious moment for the publication of his new work than the present. As a lecturer, both in the United States and in this country, and as a well-known publicist, Mr. Lawrence's opinions will have special weight upon two, at least, of the burning questions of the hour. Upon these questions, as indeed upon all others, Mr. Lawrence approaches the subject not only from the point of view of a publicist, but also from that of a common-sense man of business.

On the American continent there could be no question of the application of the theory of the balance of power. As Mr. Lawrence says the "great Republic of the New World stands out as a giant among pigmies." The primacy of the United States in America is like and yet unlike that of the six great Powers in Europe. It is the method of control that is different. The origin of the Monroe doctrine, according to Mr. Lawrence, is to be traced to Washington's farewell address, which was paraphrased by Jefferson in the famous words, "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none." In the hands of President Monroe this grew into the doctrine that any attempt on the part of European Powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere would be considered as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." To this was added the declaration that the American continents were not thenceforth "to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European Powers." This doctrine Mr. Lawrence accepts, provided it is not extended so as to sanction any interference by the Republic with the internal domestic affairs of the independent States upon the American continents. Upon the question of a permanent arbitral tribunal for the United States and Great Britain, Mr. Lawrence speaks strongly, and to the point. Arbitration has two great defects. On each occasion the arbitral tribunal must be constituted *ad hoc*, when perhaps both

¹ *The Principles of International Law*. By T. J. Lawrence, M.A., LL.D. Lecturer in Downing College, Cambridge; lately Extension Professor of History and International Law in the University of Chicago, U.S.A.; Lecturer in Maritime Law at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

parties are already embittered, and secondly, there is no force behind the tribunal when constituted. The latter can only be remedied by a thoroughly representative international tribunal for which the time is not yet ripe, but the former, as between the States and ourselves, can easily be removed. "Nothing more is needed than a treaty containing two clauses, the first of which shall stipulate for a reference to arbitration of every dispute, and the second shall provide, that in every case the tribunal shall be constituted of so many members nominated in fixed proportion by the contracting parties and other States mentioned by name. Public opinion in England and America is ripe for such a treaty."

Those who favour the extension of the British Empire by means of Chartered Companies will do well to read Chapter II. "There is, doubtless," says Mr. Lawrence, "much fascination in the idea of opening up new territories to the commercial and political influence of a country, and at the same time adding nothing to its financial burdens or international obligations. But experience shows that the glamour soon wears off, and the State which seeks to obtain power without responsibility obtains instead responsibility without power."

Mr. Lawrence's arrangement is scientific, his law and history accurate, and his account of each clear and concise. We cannot commend this work too highly.

Under the Czar and Queen Victoria,¹ by Mr. Jaakoff Prelooker, is the story of a life which will amply repay perusal. It is the story of a young Russian reformer, who was at first accepted by the Government in the belief apparently that he would succeed in undermining the Jewish doctrines, and bring over the converts to the orthodox Church. Under this belief, founded chiefly upon a book entitled *New Israel*, which upon its appearance created a profound sensation, Mr. Prelooker received the active support of the Government. When, however, it was found that Mr. Prelooker's object was to reform, not only the apostate Jews, but also the orthodox Christians, the author became the object of petty tyrannies and official persecutions from which he was compelled to fly to this country. This book is another proof that we did not exaggerate the political and social despotism rife in Russia when we recently noticed Mr. Thompson's *Russian Politics*.

*The Journal of a Spy in Paris during the Reign of Terror*² is a fragment as curious as it is interesting. Both the title *Quelques Observations sur Les Industries, &c.*, and the assumed name of the author, Raoul Hesdin, are, of course, a mere blind. To his identity

¹ *Under the Czar and Queen Victoria. The Experiences of a Russian Reformer.* By Jaakoff Prelooker, author of *New Israel*. With Illustrations. London: James Nisbet & Co.

² *The Journal of a Spy in Paris during the Reign of Terror, January-July, 1794.* By Raoul Hesdin. London: John Murray.

there is no clue, and even his nationality is clouded in mystery; but that he was a man of courage or resource, the mere possession of such an incriminating document at such a terrible period is sufficient proof. The chief value of the fragment lies not so much in the light it throws on political events, as on the social condition of Paris during the bloody months of January to July 1794. The author was evidently a keen-sighted man, and clearly foresaw the military despotism of a Napoleon.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

*A String of Chinese Peach-Stones*¹ is the curious title of a thoroughly interesting and readable book by Mr. W. Arthur Cornaby. To the uninitiated this title conveys little meaning. We are told that it may be taken to indicate a collection of desiccated tales, legends, and the like, picked up here and there along the highways and byways of China; or it may be derived literally from a charm of peach-stones which figures in the book. Be this as it may, we are given a series of character sketches, drawn from life, representative of normal village life in Central China by one who appears to have had exceptionally favourable opportunities for taking observations and gleaning out-of-the-way information as to the customs and habits of the peasantry, and by one who, to judge by the work before us, has certainly availed himself of such opportunities to the utmost.

Twenty-one Days in India,² by Mr. George Aberigh-Mackay, consists of a series of character sketches of the principal types best known to Anglo-Indians, drawn in somewhat high relief, but at the same time faithfully drawn and true to life. These sketches first appeared in *Vanity Fair*, and as they have now reached the sixth edition further commendation from us would be superfluous.

The travels of Major-General Blaksley, which he describes, or rather of which he gives us glimpses which only excite our curiosity, in a volume entitled *Footprints of the Lion, and other Stories of Travel*,³ would form material for a dozen average books of travel. From Ragusa, where springs the Riviera of the Adriatic, to Cashmir, and from Singapore to Bangkok, under the guidance of the light-hearted General, are journeys in imagination that few will regret. The illustrations are charmingly reproduced from photographs.

¹ *A String of Chinese Peach-Stones*. By W. Arthur Cornaby. London: Charles H. Kelly. 1895.

² *Twenty-one Days in India*; being the Tour of Sir Ali Baba, K.C.B. By George Aberigh-Mackay. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Ltd. 1896.

³ *Footprints of the Lion, and other Stories of Travel*. By Major-General J. Blaksley. With Illustrations. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Ltd. 1896.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE fourth volume of the *Intermediate Text-Book of English History*,¹ by Messrs. A. Johnson Evans and C. S. Fearenside, is written in a clear and vigorous style. The facts are admirably marshalled, and special attention is paid to home affairs, the details of Continental warfare being rightly regarded as only of secondary importance in a work professing to be an English history for the young. In some respects, the book cannot be described as a mere elementary text-book of history for boys. The authors have endeavoured to give more than a superficial idea as to the characters of English kings. For example, the appreciation of George III.'s personal peculiarities shows that something more than a bald collection of details is aimed at. "He was as narrow-minded and obstinate as the English king whom he most resembles in character and ideals—Charles I.—jostling oddly with the constitutional principles which he had learned through Bute from Bolingbroke, was that German conception, which he had derived from a German mother, of a king as a perhaps genial but at bottom autocratic landlord. He was, indeed, too much like the monarchs of the Continent to be a success as a king of Englishmen; and before long forces were to arise which he could not comprehend, against which he would, therefore, struggle, and which would sooner or later make it impossible for him to realise his ambitions."

The chapter dealing with "the American Revolution" and the "Beginning of British India" is an admirable specimen of condensed narrative.

The book may be recommended, not only to the students preparing for an examination, but to the general reader, to whom it supplies materials not easily retained by even the best memory.

Mrs. Alice Morse Earle's biography of Margaret Winthrop² is one of the most interesting books of the kind that has ever appeared. It is one of the series of "Women of Colonial and Revolutionary Times in America," and gives a most vivid picture of Puritan New England. The tribute paid by Mrs. Earle to the "unerring genius of Hawthorne," whose representation of Boston life in Governor Winthrop's days is so marvellously true, is creditable to her critical judgment. We are afraid she has idealised those Puritan husbands and wives, who were so fond of interlarding both their conversation and their letters with Biblical quotations. When a man, having mourned the death of two wives, promptly sets out in search of a

¹ *A History of England from 1714 to 1770*. Being part of the *Intermediate Text-Book of English History*. Vol. IV. By A. Johnson Evans, M.A., and C. S. Fearenside, M.A. London: W. B. Clive, University Correspondence College Press.

² *Margaret Winthrop*. By Alice Morse Earle. London: John Murray.

third, at thirty-one, a cynic may reasonably doubt his entire unworldliness and spirituality. Such, according to Mrs. Earle herself, was the conjugal history of John Winthrop.

Apart from this tendency to exaggerate the supposed virtues of her Puritan ancestors, this lady has all the qualities required for an excellent biographer. Her heroine, Margaret Winthrop, was indeed a model housewife; and she would have proved a noble character, even if she had been brought up in a moral atmosphere entirely untinged by Puritanism. Many of the Puritans were downright hypocrites, but, in her, sincerity was the prevailing characteristic. Her piety, if severe, was unaffected. Amongst her friends was the celebrated Sir Harry Vane, who was, it appears, one of Anne Hutchinson's converts. The chapter dealing with Mistress Hutchinson is one of enthralling interest, and gives a curious glimpse of Massachusetts in Puritan days. It is almost inconceivable how a woman, by propagating a mystical theory of religion, could almost upset an established government; but such is the sober truth, and, to those who are unacquainted with the facts, we recommend Mrs. Earle's delightful book. We shall look forward with interest to the other volumes of this series.

Some light is thrown on the condition of France under the First Empire by the *Mémoires du Général Comte de Saint-Chamans*,¹ just published by MM. Plon et Cie. of Paris. The author of these memoirs was a soldier by instinct and choice, and the important position which he occupied as aide-de-camp of Marshal Soult enabled him to see the dramatic episodes which he chronicles in an easy and perfectly natural style. The period covered by the memoirs ranges from 1802 to 1832, and therefore embraces the time of the First Napoleon's fall. The Count de Saint-Chamans is apparently more concerned about the character of Soult than about that of the great Emperor. This, no doubt, is explained by his long and close association with Napoleon's great general. He regards Soult as the victim of inordinate ambition, resembling, in this respect, Napoleon himself. There are in this volume some interesting references to Wellington.

The history of the Second Empire in France has yet to be written in its entirety. Materials most useful for the preparation of such a work are furnished by the *Mémoires du Duc de Persigny*,² also published by MM. Plon et Cie. These memoirs were confided by their author to the Count d'Espagny, and, though they contain too many personal expressions of the Duke de Persigny's reactionary views, they give the public some information about Louis Napoleon's policy. The attack made on Thiers is grotesquely extravagant, and may be

¹ *Mémoires du Général Comte de Saint-Chamans (1802-1832)*. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1896.

² *Mémoires du Duc de Persigny*. Paris: E. Plon et Cie. 1896.

described as the impotent wrath of political failure against political success. Very different is the tone in which the author refers to Bismarck. This may be taken as a measure of his patriotism.

Professor Bury's edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*¹ will be sure to excite profound interest amongst all students of history. Gibbon's great reputation cannot save him from impeachment on many grounds as a slave of prejudice and a distorter of facts. Professor Bury says of him that "he allowed his temperament to colour his history." Still it must be admitted that, again using the words of his learned editor, "his accuracy is amazing." Of course, "accuracy" here is not synonymous with "truthfulness." In the closing page of his admirable introduction, Professor Bury thus points out the redeeming qualities which must ensure for Gibbon, in spite of many serious defects, enduring fame as an historian: "That Gibbon is behind date in many details and in some departments of importance simply signifies that we and our fathers have not lived in an absolutely incompetent world. But in the main things he is still our master, above and beyond 'date.' It is needless to dwell on the obvious qualities which secure to him immunity from the common lot of historical writers—such as the bold and certain measure of his progress through the ages: his accurate vision and his tact in managing perspective; his discreet reserves of judgment and timely scepticism; the immortal affectation of his unique manner. By virtue of these superiorities he can defy the danger with which the activity of successors must always threaten the worthies of the past."

This edition of Gibbon's celebrated work will be completed in seven volumes. The text is clearly and beautifully printed, and much valuable information is embodied in the notes and appendices.

It would be hard to find a more delightfully-written book than *New Orleans: the Place and the People*,² by Grace King. The authoress writes in the spirit of a child telling the life story of a mother. To her imagination New Orleans is among cities "the most feminine of women, always using the old standard of feminine distinction." She goes on with a charming *naïveté*: "New Orleans is not a Puritan mother, nor a hardy Western pioneeress, if the term be permitted. She is, on the contrary, simply a Parisian, who came two centuries ago to the banks of the Mississippi—partly out of curiosity for the New World, partly out of *ennui* for the Old, and who 'Ma foi!' as she would say with a shrug of her shoulders, has never cared to return to her mother country." The history of this gay and picturesque city is admirably told in the four hundred odd pages contained in the volume. The authoress is, we fear, a worshipper

¹ *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. By Edward Gibbon. Vol. I. Edited by J. B. Bury. London: Methuen & Co.

² *New Orleans: The Place and the People*. By Grace King. New York and London: Macmillan & Co.

of the "good old times," and there is nothing distinctively American, at least in the conventional sense, about her tastes or her mental attitude. Her sympathies are with French ideas, which, according to her, have always had the mastery in New Orleans. Her picture of the sanguinary scenes which have occurred in the city from time to time is exceedingly dramatic. We have a less tragic element in the work of the good Ursuline nuns who supplied the young men of New Orleans with French wives and mothers in the early part of the eighteenth century. The account of General Butler's ill-treatment of the Confederates in the city—a more recent episode—is, we are inclined to think, not altogether free from partisanship. Still it is evident that he displayed unnecessary severity. An anecdote given by the authoress of this book on the authority of a visitor to New Orleans at the time relieves the gloom of the chapter dealing with the events of the period. It brings out the marvellous mother-wit of an uneducated Irish woman:

"The general sat dressed in full uniform, with sword; on the table before him lay a loaded revolver; sentinels stood at the door, orderlies and soldiers crowded the ante-room. An Irishwoman was asking for a passport to go to her son in the Confederate army. After much billingsgate on both sides, 'Well, now, General Butler,' she said, 'the question is, are you going to give me a passport or are you not?' He coolly leaned back in his chair and, with a provoking smile, slowly replied: 'No, woman, I will never give a rebel mother a pass to go to see a rebel son.' She gazed at him a moment, and then as coolly and deliberately replied: 'General Butler, if I thought the devil was as ugly as you, I would double my prayers night and morning that I might never fall into his clutches,' and, bolting past the sentinels, she disappeared."

[We have slightly modified the Irishwoman's words, judging from our knowledge of the Emerald Isle that her language must have been misreported.]

BELLES LETTRES.

BACON, the greatest and the meanest of mankind; Bunyan, styled the "Philistine of genius" by the "elect" among modern philosophers; Bentley, the classical critic, who set a new example of method—these three men of genius linked together by the biographer in the same book make a curious trio. Most interesting reading, however, and not the less so for being so richly diversified, both in substance and style, is offered in this new volume (the thirteenth) of *English Men of Letters*.¹ No better pen, perhaps, could now be found than that of Dean Church to deal, at once unsparingly and

¹ *English Men of Letters*. Edited by John Morley. Vol. XIII. Bacon, Bunyan, Bentley. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

sympathetically, with the infinite pathos of the fall and humiliation of the Lord Chancellor, and to furnish a broad and comprehensive appreciation, albeit compressed into about forty pages, of that philosophy, for the greatness of which posterity feels inclined to forgive and forget so much in life and character that was in direct contradiction. The style of the next sketch, by that picturesque writer, James Anthony Froude, is as diverse from the foregoing as are the characteristics of the subject—the tinker of Elstow, who knew neither Aristotle nor Plato, but who wrote the *Pilgrim's Progress*—from those of the cultured Lord Chancellor. The third and last theme, that of "Bentley," is appropriately undertaken by Professor Jebb.

A new edition, published by Macmillan & Co., of Matthew Arnold's *Dramatic and Later Poems*,¹ will be hailed with delight by readers whose poetic taste is still unspoilt by the turgid versification of these latter days. The volume includes "Merope," and "Empedocles on Etna." Among the later poems are "Westminster Abbey" and "Poor Matthias." There are a few pages of notes at the end, with needful classical references.

The resuscitation of *Headlong Hall* and *Nightmare Abbey*,² as specimens of Peacock's peculiar art and style, with all his inimitable humour and satirical powers and *joie de vivre*, is another step in the right direction, and a racy relief to the literature of pessimistic morality and morbid sensationalism. It scarcely required a wealth of quaint illustrations, or an introduction by George Saintsbury, to recommend these old favourites, although to many readers these additions will probably prove further attractions.

That enterprising firm—Messrs. Jarrold & Sons—announces the fourth edition of *The Wild Ruthvens*,³ a Home Story, by Curtis Yorke. The illustrations, by E. F. Manning, are much above the ordinary standard found in schoolboy literature—even in books which are, as this one evidently is, intended for grown-up schoolboys.

Amongst other books we have received from Messrs. Digby, Long & Co., appears An Irish Sketch, *Roland Kyan*,⁴ which really seems to be so lacking in local colour, in humour, raciness, and those familiar features which characterise and popularise Irish tales in general, as to make this somewhat crude production quite disappointing.

*Shades of the Choir-Carvers of Amiens*⁵ is a volume of verse got

¹ *Poems by Matthew Arnold*. Dramatic and Later Poems. London: Macmillan & Co.

² *Headlong Hall* and *Nightmare Abbey*. By J. Love Peacock. Illustrated by H. R. Millar. With an Introduction by George Saintsbury. London: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

³ *The Wild Ruthvens*. A Home Story. By Curtis Yorke. Illustrated by E. F. Manning. London: Jarrold & Sons.

⁴ *Roland Kyan*. An Irish Sketch. By Walter Sweetman, B.A. London: Digby, Long & Co.

⁵ *Shades of the Choir-Carvers of Amiens*. By S. A. Coxhead. London: Digby, Long & Co.

up in Messrs. Digby, Long & Co.'s well-known dainty style of production. We have looked carefully through the pages in search of something above the level of mediocrity ; but, alas ! we have looked in vain.

We have also received from the same publishers *Where the Waters Ebb and Flow* and *Ruth Overstone*, by Leonard Hawke—tales that can be read without undue concentration of thought.

The Great Secret and its Unfoldment in Occultism.¹ This work on spiritualistic phenomena, being "a record of forty years' experience in the modern mystery," by "a Church of England clergyman," bears on the title-page the words, "If a man die, shall he live again," and is brimful of facts, which are apparently set forth in good faith, and intended to prove the possibility of intercommunication between the living and the dead. The book will be read with much attention by students of the Occult. Even the general reader, who recks little of table-turning, will not find the volume at all tedious.

Comrades is a long story,² with enough treachery, bloodshed, and wickedness in it to satisfy an exacting modern taste, and with French, Italian, and German plentifully sprinkled over its pages—even a bit of Latin sometimes thrown in ; but it is hardly a story one would care to read again. By the well-tried means of secret societies and their vengeance, of exciting love-scenes, and the other tricks of fictional machinery, a certain feverish interest may be inspired in the reader ; but we look in vain here for anything that really marks a good novel, or a work of literature as such. The style is elementary, and disfigured by the vulgar faults of one who screams for emphasis and seeks refuge in foreign languages to express what the writer's own English apparently cannot.

The pedantic tutor, Warboys, who turns up at the beginning of the tale, in Athens,³ with one of the main characters, young Louis Reed, is hardly typical of the modern scholar ; but as many people still seem to think that the "don" sleeps in cap and gown, the picture drawn on page 12 may possibly be accepted as both lifelike and representative.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* is advertised, praising the writer's Scientific Romances, or, at least, the first of these, as "like a tonic." Another review speaks of his "New Era of Thought" as a powerful mental gymnastic. We miss this rousing effect in the present volume,⁴

¹ *The Great Secret and its Unfoldment in Occultism*. By a Church of England Clergyman. London : George Redway. 1895.

² *Comrades*. By Annabel Gray, author of *Margaret Dunbar*, &c. London : Drane, Chant, & Co., Salisbury Square. Pp. vi., 392.

³ *Sleeping Fires*. By George Gissing. Autonym Library. London : T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square. 1895. Pp. 230.

⁴ *Stella and an Unfinished Communication*. Studies of the Unseen. By C. H. Hinton, B.A., author of *Scientific Romances*, &c. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. ; New York : Macmillan & Co. 1895. Pp. 177.

perhaps because wanting ourselves in the capacity to appreciate spiritualistic stories.

This beautiful collection of new poems is a memorial volume,¹ the idea of which was conceived by W. M. Rossetti in the time subsequent to the death of the poetess, whose "strong eulogy in the public press" convinced her brother that she was regarded as one of the important figures in British poetical literature of the nineteenth century. These verses were accordingly printed to sustain her poetical reputation or help to show the growth of her mind. Among them the Italian (whether in spirit or in language) are perhaps the most powerful and poetic; to her, as to Browning, Italy was the motherland :

"Wherefore art thou strange, and not my mother?
Thou hast stolen my heart and broken it :
Would that I might call thy sons "my brother,"
Call thy daughters "sister sweet"
Lying in thy lap, not in another,
Dying at thy feet." (*En Route*, p. 152.)

The sadness which haunts so many of these poems is here, perhaps, a little unnatural to many of us : it is not in the warmth and sunlight and beauty of Italy that one thinks constantly of death, unless that thought is wrought into our nature by other forces. But in the devotional poems (pp. 187-265) this never jars ; the sorrowful humility of the "Offering of the New Law" (pp. 247, 8) is in agreement with the central idea of Christianity :

"Once I thought to sit so high
In the palace of the sky ;
Now I thank God for His grace,
If I may fill the lowest place."

The old and vexed question of mixed marriages is the subject of this pleasant little story,² which goes back to Indian Mutiny days. An English girl who marries an Indian Mohammedan, and expects to be petted and caressed as if in our own island "paradise of women," must expect the disillusion that befalls Brenda, up to a certain point. But it is hardly fair to suggest that in Islam husbands cannot love their wives ; still less that they would generally be guilty of the treachery and cruelty of Mr. Ameer Ali, who ends by offering his bride as a present to the native prince. There is no more beautiful story of married life than that of the Arabian prophet with Khadijah, and there could hardly be more emphatic teaching on the duties of men to women, as well as of women to men, than is to be found in the Koran (*e.g.*, the iv. chapter). Parallel to the Western misconception of Moslem ideas about women in this life is the confusion of thought among many about the Mohammedan conception of³

¹ *New Poems by Christina Rossetti*. Hitherto unpublished and uncollected. Edited by William Michael Rossetti. London : Macmillan & Co. 1896. Pp. 397.

² *Brenda's Experiment*. By Surgeon-Major H. M. Greenhow. London : Jarrold & Sons, Warwick Lane, E.C. Pp. 234.

women's souls. It is constantly said by ignorant or prejudiced Europeans that the Prophet, his book, and his followers, denied and deny to females the possession of an eternal spirit and a hope of future life. "But Allah shall answer them, 'I waste not the works of any worker about you, male or female—one of you is from the other'" (Koran, ch. iii.).

Apart from a certain inclination to write against a system which requires, like other things, the sympathy of a candid and full hearing before it can be fully understood—a system, too, which is certainly one of the most remarkable creations of human history, Major Greenhow's book is to the simple reader, not desirous of a great display of learning in quotations, mottoes, and remarks, interesting and pleasant. The writer is evidently acquainted with Anglo-Indian life and its military affairs, and though Rudyard Kipling has now made any competition hazardous in this field, his account of things in the days of the great Mutiny over one small district of our Eastern Empire makes a good story, told without the fashionable affectations, in an honest English way.

*Gildas Haven*¹ deals with a curate's life and the disputes of Church and Dissent. The pictures drawn of the oddities of both sides are not without humour—the Anglican who tries to persuade himself and others that no men of robust health and character could belong to Nonconformity; the old minister too deeply interested in reading the story of the recent conversion of eleven Jews to notice that his daughter is in love and has just parted from her lover; the deacon of Rehoboth chapel, who, like Mr. Newdegate, is always on the watch for Jesuits and becomes convinced of imminent danger for his connexion when "one of the choir from the Cathedral town of Dilchester," gives a solo at a week-evening service and bows at the name of Jesus; the dog at the manse who thrives upon the munching of old numbers of the *Prophetical Review*. But for these touches, however, we are afraid there would not be much to beguile the reader in this story.

The epithet "powerful" is not seldom made use of in criticising works of fiction. It is more frequently applied than deserved, but we can think of no term in the English language which in one word sums up equally well the impressions derived from a study of *Morton Verlost*.² Taking as her text "That which ye sow ye reap," Marguerite Bryant has exemplified the ruthless sequence of cause and effect in the life story of Morton Grevil. To him the crisis of his life came early—while he was yet at Oxford. The choice between good and evil had to be made and deliberately he chose the latter. Not all to blame was he in the matter. The

¹ *Gildas Haven*. By M. S. Haycraft. London: Jarrold & Sons, Warwick Lane. 1896. Pp. 231.

² *Morton Verlost*. By Marguerite Bryant. London: A. & C. Black.

father's stiff-necked pride was at least equally to blame with the son's. A disinherited outcast from his home, Morton leads for many years a hopeless existence as gambler and roué. Rescued from his degradation by the influence of his love for a good woman he makes a fresh start. But do what he will and come what may, ever across his path stretches the shadow of his past; his former misdeeds have, as it were, laid a curse on all his efforts, and by death only is he relieved from the hopeless burden of his destiny. The story is full of strong situations, and the author never fails to rise to the level demanded. The treatment of the final scenes, in which Morton, realising that it needs a braver man to face life than death, prepares for his end, is just a trifle melodramatic, but, beyond this, we have nothing but praise for a great work achieved, of which any of our living authors might be proud.

ART.

MR. ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER, formerly Director of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, has published the first part of *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture*.¹ It is on a smaller scale than the existing histories, and is intended to satisfy the need for "a general outline of our present knowledge of Greek sculpture, distinguishing as clearly as possible the different schools and periods, and giving typical instances to show the development of each." The book is eminently satisfactory. It is quite up to date, with the exception of the French discoveries at Delphi; and these, Mr. Gardner rightly excuses himself for omitting, since they have not yet been published by those to whom they are due. There is no useless discussion of problems which no one can yet resolve; but where the question is of vital interest, the different tenable views are stated briefly. Our author has been criticised for this conservatism by those who are always anxious to impose the newest science on the student. In this he has only served the cause of truth, by which is not meant truth-telling, in which all Englishmen claim to excel all other peoples, but the knowing of truth, about which they are not nearly so careful. He clearly expresses this essential quality of a handbook, which should provide the student "with a framework into which he can easily fit all the knowledge that he may acquire from subsequent reading or observation; and at the same time he will not find that he has anything to unlearn when he becomes acquainted with more facts or newer theories." This conscientiousness is carried even into the spelling of names. Plain people are not offended by having all their *c*'s changed to *k*'s, with the other bits of erudition which the

¹ *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture*. By Ernest Arthur Gardner, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1896. Price 5s.

Neo-Hellenism demands, as if English orthography had no vitality or rights of its own after all its centuries of growth. We have stumbled only at the "Diadumenus of Polyclitus," in which we are unable to work out the transliteral equation. The style of the explanations is clear, though without relief, and perhaps a trifle plodding. This is partly due to another piece of conservatism, which keeps to the long English paragraph. Matthew Arnold sneered at the French short paragraphs, which divide up the writer's thought logically to the eye, as "scientific." But it is probable that the English habit comes not so much from dislike of logic (or rational order) as from the self-suppression which Englishmen so curiously cultivate even in their manners. Certainly the matter of Mr. Gardner's paragraphs is well ordered and complete; and these criticisms of *minutiae* in a book so carefully written and handsomely printed, would not be put forward if his work were not, once again, eminently satisfactory.

This first instalment (there is to be one other volume) is a handy 12mo. of some 275 pages. A rather full introduction gives the literary and monumental sources of our knowledge of Greek sculpture, its materials and processes, its divisions and chronology. A first chapter is devoted to the early influences from Egypt, Assyria and Phœnicia, Asia Minor (and the Hittites), and from that prehistoric art of Mycenæ which was separated from classic Greece by the dark ages of the Doric immigration. This is followed by art in Homer and Hesiod, and early works before 600 B.C., taken as the date of the rise of Greek sculpture. The second chapter deals with the period of growth down to 480 B.C., with its inherited and borrowed types, its inventions and schools, and its monuments locally classified—Ionic of Asia Minor, the Ægean Islands, Thessaly, Athens; Doric, of Crete, the Peloponnese, Sicily, Bœotia; and the later art of Athens, Argos and Sicyon, and Ægina. The third chapter takes us through the golden age which followed the Persian wars—of the Olympian sculptures, of Myron and Phidias, with whom the present volume ends.

It need not be said how much of the world's most important history, as well as of its best art, enters into such a framework. The progress of civilisation through the commerce of its Phœnician apostles, the swaying of humanity from old Greek to Doric and back to an Ionic Renaissance which enthroned idealism in the world, the meaning of Homer's songs and the life which the athletes represented, vital religion itself in its influence over the development of a supreme race—all are better understood from the reading of this little book. And such reading is the enforced complement of all who would share in the true culture of our own age.

THE TRIUMPH OF SUNDAY OPENING.¹

"Yesterday, for the first time on Sundays, the national museums in the metropolis, which are under the direct control of the Government, were opened from 2 till 6. At the principal entrance to the South Kensington Museum there was a considerable crowd prior to the opening of the doors, among which were many officials of the Sunday Society and the National Sunday League, Mr. Mark H. Judge, the founder and honorary secretary of the Sunday Society, being the first to pass the turnstile. The following is the official return of visitors: Main building, 3772; western galleries and Indian section, 1055; southern galleries, 2341; total 7168. Bethnal Green Museum was yesterday visited by 3026 persons."—*Times*, April 6, 1896.

EASTER-DAY of this year has thus begun the Sunday opening of the great national institutions in London. This is in conformity with a decision of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education to open the South Kensington Museum with its branches "as an experiment on Sundays," from 2 P.M. till dusk. The decision was warranted by a resolution passed by the House of Commons without a division, on the preceding 10th of March, affirming the opinion that "It is desirable that the national museums and art galleries in London should be open for a limited number of hours on Sundays, after 2 P.M." In 1891, and in previous years, the motions for Sunday Opening had been rejected in the House of Commons by considerable majorities.

This first Sunday opening in London has thus come to be of more than local or passing interest. Like most things which result from a vote of the House of Commons, it signals no new departure. It crowns in London—nationally, as it were—the persistent efforts of many years, which had already met with success in the provincial cities of the United Kingdom.

The honour of first advocating this long needed reform before the House of Commons belongs to Joseph Hume, of economic memory. This was more than sixty years ago. So far as can be ascertained, the first Englishman to give concrete shape to the reform was William Lovett, one of the first members of the Birkbeck Institution. In 1829, he drew up a petition to the House of Commons for the opening of the British Museum and other national collections of

¹ (1) "Sunday in England," *THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, 1876; (2) *Annual Reports of the Sunday Society*; (3) *The Sunday Review*, 14 vols.; (4) *Annual Reports of the National Sunday League*; (5) *First Annual Report of the Federation of Sunday Societies*; (6) *Report of the Joint Committee of Convocation*, on the petition from the Sunday Society, 1898; (7) *Report (Blue Book) on Lord's Day Act*, 1895.

“art and nature.” This was signed by many thousands of persons throughout the country, and was ultimately presented by Joseph Hume.

It was not until 1855 that a definite organisation was started with a view to working for the reform. In that year the National Sunday League was founded, with three honorary secretaries. These were, in that early time, Messrs. R. M. Morrell, Richard Webb, and John Heap. Mr. Morrell seems to have been the leading spirit in the League, and he has remained connected with it until now, although for some years he has ceased to be honorary secretary. The National Sunday League was originally formed with the one object in view—the opening of museums and like institutions on Sundays. To this a variety of other objects was soon added, such as Sunday excursions, the Sunday playing of bands in parks, and the delivery of Sunday lectures. The latter objects soon monopolised the attention of the League to the detriment of the cause of Sunday opening. In consequence, a number of the members who were interested in this primary object of agitation for reform, retired with Mr. Mark H. Judge from the Council of the League, and founded the Sunday Society, “to obtain the opening of museums, art galleries, libraries, aquariums, and gardens on Sundays.” This was in 1875. Mr. Judge had attended, in April 1872, at the first permanent Sunday opening of a municipal institution in the United Kingdom, the Free Public Library of Birmingham, as one of a deputation from the National Sunday League, which he joined in 1866, being elected to the Council in the following year. He has been from the start, during nearly twenty-one years, the honorary secretary of the Sunday Society.

A first effect of the foundation of the Sunday Society was to secure the active co-operation of men like Dean Stanley and others who were unwilling to connect their names with miscellaneous programmes. The only alteration which has been made in the society's objects is an illustration in point. The society was formed at the time the Westminster Aquarium was being founded. It soon became manifest that this was not to be a scientific institution, and “the Aquarium” became synonymous with “a place of ordinary amusement.” A special meeting of the Sunday Society was called, and the word “aquarium,” which had existed in the enumeration of its objects, was struck out—“not,” said Mr. Judge in his examination before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Lord's Day Act (May 27, 1895), “that the society ceased to desire to open aquariums as such, but because there should be no misapprehension as to what the objects of the society were.” Subsequently Dean Stanley became president of the Sunday Society, and delivered a notable address in defence of its object.

Apart from this most important result, there is no doubt that the

establishment of the Sunday Society has also tended to revive the interest of the older League in its original purpose; and some friendly rivalry has naturally ensued. It is a pity, that at the Reading Room of the British Museum only meagre information is to be had of the workings of the National Sunday League. It is limited to copies of the Annual Reports of two years. This is not the case with the Sunday Society, which, moreover, has the fourteen volumes of its *Sunday Review* as a monument of its work. This vitality of the Sunday Society, and the work carried on by it, may also be seen from the evidence given by Mr. Mark H. Judge to the Select Committee already mentioned, and from the eleven papers submitted by him, and printed in Appendix C of the Parliamentary Report. Both the League and the Sunday Society joined the National Federation of Sunday Societies on the occasion of the prosecution of the Leeds Sunday Lecture Society for violation of the Lord's Day Act of 1781, and Mr. Judge became the honorary secretary of the Federation.

Any one who, for thirty years, has taken such an active part as Mr. Judge has done in connection with a movement arousing sectarian susceptibilities, could not avoid being charged with misrepresentation. But seldom has a reformer been fortunate enough to be vindicated by so eminent an authority. Nothing can be more appropriate than to here reproduce that part of the late Professor Tyndall's speech at the annual meeting in 1884, in which he vindicated Mr. Judge. Professor Tyndall said :

"I have looked over the Annual Report of the society, which appears to be brief, clear, and to the purpose. I will only refer to a point or two bearing upon certain parts of the Report, which rendered me for a time somewhat uneasy and discontented. Mr. Charles Hill, the indefatigable secretary of the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association, had proclaimed the doctrine that all is fair in love and war—a doctrine only too likely to be extended so as to cover a certain amount of sharp practice. Well, Mr. Hill had published a vigorous and apparently triumphant article in the *Nineteenth Century*, in which he virtually charged—and showed cause for the charge—the honorary secretary of the Sunday Society with misquotation and misrepresentation. The case was apparently so clear against Mr. Judge that I really thought he had suffered himself to be carried too far in his application of Mr. Hill's doctrine, and had thus incautiously given a handle to our opponents. I wrote to Mr. Judge, expressing my regret that this should have occurred, and begging of him to place before me the original documents on which Mr. Hill's charges were founded. They were promptly sent to me, and I went over them carefully. The conclusion forced upon my mind by this perfectly impartial examination was that, in so far as sharp practice and disingenuousness had been introduced into the discussion, it was certainly not on the side of our honorary secretary. Mr. Judge's quotations were correct and his conclusions legitimate. Now, I do not wish to say a word against an earnest man pursuing with zeal, if not according to knowledge, the course which he supposes to be right. Far be it from me to use a word unnecessarily severe against such a man. He would probably agree with me on reflection

that commonplace straightforwardness, especially in the discussion of a question of this kind, is better than dialectic ingenuity. But not only is Mr. Hill dialectically ingenious, but mechanically ingenious, in the document now before me. He avails himself of the printer's art to put in comparatively inconspicuous type the amendment of Mr. Broadhurst, and in extremely prominent type the question to be submitted to the various workmen's societies and associations. That question is correctly quoted by Mr. Judge, and it is not the question which ought to have been submitted. So that my discontent with our honorary secretary entirely vanishes. Then, again, Mr. Hill, towards the close of his introduction to this very remarkable pamphlet, goes on to say: 'We would thank all those societies who have helped to swell the noble list of British workmen's protests against the proceedings of those who would destroy the Pearl of Days, and make our Day of Rest a day of toil.' This is the manner in which the question is put before the working men of England. Well, when I read that, though, as I have said, extremely desirous not to utter a severe word against Mr. Hill, I could not help exclaiming, 'Nonsense!' But, fearing that the word might be considered too hard, I turned to a very useful book, the *Thesaurus of English Words*, published by the late Dr. Roget, and I sought for a milder equivalent or synonym for 'nonsense.' To my consternation I found the equivalent to be 'empty gabble,' 'trash'; so I am prohibited from using any of these words. I must, therefore, content myself with affirming that Mr. Hill has said the thing that is not."

If Mr. Judge has aroused the susceptibilities of his opponents, he has also received the cordial co-operation of the representative men who have presided over the Sunday Society. How his work has been appreciated by them cannot be better shown than by the concluding words of the Presidential Address delivered by the late Professor Romanes in 1890:

"'Could education be better or more equitably promoted than by furnishing the trustees of the national museums and galleries in the Metropolis with the funds necessary for throwing open these avenues of culture and refinement to the millions of people surrounding them? The people have already not only the inclination to become better acquainted with the contents of these museums and galleries, but they have for the most part the necessary leisure for this purpose on the fifty-two Sundays throughout the year, when the trustees are precluded from opening them solely from want of funds, which it is just as much the duty of the Government to provide in London as outside of it, and for those who wish to visit the museums on Sundays as well as for those who wish to do so on week-day evenings. Should the Conference make a strong appeal to Mr. Goschen, and through him to the Government, to deal justly by London in this matter, the time cannot be far distant when the reproach to the nation of having all such institutions as the national museums and galleries in the metropolis closed on Sundays will be removed.'

"These, as I have said, are the words of our hon. secretary. And I cannot refer to him from the chair which I have now the honour to occupy without asking you, in conclusion, to join with me in heartily recognising the unique value of his indefatigable work in promoting the objects of this society. For I know it is not too much to say, that at whatever time the reproach to the nation of which he speaks will eventually be removed, its removal will have been due much more largely to one Englishman than to any other, and that the name of this Englishman is Mr. Mark H. Judge."

A concise statement of the results accomplished from the foundation of the Sunday Society until the end of 1893 is contained in a letter, addressed by Mr. Judge, as its honorary secretary, to the executors and trustees of the late James Charles Chaplin. This gentleman left, under his will, a legacy of £500, "to be given to the society which was most active in promoting the opening of museums, art galleries, and libraries on Sundays." The Sunday Society, after mature deliberation, was selected by the executors "as doing the best work" for Sunday opening, and received its first legacy. The statement made in this letter will also show the kind of work which has been needed to lead up to the final triumph of Sunday opening in England—a thing which has been so strangely and persistently represented as subversive of the English and the Christian Sunday.

"The Sunday Society was formed in the year 1875, at which time Birmingham was the only town in which any municipal museum, art gallery, or library was open on Sunday, and now we have so far advanced that no less than 80 national and municipal museums, art galleries, and libraries are opened regularly every Sunday, a list of which is given in this year's Museum Sunday Report, enclosed.

"From the first the society made a point of securing a periodical expression of opinion in favour of Sunday opening from some prominent public man, for which purpose a new president was elected annually, and there can be little doubt that the addresses of these eminent men largely contributed to the growth of public opinion on this question. . . .

"The society's list of vice-presidents includes representatives of different phases of thought and all ranks of society, and may be referred to as evidence of its national and representative character.

"From time to time the society has held National Conferences, two of which were with the authorities of museums, galleries, and libraries open on Sundays. The Conferences held in the large provincial towns have been followed by the opening of local institutions on Sundays, as was notably the case in Manchester, where, on the 26th ultimo, the number of visitors to the Institutions open was no less than 7000.

"In 1880 the society made a special effort to elicit the views of the members of learned and other societies, which was done in the form of a letter to the Prime Minister. A copy of this letter will be found in the *Sunday Review* I enclose, from which it will be seen that the signatures obtained in one week were as many as 2150.

"The society has also held two International Conferences in Paris, to which members of the French Government contributed valuable information, proving that the Sunday opening of museums and galleries in France had not led to the custodians being employed seven days a week.

"Repeated deputations from the society have waited upon members of her Majesty's Government, to ask for the extension of Sunday opening to the national institutions in the metropolis, and the society has more than once brought the question before both Houses of Parliament.

"Deputations have also waited from the society on the trustees of the National Gallery and the British Museum, and from both bodies of trustees the society obtained a very favourable expression of opinion—viz., that they were not only willing to open the collections under their care on Sundays, but were anxious that the Government should provide the means to enable them to do so.

"The society has never advocated the opening of museums, &c., on Sundays for any particular class; but, seeing the importance that has been attached to the question of Sunday labour, the society for some years devoted considerable time and attention to organising the friends of Sunday opening in the Trades Union Congress, and ultimately succeeded in obtaining from that representative body an expression of opinion in support of Sunday opening.

"For the purpose of demonstrating how small was the amount of Sunday labour required in connection with the opening of museums, &c., the society initiated periodical Sunday Art Exhibitions in London, 100 of which have been opened, when it was proved that the Sunday labour involved was infinitesimal, and it was in connection with these exhibitions that the society first secured the Sunday opening of the following galleries, &c.:

"The Flaxman Gallery, University College; the Grosvenor Gallery; the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours; the New Gallery; the Institute of Painters in Oil Colours; the Royal Society of British Artists' Gallery; the Grafton Galleries; and the Brassey Museum. This list is exclusive of many important private collections which have been opened from time to time under the auspices of the society.

"The society has also the satisfaction of being able to record the fact that last year the Mansion House and the Hall of the Drapers' Company were first opened on Sundays under its auspices.

"In 1891 the society determined to make an appeal to the clergy of the Church of England, and in May of last year the Bishop of Rochester presented to the Convocation of Canterbury a petition from the society, which led to the appointment of a special committee, the Report of which committee, representing both Houses of Convocation, is a complete vindication of the position taken up by the Sunday Society. . . .

"Last year the society instituted Museum Sunday, the second anniversary of which was observed on the 26th ultimo, on which occasion 43 sermons were delivered, while 5 special exhibitions and 80 national and municipal museums, art galleries, and libraries were opened, and visited by upwards of 40,000 people."

To this statement of two years ago few details need to be added. Of the twenty eminent Englishmen who have held the office of President of the Sunday Society, the following are still among the living: James Heywood, M.A., F.R.S.; the Earl of Rosebery, K.G.; Sir Henry Thompson, F.R.C.S.; the Earl of Dunraven, K.P.; Thomas Burt, M.P.; Viscount Powerscourt, K.P.; Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart.; the Duke of Westminster, K.G.; G. Howard, M.P. (now Earl of Carlisle); Sir Henry E. Roscoe, M.P., F.R.S.; Sir James D. Linton, P.R.I.; Sir John F. Brunner, Bart., M.P.; Lord Brassey, K.C.B.; W. Holman Hunt; Rev. Canon Barnett. The following have joined the great majority: Dean Stanley, Professor John Tyndall, Sir George A. Macfarren, Rev. William Rogers, and Professor George J. Romanes.

A partial list of other deceased active members of the society comprises: John Arthur Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield; Peter Taylor, M.P. for Leicester; Lord (Sir Frederick) Leighton, P.R.A.; Sir Henry Cole, of the South Kensington Museum; the Rev. Septimus Hansard, rector of Bethnal Green; Professors Fawcett and Huxley;

Charles Darwin ; George Godwin, editor of *The Builder*, and Dr. John Chapman, of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW ; the late Lord Derby ; and Mrs. Mulock Craik, author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, and Madame Venturi. It should also be noted that the society has been singularly fortunate in the continuous service of its executive officers. Mr. Judge has been the honorary secretary from the beginning ; Mr. Frederick Long, the treasurer from 1876, the second year of its foundation ; and Dr. Corfield, Professor of Hygiene at University College, the chairman of committee, and Mr. H. Rutherford, barrister-at-law, the deputy-chairman, since 1878.

The result which has been accomplished is also an instance of a reform achieved without making it a political test. The Sunday Society even voted down a proposition to make its only object such a test. That is why, as Mr. Judge explained before the Committee of the House of Lords, the people who advocate Sunday opening "are not so powerful in heckling candidates, and not able to bring them to book as the Sabbatarians are, or have been, in too many cases."

On March 9, 1896, Sir John Lubbock presented to the House of Commons the petition in support of the Sunday Opening resolution to be moved by the Hon. W. F. Massey-Mainwaring, seconded by Mr. Thomas Lough, on the following day. The resolution was supported by Mr. Goschen from the Government bench and by Sir George Trevelyan from the front Opposition bench. A division was taken on an amendment, but the resolution was adopted without a division. In consequence, on March 12, the Sunday Society forwarded an appeal to the Government, from which the concluding paragraph may be quoted :

"The resolution in favour of Sunday opening, passed by the House of Commons on Tuesday last without a division, would thus appear to have removed the only obstacle that stood in the way of provision being made in the Estimates for the cost of opening on Sundays the British Museum, the Natural History Museum, the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, the South Kensington Museum, the Geological Museum, and the Bethnal Green Museum, and therefore we earnestly appeal to the Government to authorise the necessary expenditure, so that these national museums and galleries may now be opened to the public on Sundays."

This appeal to the Government was signed, not only by the officers of the Sunday Society, but also by officers of all the known provincial societies having kindred objects. The result was the issue of the following notice :

"Sunday Society Offices, Tuesday, March 31, 1896.

"DATE OF THE FIRST SUNDAY OPENING OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUMS.

"The appeal to Her Majesty's Government was forwarded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 18th instant. The appeal was acknowledged by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart., M.P., on the 20th instant, and the

reply of the Government was given yesterday by the First Lord of the Treasury in the House of Commons, when he made the following announcement: 'The Government were prepared to open South Kensington and Bethnal Green Museums at a very early date—almost immediately. The British Museum, the National Gallery, and the National Portrait Gallery were in the hands of trustees, with whom the Government were in correspondence, and he apprehended a final satisfactory arrangement would shortly be arrived at for a like opening of these institutions.'

"To-day the following official announcement is made by Sir J. F. D. Donnelly, K.C.B., Secretary of the Science and Art Department of the Committee of the Council on Education: 'The Lords of the Committee of Council on Education have decided to open the South Kensington Museum, including the Indian Museum and Science Collections in the Galleries on the west of Exhibition Road, as well as the Bethnal Green Branch Museum, as an experiment on Sundays. But this arrangement must be regarded as temporary and liable to be rescinded if it be hereafter found desirable to do so. Both museums will be open for the first time on Sunday next at 2 P.M., and will remain open till dusk.'

"Thus the Sunday opening of the great national institutions in London will commence on Easter Day."

STODDARD DEWEY.

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF SUNDAY OPENING.

THE Editors of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW invited communications on the present position of the question of opening museums, art galleries, and libraries on Sundays from leaders of this reform movement. We have already received communications from the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester, who, as Bishop of Rochester, presented the petition from the Sunday Society to the Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury, on May 13, 1892; from the Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, Warden of Toynbee Hall, Canon of Bristol Cathedral, and the President of the Sunday Society; from the Right Hon. the Lord Hobhouse and Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Mark H. Judge, Honorary Secretary of the Sunday Society. As we go to press, we receive other important communications, which will appear in the June number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

1. *From The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.*

FARNHAM CASTLE, SURREY, *April 13, 1896.*

DEAR SIRS,—I thank you for your letter of the 10th inst., inviting me to send you for publication a note on the present position of the question of opening museums, libraries, and picture galleries on Sunday and my opinion as to the probable result of the action of the Government in giving effect to the recent resolution of the House of Commons.

I do not think I can add anything of importance to my already published speeches on this subject. My action in the matter has been of course misinterpreted again and again, and it is impossible to be always noticing such misinterpretations. I am willing to believe that they are usually unintentional, and are due to the fact that the writer or speaker has not thought it necessary to read my arguments before condemning my conclusion. I have from the first endeavoured to make clear how intense is my desire to safeguard the religious character of the English Sunday. I should deprecate with all my might the opening of a single public library, museum, or picture gallery if I believed that the result would be to weaken the care for

Sunday observance which has been so marked and happy a characteristic of modern England. It is in my opinion necessary to maintain unflinchingly the obvious line of distinction between the opening of free institutions supported at the public expense and the opening for a money payment of places not thus supported. If this line of demarcation be broken down, difficulties will inevitably follow. The existing law does not prohibit gratuitous opening. It prohibits opening for payment; and its provisions on that head require, in my opinion, to be strengthened rather than relaxed. So long as it is unrepealed, I firmly believe that the cause of what is best and highest in our national life, both secular and religious, will be promoted and not hindered by our encouraging the use of public libraries, and the study of the masterpieces of art, and the treasures of archæology and science on Sunday afternoon by those who, as a matter of fact, are precluded on weekdays from availing themselves of such opportunities. It is a mere blunder to oppose the opening of such places because the rougher labouring folk, who now so often misuse or waste their Sundays, "don't care about museums, or libraries, or art." There is in our great towns an immense class, comprising tradesmen, clerks, shop-assistants (male and female), and the like, many of whom would fain make a more intelligent use of their Sundays if we only gave them the opportunity. Such opportunity will now be theirs. They will learn its value by degrees. No one, it is to be hoped, will be so foolish as to expect that the difficult lesson of using that opportunity aright will be learned all at once, or that the places now to be opened for the public benefit on Sunday afternoon will, when the first flutter of excitement is over, be continuously thronged. But I am confident that ten years hence we shall marvel at the fears and forebodings with which this wholesome change has now been heralded.

The deepest respect and sympathy is due to those who have conscientiously opposed such limited relaxation of our existing usages as I have advocated in Convocation and elsewhere. I am entirely at one with most of them in the principles they desire to maintain. It is because I do not think these sacred principles will be thereby imperilled that I have been anxious to unlock the closed doors. The step which has now at length been taken has, I am convinced, the support of an even larger number than is commonly supposed among those who are devoting their lives to the religious and moral improvement of the English people. As a student of the New Testament, I venture reverently to believe that we are acting in entire accordance with the teaching and example of our Divine Lord and Master.

I remain, yours very truly,

RANDALL WINTON.

2. *From The Rev. CANON BARNETT.*

The camp which was noisy with the shouts of workmen eager to defend their Sunday rest and brilliant with the banners of the ecclesiastical warrior is shown to have been deserted save by a few camp followers. Parliament has resolved that museums shall be opened on Sunday ; the museums have been opened, and there has been hardly a sound of opposition.

The question now is, What is to be done with the victory ? On the one side, the opening of museums, picture galleries, gardens, and libraries is not sufficient if it is not also made lawful to use public halls for music and lectures. On the other side, Sunday must be protected from the demon of greed, which would fill its hours with the noise of strife and strain, substitute for the weekday competition of work a competition of pleasure, and drive for ever from life the feeling of quiet.

Out of twenty-three years' experience as a Whitechapel parson, I would say that Sunday opening should be allowed for all places of recreation or culture which are under national or municipal control ; that private places for the same objects at which money is taken should be opened under licence from the local authority, or when they are under the control of a society either incorporated to trade without profits (30 and 31 Vict. cap. 131), or registered with like limitations under the Act 6 and 7 Vict. cap. 36 ; that a law considerably framed should be rigorously enforced to prevent unnecessary trading ; that contracts for weekly labour should be for six days, and that a certain number of the rest-days so secured should be Sundays.

I have come to this conclusion :

1. Because one of the chief needs of our time is knowledge.
2. Because only the community is able to meet this need.

I. One of the chief needs of our time is knowledge. The reflection is continually forced on the student of East London life that the people have more brain power than brain food. They feel the stimulus of the intellectual atmosphere, but have few thoughts or facts on which their minds can feed. The keen debater at the clubs, whose points are eagerly taken up, needs the knowledge of history, and training in scientific methods of thinking. The few who by ability or success attract notice need to be made aware of what they don't know, so that they may be humble and lowly. A glimpse of the infinite is the best cure for the vanity which is the stumbling block of ability. Those active spirits who more and more force their way into the country on bank holidays, seeking other interests, need to know how to look for beauty, how to understand the

language of birds, beasts, and flowers, and how to read the history of the nation from its buildings. Lastly, the many who remain outside church or chapel, neither owning nor disowning their Bibles, need to know how to read those Bibles with understanding, how to separate poetry from fact, and how to judge of acts and words by the times in which they were done or said.

It is largely for want of knowledge that so many of the working-classes take to drink and gambling, defile the country with vulgar pleasures, become fitful followers of any opinion, and stand aloof from religion. They have—what members of other classes often miss—the discipline which comes of work and the sympathy which comes of common suffering, but they want the knowledge which would give them the “life and fuller life of which their nerves are scant.” They err in their hearts because they do not know God’s ways.

II. The community must provide the means for this extension of knowledge. The reasons may be shortly stated :

1. The common purse is that which is deep enough to provide sufficient means in sufficient places.

2. The common will is that which is strong enough to secure the necessary quiet.

3. The common opinion is that which has the authority to decide between what is useful and what is harmful.

I hold, therefore, that the law affecting Sunday should be so changed as to permit the giving of lectures, classes, and musical performances, while it rigorously prevents trading and working which interferes with the pursuit and enjoyment of knowledge.

“The greatness of the country is due,” we are told, “to its Sabbath.” Yes, in that I agree. The self-restraint which for one day in seven controls the greed of earning ; the pause in which people become conscious of the unseen forces in which they move ; the physical rest in which brain and muscle regain their power ; the opportunity for the duties and pleasures of family life—all this constitutes a reservoir out of which the country draws supplies of strength. Our Sabbaths give us a reserve force. But the Sabbaths must not only be preserved from the noise and strife of trade, they must be secured from the almost as absorbing noise and strife of pleasure ; they must offer such attractions to men’s minds as will draw them more than fights and games ; they must fill the pauses with the voices which tell of God’s ways ; they must afford topics of talk for the family circle. In old days, when all men knew the country and neighbours were familiar, there was little need to make provision for the Sabbath use. All learnt what the lilies and the mountains taught ; all knew what others knew. But in modern city days, if the Sabbath is to be a reserve force for the country, it is necessary that in its time of pause means be provided by which city

dwellers and those divided from their richer neighbours may learn what others know.

"Religion," again, we are told, "depends on the Sabbath." To this also I agree. Unless people break off from work they will not think about God. Unless the day comes to remind them of their relation to One outside themselves they will fall into slavery to the present. The Sabbath is the security of religion, the means by which the relation between man and God is realised, the weekly stimulant to man's thought about God and the duties which grow from that thought. The Sabbath is the security of religion, but it is the Sabbath of the Sunday Society and not of the Sabbatarians.

SAMUEL A. BARNETT.

April 14, 1896.

3. *From The Right Hon. the LORD HOBHOUSE.*

SIRS,—Though I have little to say that has not been said over and over again, I comply with your request to add some expressions of my own to the others which you invite on the Sunday movement. All my life I have been in antagonism to the strict Puritanical rules for the use of Sunday, which seventy years ago prevailed very generally among those of my own class—rules founded on a theological basis, an erroneous one as I believe, with curiously artificial applications to our course of life. From early childhood we were perplexed with doubts about the things which might or might not be lawfully done on a Sunday, and were hemmed in by rules of the "Touch-not—Taste-not—Handle-not" order, at variance with many healthy instincts, quite unconnected with any morality except that of implicit obedience, and not commanding rational assent.

When I speak of a Puritanical Sunday, I am not using the term as one of disparagement, but simply as presenting an historical fact. I recognise the Puritan creed as one that has influenced many powerful and noble minds, and has contributed most valuable elements to our composite English character. Even the Puritan Sunday, mistaken though I think it, and of a strictness too narrow and exaggerated for ordinary human nature to bear, has so excellent a side to it, and has been so closely bound up with customs and habits of great social value, with definite times for general rest, and definite times for general worship, that I always think and speak with great respect of its supporters. I only blame those of them—now I think few in number—who load with epithets intended to excite odium, other men who are striving to make the use of Sunday more beneficial and more adapted to varieties of human character and conditions. But, with deep respect for those who guided our childhood, it was inevitable that adolescence should bring knowledge of their limitations, and rebellion

against rigid and artificial rules. I suppose that many thousands of minds have worked in the same direction. And that I believe to be a simple account of the essence of the "movement" about which you ask.

It has shown itself in many different ways besides those of the Sunday Societies; all founded on dissent from the theory of the Puritanical or theological Sunday; all making progress in proportion as that dissent has strengthened, and all based on grounds amenable to human reason, or ecclesiastical rules, or municipal laws, or the views of private persons or associations, or existing practices not felt to be injurious.

I think that most who took part in the controversies of half a century ago will give you substantially the same account of the matter, and will say that, under various phases, the abiding obstacle in the way of obtaining a freer and more varied use of Sunday has been the belief that its use is directed by express divine commands delivered to the Jews.

You ask about the present position of the movement. The specific objects of Sunday Societies are of various kinds, and all, I think, have made and are making progress. We are in hopes that the recent vote of the House of Commons as to public museums will prove to be the final victory of that branch of the movement. We cannot be sure. Our opponents are strong, and very zealous, and will doubtless make every effort to reverse that action. Other objects are to provide Sunday occupations, such as music, and lectures, and excursions. Music and lectures are subject to the restrictions of a statute passed in the year 1781, which has proved almost grotesquely capricious in what it allows and forbids. The attempt which is now being made to modify it is still in the stage of inquiry; and I will not venture to anticipate results.

But whatever defects or delays we may suffer on particular issues, no one who reviews the work of half a century can doubt that our principles have made great advances; and no one who is convinced of their soundness can doubt that before many years we shall have attained the goal. That goal is, to place the use of Sunday on a footing more natural and more adapted to mankind in general than is done by the Puritan theology; not adding anything appreciable to the labour which is necessary under any system to keep the world going; not detracting from public worship; yet providing more varied modes of enjoyment, whether intellectual or æsthetic or muscular, to give refreshment to people differing in temperament or in condition of life.

This will not bring about the millennium. It can only affect limited numbers and a limited portion of their lives. But, so far, it is calculated to increase cheerfulness and elasticity of mind. It is one of those numerous small reforms, constantly needed as ideas and

circumstances alter, which keep the world wholesome and sweet by bringing external arrangements more into harmony with the natural desires of human beings.

HOBHOUSE.

15, 4, '96.

4. *From* Mr. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

So far back as 1837, when I first began to lecture and write publicly, down to this day, the burden of many addresses and many articles has been the right and advantage to the people of all public museums and art galleries being open to them. I can therefore consistently congratulate the Sunday Society on what may be termed the legalisation of their endeavours. Many years ago, before the Sunday Society began to be, I published a letter, addressed to Lord Palmerston, on the "Rich Man's Six Days and the Poor Man's One Day." The rich man has his picture gallery in his own mansion, to which he can turn whenever he pleases. If he wants variety he can visit the art galleries of the Continent; for he has the command of leisure and means of travel on every day of the week; while the poor man is, by the condition of his employment, confined to the factory or the mine, as securely as though he were chained there. On the Sunday every place in which he can take intellectual interest is closed against him.

This is ill for the workman and disadvantageous to the preacher if he understands his business. His eloquence is curbed by the limitation of knowledge on the part of his hearers. Many a brilliant illustration is denied to him because his hearers are unfamiliar with art. If he preaches beyond their range they cease to be interested, and by preaching "down" to their narrow understanding he sinks, in the course of years, to their level and becomes as silly as they are. The preacher is monotonous where he might be various, and is forgotten when he might be famous in the memory of a more intelligent congregation. The painter is greater than a thousand preachers. It is the artist who has made the scenes of Christianity imperishable in the minds of the cultivated. The works of the great painter or the great sculptor preach for a thousand years, while the preacher perishes in a generation in the memory of the people to whom the historical illustrations of art are unknown. So far as the triumphs of the Sunday Society go, they will put an end to popular ignorance and indifference to art. "The nation," as Mr. Bright once said, "in every country dwells in cottages," and he might have said in lodgings, having regard to the melancholy condition of our great towns on Sunday—the only day when the people have a few hours in which they can see works of genius and of art. The clergy, joined by philosophers and men and women of progress, have at last prevailed, the WESTMINSTER being the Review to aid and unswervingly to sup-

port the wise claim. I honour them for their motive, and am glad at the success which their patience and perseverance have at length accomplished.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

EASTERN LODGE, BRIGHTON, *April 15, 1896.*

5. *From Mr. MARK H. JUDGE.*

SIRS,—As one who has devoted thirty years to the advocacy of Sunday Reform, I have great pleasure in responding to your invitation to contribute some remarks on the present position of the movement for improving the observance of Sunday in this country.

The resolution of the House of Commons which has led to the Sunday opening of the national museums in the metropolis removes the anomaly of stigmatising as wrong in London what was sanctioned elsewhere. The National Gallery of Scotland, in Edinburgh, will, however, still remain closed on the *first day* of the week in deference to the belief, which so largely prevails north of the Tweed, that the *seventh day* is thus hallowed.

So far as the Sunday opening of the national and municipal institutions of the United Kingdom is concerned, a success has been achieved which has gladdened the hearts of all Sunday Reformers, and though the Sunday opening in London has been officially announced as experimental, there can be no two opinions as to the result; and it is certain that any change that experience may prove to be desirable will be in the direction of extending the hours of opening, and in making provision for supplying the visitors with guides and refreshments; for only in the experimental stage can it be supposed that the larger number of visitors on Sundays should have less consideration given to their convenience and comfort than those attending on weekdays.

The extent to which the Sunday opening movement had been carried out in the provinces prior to the recent resolution of the House of Commons had not been generally realised, and many members of that House were surprised to find from the petition of the Sunday Society that no less than ninety-three institutions supported by rates and taxes were already opened regularly every Sunday, with an attendance exceeding 40,000 on a single Sunday. The resolution of the House of Commons added to this list the six great national institutions in the metropolis, and indirectly must give a great impetus to the Sunday opening of those municipal institutions which are still closed on Sundays, especially as every Sunday's experience will tend to prove that Sunday opening will neither make Sunday an ordinary working-day or introduce any element of danger

to the preservation of the day as one set apart for the religious, social, and intellectual recreation of the people.

But while the opening of the great national institutions in London removes the anomaly which threw open the doors at Kew, Hampton Court, and Greenwich, while at the same time closing them in Bloomsbury, Trafalgar Square, Kensington, and Bethnal Green, it must not be forgotten that a still greater anomaly remains to be got rid of—viz., the Act 21 Geo. III. cap. 49, by means of which the Lord's Day Observance Society and the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association have been allowed so long to persecute the authorities of Science and Art Exhibitions, Sunday Lecture Societies, and others who have desired to provide means for enjoying the elevating influences of science, literature, and art on Sundays.

As was maintained by Lord Hobhouse in the House of Lords so recently as last year, the preamble of the Act 21 Geo. III. cap. 49 shows that the Act was passed for the purpose of dealing with certain specific abuses absolutely in no way connected with museums, picture galleries, lectures on science, literature, or art, or with the performance of music.

At the annual meeting of the Sunday Society in 1887 the following resolution was carried unanimously: "That this meeting enters its protest against the tactics of intimidation by which the Sabbatarian societies of London succeeded in closing the National Art Treasures Exhibition at Folkestone on Sundays, in 1886, as set forth in the Report of the Sunday Society, and is of opinion that the committee should take steps to obtain either the repeal or amendment of the Act 21 Geo. III. cap. 49, under which it is possible to designate a Fine Art Exhibition as a 'disorderly house,' and thus make such intimidation impossible in future."

That resolution tells us what the present situation of the Sunday Opening question is, and it may be summed up as follows: Parliament has at last opened the national museums and galleries; the municipalities of the country are perfectly free to do likewise; but the private citizen must not follow the example. The Act 21 Geo. III. cap. 49 has been made to declare that any private citizens who, for what they regard as the public advantage, and not for pecuniary profit, shall follow the example of the State in this matter, shall be "liable to be sued or prosecuted and punished as keepers of disorderly houses."

Consequently, while the Act 21 Geo. III. cap. 49 remains on the statute book unamended, the final battle of Sunday opening has still to be fought.

MARK II. JUDGE.

April 17, 1896.

SURVEY OF EVENTS.

THE eyes of all are once more turned towards the dark and sun-burnt continent which harboured cruel faiths and unprogressive kingdoms before the snowy oak-forest had been assailed by Italian woodmen, or the fair goddess of wisdom had gathered her Attic flowers. Nearly four mystic cycles of ten times forty years have run their appointed course since Frumentius of Tyre, fulfilled with orthodox zeal, carried his comforting message beyond the strange regions where the worship of the cat and the crocodile had astonished the father of history. Not many weeks ago that olive-coloured and polygamous people which abstains from pork, and dances in church, and howls at funerals, and trusts in amulets, and anoints infants, and canonises Pilate, and suffers from the tape-worm, and narrows the portal of heaven, inflicted a severe defeat on choice Italian troops. Whatever sneaking fondness for heretics of garish hues a philosopher may be disposed to cherish, the land of Caesar and Dante is dearer to the civilised world. The rumour of advancing red-coats has alarmed unspeakable dervishes, who pray with their faces to Mecca, and rejoice at the quarrels of Christians.

The fall of Francesco Crispi is no colourless event. That subtle Sicilian, who once compared himself, with his snow-white hairs and glowing patriotic heart, to the old volcano of his home, is able to look back on a brave and strenuous life. Before taxes had become so heavy, while his poor dismembered country groaned under Austrians and despots, he was boldly conspiring for freedom by the side of Mazzini and Garibaldi. At one period he was compelled to earn a scanty livelihood by adding up accounts and teaching his native tongue in the so-called modern Carthage. He played an important part in the famous expedition to Naples, but accepted Victor Emmanuel, like his heroic chief. Although black-dog rumour accused him of the sin of bigamy, he managed to live it down and retain public confidence. He believes firmly in God, but is opposed to popery and priestcraft. Whatever view may be taken of his support of the Triple Alliance and somewhat luxurious swagger, he may be safely termed the greatest Southern statesman since the unforgettable Cavour.

In his poem on the English navy Swinburne (who is the son of an admiral) spoke some years ago of "Muscovy girded with guile"

as one of our most dangerous foes. In the new and revised version the reading has been changed to Germany. But the German Parliament (which is elected by universal suffrage) shows no desire to quarrel with England, and refuses to increase their naval budget for the sake of a romantic policy. Even Mr. Balfour feels no alarm at the prospect of seeing Russia acquire a harbour free from ice on the far Pacific coast. We are always in the habit of regarding Italy as a friend, and France has recently come to terms with us on the vexed question of Siam. Perhaps the tall talk about the splendid isolation of England is smoke and vapour after all.

But few whose moral sense is not utterly obtuse can fail to be somewhat affected by the fate of crucified Armenia. The sympathy that arose for the sufferers from the heart and conscience of Christendom probably nerved them to cling to their ancient and uplifting faith. But the Powers have abandoned them to their oppressors, and massacre follows on massacre. Some may be disposed to sigh for the days of the imperial Oliver, whose voice arrested the slaughter of praying Protestants in Piedmont. The speeches of the late Prime Minister have exposed the shortcomings of his successor. What has become of Lord Beaconsfield's angelic visitants in the fairest regions of the earth? The glittering tinsel that once passed for gold has lost its illusive charm, and only leaves one more Jewish myth for Dr. Wellhausen to explain.

To what extent Mr. Cecil Rhodes was responsible for the invasion of the Transvaal will perhaps never be known. The fact that he hurried away from the mother-country so soon after his arrival is suspicious but not conclusive. Considering his brilliant past it would be a grave misfortune for the Empire to be forced to forego his services. Whatever view may be taken of the severe grievances of the Outlanders and the obstinate policy of Krüger, the conduct of the Chartered troops was altogether an anachronism. A somewhat crude and hasty element of public feeling has made their leader a hero on account of his physical pluck, as though that were enough to atone for a clear violation of laws human and divine.

Sundry picturesque incidents deserve a passing notice. The greatest leader of Parliaments within the memory of man lately enjoyed an interview with the head of the French Republic. The successor of Numa and St. Peter is suffering silent grief at the estrangement of a princely child from his all-embracing fold. An eager Danish explorer is said to have cut his way through fields of arctic ice and reached the Pole at last.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson is still denouncing intemperance and clings to the beverage of Adam. The Tory Premier has become a worshipper of individual freedom. A new leader has been chosen to uphold the Irish cause. The friends of Aspasia and Sappho have received a temporary check in a fortress of old-world wisdom.

At the death of Thomas Hughes British boyhood at large lamented an old friend. Few have forgotten the first football match, the arrival of the doctor during an illegal fight, or the last scene of all at his grave in Rugby Chapel. If the popularity of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* is more to be ascribed to its vigorous treatment of a fresh and fascinating subject than to any supreme literary gifts in the writer, it has not occurred to most of its readers to draw such a distinction. Few products of our age approach nearer to the epic as regards sincerity of tone. The influence of F. D. Maurice quickened his religious impulses and caused them to flow in a social instead of a selfish channel. Although a well-known traveller once dismissed the whole movement as "damned rot," and regretted that his "poor brother Charles" should have been so much misguided, many think Christian Socialism will be no quiescent factor of the future.

All over Western Europe labour is clamoring for a larger share in the enjoyment of that wealth which it has helped to create. But the whole of evolutionary thought only seems to blunt the edge of the leveller's axe and show that Nature herself is a bit of a bloated aristocrat. After all the only method that has yet been discovered of ensuring absolute equality is the guillotine. There is something altogether oracular in the aged Bismarck's warning that the world cannot be governed from below, and Eugen Richter not long ago exposed the drawbacks to the socialistic scheme in his grim pictures of the future. We are all apt to dream now and then of a future golden age devoid of labour and sorrow and full of holidays and picnics. But no sane and sober liberalism can afford to lose sight (even in pious moments) of the stern realities of life or laugh at the limits of the possible.

THE RESURRECTION OF LIBERALISM.

LIBERALISM is dead. The work of emancipation is accomplished and its author is at rest. The old is dead ; yet from the tomb there shall certainly come forth a new and living faith, and it behoves all Liberals, at all times and in all places, to proclaim the resurrection of Liberalism.

But the new is not yet born. And so long as Liberals are without a Gospel and without a leader, so long will the dry bones of Liberalism remain lifeless and unclothed. We must know our work and find our leader.

With regard to the latter, Lord Rosebery is undoubtedly the man. Were the leadership of Lord Rosebery all that Mr. Labouchere declares, we must still support him ; for the one wise rule of public life is this—When once you have chosen your course of action, pursue it to the end. So having chosen Lord Rosebery by our choice we shall stand. Nay more, had we to choose afresh we should still choose him, for he has done the work given him to do, he has done it well, and at considerable sacrifice. When he succeeded to the premiership in a ready made Cabinet, the pressing need of the Liberal party was that it should remain in office. After long years of opposition the health of a Parliamentary party demands the stimulating atmosphere of the Treasury Bench.

The hounds have to be blooded—as the phrase is—and the younger generation of statesmen must learn the details of administration and the discipline of office. It was the tact and patience of Lord Rosebery that secured to the Liberal party two more years of office. What the party asked of him amounted to this, that he should get along as best he could until the situation became unbearable, and in the face of derision and despite ill-health he withstood his enemies in the gate and the foes of his own household. He has been accused of indecision and vacillation ; but those who hurl such taunts forget that as Premier he was unable to express himself. Then he was the spokesman of the Cabinet. Now he is our General, and as the leader of a shattered line, has made by far the ablest and the most statesmanlike speech of the present Parliament, and, at the same time, struck the keynote of the new Liberalism. To ignore Lord Rosebery would be folly ; he is leader of the party, and leader he intends to

remain. But imagine him to have been deposed, there is actually no one to take his place.

The task of the leader of a dispirited and disorganised Opposition is to put heart into his followers, to demonstrate to the more ambitious among his disciples that they are not doomed to everlasting exile from the paradise of office. As John Bright once said of Mr. Disraeli, he must be the medicine man of his party, who weaves new symbols of faith and cries of battle. But the time and talents of Mr. Asquith are bespoken elsewhere, and if it were not so he would still be impossible, for he lacks the genius of leadership. In the late Cabinet he was the young man with the great opportunity, the author of the Employers' Liability Bill, and of the Bill for the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church; and had he been the coming king he would not tamely have acquiesced in the shelving of his measures. Lord Rosebery was wise to sanction the ploughing of the sand, and the introduction of Bills that were never meant to pass, but had Mr. Asquith been a leader by divine right he would never have consented to toil as a day labourer at the handle of the plough.

The conclusion of the whole matter is this. Lord Rosebery can do very well without the Liberal party, but the Liberal party cannot do without Lord Rosebery. And there is one paramount reason why this is so. The work of the new Liberalism will be a work of reconstruction, radical changes the order of the day, and the men who can originate and accomplish national reforms do not commonly possess that instinct of self-assertion which is so necessary to vigorous administrations both at home and abroad. It was Mr. Balfour, not Mr. Forster, nor yet Sir George Trevelyan, who made his mark as Irish Secretary; and without doubt the one strong Foreign Minister of modern times has been Lord Salisbury. Now it is just here that Lord Rosebery comes in, for the weak spot of Liberalism has always been the Foreign Office. It was the Government of Mr. Gladstone that submitted to the Black Sea Conference in 1871. The Franchise Bill of 1884 was in part designed to draw off attention from the criminal weakness of the Government in abandoning General Gordon; while any reference in South Africa to Majuba Hill and Mr. Gladstone is received in eloquent silence. It would be fatuous to ignore the facts. The Liberals of the future hold no brief on behalf of the Liberals of the past. The older Liberals did a great work at home, but that they failed in foreign affairs is the plain tale of history, and the newer Liberalism will do wisely if it is content to take warning from the mistakes of the old; and just now when the outlook abroad is so serious we are specially reminded that the two requisites of foreign policy are consistency and continuity. And it is just this consistency that the leadership of Lord Rosebery will secure. He has the Imperial instinct, and he alone of first-rate Liberals has it.

Again and again has he insisted that his aims and methods and the aims and methods of Lord Salisbury are identical. He would have our England great with the greatness of which the late Laureate sang when he wrote :

“ No little German state are we,
But the one voice in Europe.”

The boast is idle now. But if England is ever to regain her proud supremacy, and if Liberalism is to bear its part in bringing about the consummation, it can only be under the guidance and with the inspiration of Lord Rosebery.

The second thing needful to Liberalism is a creed. For a Parliamentary party comes into existence only and in order that it may profess a belief and force a creed. So that until some vital principle of action grips hard on men, there may still be Liberals, but there cannot be a Liberal party. And the writing on the fingerpost which points the way of action is historic continuity. In the features of the old may be discerned the features of the new. The Liberals of the past concerned themselves with great national institutions, with the land, with representation of the people, with education of the children, and with the Church. Their work was to mould these institutions, and make them adequate to the new order of to-day. And in like manner, to carry on the good work and to adapt this same great national heritage to the fresh circumstances of to-morrow will be the task of the Liberals of the future. Before all things the Liberal party aim in drawing its disciples from all classes in the nation, and endeavouring to confer upon everyone the opportunity to become a profitable member of the commonwealth. Upon its banners will be written, England for the English, Ireland for the Irish.

And first, there is the land, for landlordism has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The landowners have felt the pinch of agricultural distress as well as labourers and farmers, and now, before it is too late and this absolute relic of feudalism has been given a new lease of life through the money-bags of plutocrats and through the dollars of American heiresses, is the time to inflict the death-blow upon primogeniture and the existing laws and customs of land tenure. Moreover, it will be a case of Ireland first. Irish disaffection is at bottom an agrarian grievance, and here is a unique opportunity to obliterate the ancient memories of landlord absentees, of rack-rents, and of insatiable agents ; to inaugurate in that distrustful country a new era of peace and prosperity, and to provide experience for future action in Scotland, Wales, and England.

The absorption of railways by the State will strike a decisive blow at unearned incomes. The earnings of railways in 1893• were £80,000,000, and the working expenses £45,000,000, leaving a margin

of £35,000,000 to be divided amongst the shareholders. But it is monstrous that by the mere purchase of railway shares, an individual shall be entitled to extract a toll upon the earnings of other people. It is doubtless just that, in the first instance, the original investor should have an adequate return both for his money and for his faith ; but that any person who may happen to purchase his interest from his descendants shall claim the same advantages, is neither politic nor just. After the capital has been once created, and the concern set going, the institution can live upon its profits, and these profits are the creation of labour, so that labour gives to capital all its value and does not get its due reward. It is the capitalist, who enters into the inheritance of other men, who must first be deleted from the industrial system.

And, in addition to the unearned income, the State might tax the unearned increment. It is a flagrant evil that a man should be enriched by the mere progress of society, a progress in which he may have had neither part nor lot. To put a case. The son succeeds to his father's business, a warehouse in a town about to be improved by the building of an arcade and shops where formerly there stood old and tumbling tenements ; and immediately the agent of the Earl demands an increased rent, because, forsooth, if he does not pay it, others will. These things ought not so to be, and if this tax upon the increased value were taken from the landlord's pocket and brought into the treasury of the town, to be expended upon the needs of the inhabitants, such wrongs would less frequently be inflicted. Verily, it is money that is the root of many of our social sores, and the one chief good effected by the nationalism of land and of capital will be the depreciation of the value of the mere accumulation of money. The accredited ambassadors of religion are best qualified to impart instruction in religion. There are many laymen who would rejoice to be relieved from the responsibility on week days, and on Sundays, and yet in many places a clergyman has neither part nor lot in the religious teaching of the school.

A plain man may indeed be forgiven, if he refuses to profoundly interest himself in the details of the religious difficulty ; for, after all, is it not very much a question of words and symbols, and do not the different religious systems work out in actual practice to pretty much the same result ? A good tradition in a school is far more efficacious in teaching a boy his duty towards his neighbour than the repetition of the Catechism ; and Biblical history, as taught in schools, is neither more nor less religious than English history. However, it is the shadow of things that men strive after rather than the things themselves, and therefore those parents who demand it ought, in common equity, to have the whole doctrine of their religion taught ; only we must be certain that the demand is real, and not a clerical assumption, for the picture of the parent clamoring for religion is

not true to life, inasmuch as, unless the compulsory clauses are strictly enforced, he neglects even to send his child to school. And when the advice is given to the Church party to capture the School Boards, and the suggestion made that the Apostles' Creed shall be taught to every child, then it becomes necessary for Liberalism to bestir itself, and to refuse to stereotype an effete and outworn symbol. Euclid and the construction of sentences is a wasteful misdirection of energy. The majority of boys should find their way into the second class of secondary schools, the technical. These will furnish the best substitute for the old apprentice system, and in them boys may learn a trade while still at school. In the country, such schools ought to provide instruction in the practice and theory of agriculture, and in the towns, technical information concerning the special trade of the locality.

It is in the education of the child that this question of the individual's duties and the rights of the community first greet us; but the question is in truth the first of the whole future of society, and upon the complete and final answer of the Liberal party depends the prosperity and welfare of the race. No doubt something in the way of political equality has yet to be won. Members of Parliament ought to be paid. Registration should be more simple; one man must be restricted to the exercise of one vote. In time, too, one woman will have one vote; but these are but the polished corners of a temple now complete. In the programme of the future, they will occupy the same position as did the Ballot Act in the programme of the past.

That Act was a creation of the Government of 1868, of the Government returned to enforce the principle of Disestablishment in Ireland, and to establish a system of Elementary Education. And in like manner, Payment of Members will be the work of a party which has nationalised the means of distribution and production. For a party cannot live merely by the manipulation of machinery. There is indeed one institution which Liberals will have to fight—viz., the House of Lords, and so soon as the hereditary chamber shall have placed itself athwart the people's will by refusing to set its seal to a Liberal measure which has secured the sanction of the nation, then that House must be compelled either to retire from an impossible position, or else to altogether abdicate its claim to an equal participation in the work of legislation.

This is the Liberal faith, which, except a man believe faithfully, he is fit only for the tents of Torydom. There is a mighty work to be done, and it can be accomplished only by the Liberal party. Toryism cannot do it, will not do it, has no call to do it. The country has demanded a period of inaction, when great constitutional changes shall cease, and with this end in view has called to the council chamber the chieftains of the Tories. It is idle to talk of a

blank cheque the gift of the electors to Lord Salisbury, for the British elector is not in the habit of presenting blank cheques to impetunious statesmen. The majority of 152 was not the result of a programme of promises, and had Lord Salisbury appealed for a verdict upon the one clear issue of Home Rule the result would not have been materially different. After all, a majority of 100 and a majority of 152 are, for practical purposes, one and the same.

For Liberals, the present is a day of mourning, of tribulation, and of woe, in which the Liberal party is suffering the pangs of a new birth. But if we can rise to the height of our great occasion, all will be well. The older Liberals seemed sometimes to lack that sane outlook upon affairs which is the prerogative of true wisdom, deeming those who differed from them, those whose part it is to uphold things as they are, as either hypocrites or blind. But Toryism has a work to do, and it is to keep things as they are so long as they neither hurt nor hinder the progress of the nation; and from the Tories we Liberals may learn the lesson, that there is something worth preserving. In our passion for renovation we must yet remember that this little England is a heritage of which we all may well be proud. In the past she has done heroic deeds: she has given of her sons and of her daughters, that they might be fruitful and replenish the earth; she has borne to distant lands the blessings of peace, of order, and of government; she has struck off the fetters of the slave, and now that it is time to set her own house in order, and better herself at home, she will gird herself to the work, and once again prove equal to her task.

This is the opportunity which has been given to Liberalism to make Great Britain truly great.

W. HAMMOND-ROBINSON.

SIR JOHN SEELEY.

THE work of Sir John Seeley on the growth of British policy now given to the world can hardly fail to arouse wide and thoughtful interest. Those who were privileged to know him may fancy they are listening to a voice from the dead as they reverently peruse its pages. All is so thoroughly characteristic of the man as he appeared in his writings, in his lecture-room, and in private life.

No portions are more attractive than those which touch on religion. Few persons ever pondered more on the effect of religious belief on national life and character. He once frankly expressed his conviction that no State could exist very long which was not in some sense a Church. The brilliant chapter on the Counter-Reformation describes the force and fervour of Spanish Catholicism, whose much abused holocausts he defended many years ago in a passage in *Eccle Homo*. From his account of the close of the Elizabethan age it may be well to cite the following fragment :

“ From those sick religious doubts (*perpetua formidine*), those frenzies of religious discord, or again, from those obstinate clannish feuds that arise out of a disputed title, there is but one escape. The generation that is tormented by them must die out, and a new generation spring up. But, in the meantime, what shall be done? The one thing is rest. Fresh action on the old lines, which would aggravate all the diseases, must be avoided. Civil war must not be allowed to break out, nor religious war. Hence these devices of Elizabeth. ‘Are we Catholics? Are we Protestants?’ said the people. Elizabeth gave them a new variety of the Reformation which we now call Anglicanism from the country itself. . . . And as the years passed by a new generation sprung up, whose minds were agitated by other thoughts. It was a more cheerful generation. Some of them discovered islands far away; some of them devised systems of philosophy; some of them wrote sonnets; some of them wrote plays.”

Again, in describing the transformation of France under Richelieu, or the work of William III., the religious aspect of the question is seldom absent from his mind. The difference between Lutheran and Calvinistic tendencies, the former essentially monarchical and conservative, the latter popular and rebellious, is lucidly and convincingly explained.

A well-known philanthropic Earl did not hesitate to stigmatise his earliest work as “vomited from the jaws of hell.” In the space of thirty years German critical ideas have made great progress in England, and nowadays it is hard to understand how such a

moderate book as *Ecce Homo* could have caused such deep offence, even to ignorant pietists. Not long ago an orthodox head-master of a public school praised it highly in the pulpit, just as orthodox Anglican divines have come to accept the substance of Colenso's Biblical views. After all, the Christian view of life rests on a particular miracle, for which a passage in *Ecce Homo* declares the evidence to be convincing. Many have learnt from its pages to regard "the Man of Sorrows" as "a human brother and friend," instead of a distant thaumaturgist. Only those who cling obstinately to tradition can any longer condemn it as being subversive or impious. It claimed to show, on historical grounds, how a great Personality had changed the face of the world, and introduced new motives for conduct, by the force of human enthusiasm.

Yet *Ecce Homo* left one side of the question unanswered, and many looked forward to the promised sequel. But it did not appear for sixteen years, and dealt with different problems. I have heard admirers of *Ecce Homo* speak disparagingly of *Natural Religion*, as though the writer's religious faith or literary power had receded in the interval. But though it appeals less to ordinary minds, it is in no way inferior to its more exoteric forerunner. The distinctively Christian enthusiasm of his earlier years is supplemented by another view of life, principally derived from the study of Goethe's writings.

As the subject matter of *Natural Religion* and *Goethe*, reviewed after sixty years, to a certain extent overlap, it may be well to consider them together. For Goethe is the high priest of that worship of God in nature, coupled with a disregard of the exclusive claims of any church or creed, which has become the common attitude of most educated Germans since the days of the Aufklärung.

"Dem Frieden Gottes, welcher euch hienieden
Mehr als Vernunft beseliget--wir lesen's--
Vergleich' ich wohl der Liebe heitern Frieden
In Gegenwart des allgeliebten Wesens,
Da ruht das Herz und nichts vermag zu stören
Den tiefsten Sinn, den Sinn, ihr zu gehören.
In unsers Busens Reine wogt ein Streben,
Sich einem Hohern, Reinern, Unbekannten,
Aus Dankbarkeit freiwillig hinzugeben,
Entrathselnd sich den ewig Ungenannten;
Wir heissen's fromm sein! Solcher seligen Hohe
Fuhl' ich mich theilhaft, wenn ich vor ihr stehe."

This and other kindred passages were probably in the Professor's mind when he declared the average scientific man (Goethe was a great scientist) worshipped a more awful Deity than the average Christian. Again, the famous stanzas of *Das Göttliche*, the noblest of all latterday psalms of life, seem to have suggested the following train of thought in the chapter on Natural Christianity.

"The two great moral religions of the world, Christianity and Buddhism, agree in this, that both centre in the worship of a Man. The truth is, that all virtue which is genuine and vital, springs out of the worship of Man in some form. Wherever the higher morality shows itself, Humanity is worshipped. It is worshipped under the form of country, or of ancestors, or of heroes, or great men, or saints, or virgins, or in individual lives, under the form of a friend, or mother, or wife, or any object of admiration, who once seizing the heart made all humanity seem sacred, and turned all dealings with men into a religious service. It is worshipped most of all when, passing by an act of faith beyond all that we can know, we attribute all the perfections of ideal humanity to the power that made and sustains the universe."

His little book on Goethe is perhaps the best English appreciation of the greatest of modern poets, the only one among the four sovereign poets of the world whose personality and secret mental workings are known to us in detail. Thomas Carlyle, who revered him so enormously, revered him more as a spiritual teacher than as a serene and consummate artist. On the other hand, certain imaginative hedonists have absorbed his passion for the beautiful, but overlook his manliness and serious method of life. But Sir J. Seeley manages to bring out the many sides of Goethe's genius and character with his own peculiar terseness:

"Besides the five or six consummate works which the world has agreed to admire, it may be affirmed that his lyrics, that is, his songs, ballads, and lyrical romances are the best in the world. Further, he may be called the greatest of literary critics. And lastly, in subtle and abundant observation of human life, in the number and value of his wise remarks and pregnant sayings, he is far the greatest writer since Montaigne and Bacon. Even if we look no deeper, it is a matter for astonishment that the most tender of lyricists, and one of the most inventive and sublime of dramatists, should be found discussing in *Wilhelm Meister* the duties of landowners and the details of the management of a theatre with a hard common-sense worthy of Johnson."

The attempt to reconcile the Hellenic ideal of self-development, which strives at the same time to make the most of the joys and beauties of earth with the Christian ideal of self-sacrifice based on the hope of recompense hereafter, does not commend itself to all. The early Christians burnt the poems of Sappho, which embodied the attractive side of Paganism, and did not care to make life sweet and refined because they deemed it a mere prelude to another existence in which earthly shapes of beauty and human forms of knowledge would be doomed to vanish away. Throughout the so-called ages of Faith the Jews were the great sceptical race whose energies were turned constantly to the present. But a secular view of life sprung up at the Renaissance in the heart of Catholicism itself, and still dominates most healthy men and women whatever be their nominal beliefs. It is rather curious that the great Spanish artist who painted an exquisite scene of animal enjoyment like "The Revelers" should likewise have painted the most devout and realistic por-

trayal of the dying agony of the Man-God. Those who take the trouble to compare these two pictures in the Prado Museum at Madrid will admit that worldly wisdom and other worldliness may possibly co-exist.

Unquestionably the modern gospel of culture can never come to terms with mediæval asceticism. It cannot sympathise with the fanatical fervour of Blaise Pascal two centuries ago, who gave up mathematics, or of Leo Tolstoi in our own days, who has given up novel-writing. But it seems to have spread itself in the land of Luther without coming into violent conflict with old-established beliefs. Luther loved "wine, woman and song," and protested, in the name of common-sense, as strongly as Goethe himself, against the ascetic ideal.

In one of his essays Sir J. Seeley employs the words "A man who reads Goethe" to express the opposite of a barbarian. The two photographs most conspicuous in his drawing-room were those of Goethe and Ranke, his two chief masters, at any rate, among modern writers. The name of the second naturally leads to his historical methods and achievements.

Of Sir J. Seeley's purely historic performances, *The Expansion of England* has been by far the most popular. It appealed to the pride and patriotism of most English-speaking persons, and stated a great question in a new and original manner. If the federation of our distant colonies in one British State ever becomes an accomplished fact, the book will hardly be forgotten. When Lord Rosebery offered him the honour of knighthood he laid particular stress on the imperial tendency of his writings.

His most laborious work was *The Life and Times of Stein*, in three solid volumes. The writer of these notes can claim to have read it through during a residence of many months in Berlin, where the surroundings seem to lend it a kind of borrowed interest. But few insular Englishmen—even among historical students—have managed the same feat, and most critics are disposed to call it unattractive. As a work of art it may be classed by the side of *Daniel Deronda* among magnificent failures; but German judges have been known to praise it on account of its thoroughness and care. Even when all allowances have been made for English limitations of view, granted that Englishmen ought to be more interested in Stein than they are, the work still seems to lack that lucid epigrammatic quality which marks his other writings. It is too palpably didactic to compel readers against their will to enlarge their mental horizon and study foreign affairs.

Sir J. Seeley always held we were disposed to regard history too much from the English and too little from the European point of view. His short *Life of Napoleon*, as well as his posthumous work, show how much he struggled to correct this ordinary failing. The

great actors are presented in their world-historical aspect as they swayed the destinies of States, and all their domestic performances are left more in the background.

As Napoleon has interested the world more than any man of action since "the unique imperator Cæsar," and all his aims and motives are less obscure and distant, Sir J. Seeley's paradoxically low estimate of his statesmanship can scarcely be regarded as final. Among modern authorities Taine was substantially of the same opinion, but few Frenchmen agree with him. He once went so far as to call the victor of Marengo a semi-barbaric Corsican who marred the natural workings of the great French Revolution. To his essentially Christian feeling Napoleon's indifference to the lives of a million of men was altogether unpardonable. He defined cynicism (of which Frederick and Napoleon were brilliant embodiments) as "conscious, open-eyed wickedness." Yet, severely as he judged Frederick's crimes, he affirmed modern Germany was the result of his work, and placed him higher than Napoleon, who left no monument at all.

The conception which he formed of the proper duty of the historian was similar to the conception of Thucydides. It was not primarily artistic, still less antiquarian, but rather practical and useful. If the absence of falsehood made it less pleasant reading, he felt convinced that its serious lessons would help us to face the future. To quote his own words, "Politics are vulgar when they are not liberalised by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics."

His use of the inductive method was not altogether invulnerable. For history is concerned with human follies and passions which cannot always be reduced to simple algebraic formulæ. Bishop Stubbs, in one of his addresses, speaks slightly of generalisations, and many are disposed to regret the strong political bias he gave to the Cambridge school. For the same reason some of us feel rather angry with Thucydides for neglecting to draw a portrait of Socrates or Pheidias and devoting so many chapters to petty battles and intrigues. But Sir J. Seeley believed that Thucydides knew his own business best.

What Ruskin calls penetrative imagination was one of his striking gifts. But he never cultivated the romantic habit of living in the distant past, which would have seemed to him frivolous and foolish. For he lived intensely in the present and set little store on curious antique knowledge that did not concern our lives. No scholar could well have been less of a musty pedant or a book-worm.

In spite of his strong hostility to Irish Home Rule, he could never have been termed anything but a decided Liberal in politics. He called himself a Radical in all educational matters, and seemed to prefer the German to English methods of study. He believed our

excess of examinations damped the love of literature, and never withdrew his strictures on the Cambridge competitive system expressed in a well-known essay. Perhaps the tone of that essay evoked the bitter comment of an over-rated cynic who went to his inaugural lecture.

His lectures were always, at any rate, highly stimulating and suggestive. For he understood exactly how to compress a subject into an hour, and bring out the important points with a due sense of proportion. Among all English or German lecturers known to me, only Dr. Kuno Fischer of Heidelberg could be compared to him for lucidity of statement and spiritual force. But the somewhat theatrical manner of the great German writer is a contrast to the quiet composure of his lamented English rival. Both worshipped Goethe.

The term "prophetic" has been sometimes applied to his work on *The Expansion of England*. But the inevitable quality of mysticism by which prophets thrive was alien to his whole nature. He was rather to be compared to the inquiring son of Sophroniscus than to the ancient Hebrew reformers. If the critical bent of his mind tended to curb enthusiasm, he would always talk brilliantly on any congenial subject. Denham's once-famous lines to the Thames would express the character of his mind :

"Though deep yet dear, though gentle yet not dull;
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full."

The passionate glow of the partisan—without which men of genius like Carlyle and Ruskin would lose half their effectiveness—was repugnant to his judicial temper. He had, indeed, a low opinion of Carlyle's judgment of men, and regretted that a born prophet should have followed another path. Among great English historians he gave the first place to Gibbon, but Ranke was his pattern and model. He cared more for historical thinking than mere historical research. Freeman's sceptical attitude towards the imperial problem vexed his positive mind. The picturesque writing of Froude did not appeal to him much. The mere fact that he had known one of the colonial worthies over-praised in *Oceania* made him distrust the rest of that enchanting work.

His knowledge of modern literature was enormous. Not only the well-kept high-roads, but even the moon-lit by-paths in the forests of German thought, had become familiar ground to him. French and Italian writers always occupied his attention. No one knew the English classics better. During his last illness he devoured Spanish romances, a realm of gold in which his friend, Professor Cowell, had induced him to travel. He gave Calderon a place among the greatest poets of the world.

Whether his writings are destined to live can hardly be prophesied at present. Few prose-writers, indeed, can really hope to wear the

immortal garland. But he has, at any rate, exerted no small influence on the thought of this restless age in matters of Politics and Religion. As these two words include the deepest of human needs, his labour was not in vain, though the fruits have not yet fully ripened. Perhaps some future delegate from New Zealand will be tempted to visit his tomb when the Pan-Britannic assemblage has been prorogued for a holiday.

MAURICE TODHUNTER.

HISTORY OF HINDU CIVILISATION 'UNDER BRITISH RULE.'

THE learned author of this valuable book discusses in the present volume the intellectual condition of the Hindus under British rule, as compared with that of their ancestors under the rule of the races who were supreme in Vedic times, and under the Mahommedan Government. He also comments on the educational results of English policy, and advocates a much more frequent employment of Hindus in the higher posts of the Administration of India than is customary at present. In his review of early Indian history he states that the Mahommedan epoch was one of arrested intellectual development, arising from the chilling influence exercised by Mahommedan fanatic Unitarianism over Hindu Pantheism, the constant antagonism between two essentially different modes of thought, and the unrest caused by perpetual internal wars, constantly recurring invasions, and the successive deteriorations in governing ability of the hereditary descendants of originally able monarchs.

The Mahommedan rulers no longer, like the Hindu kings, made the Brahmins their prime ministers and chief advisers, and consequently they who had since the decadence of Buddhist rule been the intellectual leaders of the Hindus either fled to parts of the country not yet conquered by the Mahommedans, or became, when they remained at home, the priests and advisers of the lower classes, and were thus more intimately associated with them than they had been in the Puranic age which preceded the Mahommedan conquest.

In tracing the history of Hindu thought from Vedic times the author rightly insists upon the evils of the caste system, as organised by the Brahmin and Kohatrya rulers who succeeded the Vaishya or trading races, in the government of the country. They, as I shall show, subsequently subverted the original policy of the practical people who had made India the richest country in the ancient world, and instead of fostering national arts and industries looked down with contempt on trade and manufactures, and studied no physical science except astronomy, which enabled them to measure the move-

¹ *History of Hindu Civilisation under British Rule.* By Pramatha Nath Bose. Vol. III., Intellectual Condition. London : Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. ; Calcutta : Messrs. Newman & Co.

ments of time and to calculate the auspicious moment for performing sacrifices. The Aryan Brahmins, who led this revolutionary movement, had become not only the priests, but also the teachers of the people, and were thus able to control the direction of national intellectual energy, and to divert the thoughts of their pupils who belonged to the ruling races from the study of the material arts and sciences, which were abandoned to the professional guilds which had become, under their system of government, separate castes. These priestly rulers devoted their energies to the formation of an elaborate ritual and a most complicated series of sacrificial ordinances, providing, under the penalties of severe penance for infractions of the rule, for the right recitation of every word and syllable of the sacrificial hymns, and for the exact observance of each of the minute ceremonies prescribed for each sacrifice. The literature of this age, which began with the composition of the Vedic hymns, culminated in teaching to the pupils of the priests the ritualistic manuals called *Brāhmanas* and *Sutras* and in the study of grammar. It produced in the grammars of Yaska and Pāṇini the most perfect extant analysis of the science of language as developed in the construction of Sanskrit, their sacred speech. But this, though it was spoken by the priests and their pupils, and though it became the court language, was apparently never used by the great mass of the people, who spoke the Prakrit dialects. These arose out of the union of Sanskrit with the earlier Dravidian speech of the indigenous people, who in their turn incorporated the cerebral letters peculiar to their alphabet into the Vedic Sanskrit, and thus showed that this latter language was one taught by the northern invaders to the Dravidian races who ruled the land before their advent. The cultivation of the science of grammar led to the study of philosophy and metaphysics and the religious speculations of the Upanishads, and it was from these studies, pursued with an acuteness and depth of insight which rivalled the later researches of the Greeks, that the religious revolt against Brahmin ascendancy arose. This was begun by the monotheistic and ascetic Jains, and it led finally to the supremacy of the Buddhists. Under their rule caste distinctions were entirely ignored among the Buddhist brotherhood, and literary knowledge was no longer confined to the learned scholars of Sanskrit, but was disseminated broadcast in Pali and the Prakrit vernaculars. This led to a revival of the study of practical knowledge, which had been neglected under the rule of the ritualists and philosophers, and hence in this age medical and mathematical science flourished. It was then also that the national attention was turned to the ancient historical narrative stories of the pre-Aryan races, and these were incorporated into the epic poems of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*.

This period was followed by the revival of Brahmin authority in the Puranic age, when the author seems to think Hindu mythology

was developed into its present form. But in this conclusion he is certainly mistaken. The history of India, told in the legends of the Purāṇas, in the great national epics of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, and in the Rigveda, is entirely based on the historical stories framed under the rule of the earliest rulers of the land, the Dravidian and Dravido-Turanian races, who were followed by the fair (pandu) barley-growing sun-worshippers of the north. They were the Pāṇḍavas of the Mahābhārata and the Pandyas of Dravidian tradition.

It was the stories of the past life of the nation bequeathed by these primæval founders of Indian civilisation and commerce, and subsequently embodied in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, and the Purāṇas, which formed the national history taught and interpreted by the earliest class of Hindu priests, called the Prashastri, or teachers of the Shasters. It was their duty, as schoolmasters of the people, to frame an account of the successive periods of national growth, and these, which were, like all early narratives, composed in verse, were recited as the Itihāsa (historical) Purāṇa, the fifth Veda at the great annual national sacrifice of the worshippers of the sun-horse of northern mythology called the Ashvamedha, or sacrifice (medha) of the horse (ashva).

These stories were composed before the art of writing was known; they were entirely transmitted by memory, and were intended to teach lessons derived from experience to those who were to rule the course of national affairs. It was therefore impossible that they, like the written histories we now use, should treat of the deeds of individuals. The object aimed at by their composers was, without unduly burdening the memory of those who heard and repeated the lessons they learnt, to review the whole past of the nation in the form of a summary of events. Therefore the account of the nation's progress during thousands of years was, as we see in the Mahābhārata, comprised in a narrative which, to suit the dramatic form in which it was set forth, was supposed to tell only of events occurring during the lives of the acting heroes. They, as fully explained in my *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, were not persons who had actually existed, but names showing in their meanings and in the actions ascribed to them, the drift of the teaching intended to be inculcated by the guardians of the nation's chronicles.

If the author had studied the history of his ancestors as told in these national histories, in the ritual of the Sanskrit Brāhmanas, in the different caste customs and ordinances, and in the popular national festivals, he would probably have been led to propose a more hopeful plan for the revival of Hindu national energy and prosperity than that of entrusting the government of the country and its foreign policy to a national congress, a method of government which

has been repudiated by the experienced statesmen who founded the Government of the United States of America.

He would there have learnt that the united southern and northern races who had ruled India before the invasion of the Sanskrit speaking Aryans of Vedic times, had established in the organisation of their village communities, which had spread from India to Europe, a well-devised system of representative local government. This, instead of being confined, as he states on page 56, to the area of the jurisdiction of the "panchayat," or council of each village, permeated the whole State. India was, as we learn from the composition of Native States which still retain their primæval form intact, divided into provinces, which were originally a union of adjoining villages peopled by a homogeneous population. Each of these had, like the Parhas or provinces of Chutia Nagpore, their distinctive flag, and they were governed by the council of the Manjhis or Mundas, as the village chiefs were named; and this council was presided over by the head of the province, called the Munki. These provinces were grouped together as a federated State, ruled by a national council of the provincial chiefs, under the superintendence of an elected President, who usually held office for life.

Under the government of the chiefs of the Yellow Turanain and Finn races, the first northern conquerors of India, the constitution of these federated groups of allied provinces was altered into one which enlarged the national boundaries by joining several States together, grouped the smaller provinces of early times into larger aggregates, and assimilated the national organisation to the pattern of a camp of an army. Under this arrangement, which still subsists in the States of Chutia Nagpore, the king ruled the central province, while those surrounding it, the border provinces of the kingdom, were ruled by his most trusted chiefs. In the villages the whole of the land no longer belonged to the members of the village community, but a share in each village was set apart for the king, as a bank whence he was to defray the expenses of internal government, the maintenance of the army, and the cost of the constant State progresses made by the king through his dominions. The produce of this land, which was cultivated by the village landholding tenants, was stored in the national granaries. But the system of representative rule was still maintained, and the kings were not arbitrary monarchs who based their power on a standing army, but were as effectually governed by public opinion and the decisions of village provincial and national councillors as their more republican predecessors.

This system of government culminated in the organisation of the Nāga or Kushikā rule, which embraced the whole of India. It was instituted by the Turanian Gonds and improved by later immigrants

from the north, the barley-growing races, called the Minyans and Sakyans, and under it, as finally constituted, India was divided into seven kingdoms, each formed by the grouping together of numerous States, and the centre and ruling kingdom of these seven was that of Central India, called Maha Kosala or Jambu-dwipa, the land of the Jambu tree (*Eugenia jambolana*), the distinctive fruit tree of its forests.

It was under the Kushika rule of the kings of Kosala that the guilds of artisans were formed, out of which the present caste system of India grew. And it was they who developed the resources of the country. It was the guild of Kurmis, who are still the most skilful farmers in India, who not only improved the methods of cultivating rice—the earliest corn crop of the country—but who also covered Central and Southern India with the great irrigating reservoirs which changed mountain gorges into inland seas, like the still existing lake at Nowagaon in the Bhundara district of Central India, which is seventeen miles round. Besides this, there are many other great reservoirs which still conclusively prove that their architects were skilled engineers, who had not only discovered the laws of hydraulic science, which ensured the permanence and usefulness of their work, but had also turned their knowledge to practical account. It was the Kurmis also who first grew cotton for commercial purposes, and thus furnished to the weavers, who had learnt in the north how to weave wool, goat's hair, and fibres, such as flax, a material which proved to be, especially in southern climates, much superior to those they had hitherto used. It was from this Indian cotton that the Sipat Sindhu, or cloth of the moon- (sin) land, India of the earliest Babylonian inscriptions, was made, and this became the Sindōn of the Greeks, and the Shadin, the cotton cloth, of the Palestinian Jews. They also discovered the recondite art of making the blue indigo dye, and cloth dyed with this and other Indian dyes is found in very early monuments in Egypt.

Besides the industries of the Kurmis and other tillers of the ground, of the Tantis, or weavers, and of the dyers, these professional guilds founded and improved the arts of mining and working in metals. It was the mining races who first studied chemistry, and thus learnt the secret of how to separate the metal from the other constituents of the ore, and it was they who worked mines in Guzerat, the ancient Saurashtra, the kingdom (arashtra) of the Saus, or trading races, and in Central and Southern India, and who made India the centre whence gold, silver, and jewels were distributed over South-Western Asia. The chief agents whose labours founded the foreign trade of India, were the carpenter castes, who not only discovered the qualities of the innumerable kinds of valuable timber which grows in the Indian forests, but who also built the ships

which conveyed the produce of India to foreign countries. They first discovered the value of the teak growing on the hills which form the coasts of Western India as a material for shipbuilding, and made it what it is still, that universally used by the mariners of the Persian Gulf and Southern Arabia.

It was these Indian shipbuilders who were the founders of the commerce of Assyria and Egypt, for it is only on their coasts that shipbuilding timber grows on the shores of the Indian Ocean. Therefore, the Indian miners and maritime races preceded the workers of the mines of Sinai as the distributors of mineral wealth. For it was in ships built by them that the kings of the primæval city of Girsu, in the Euphratean delta, brought the stone for their statues. This, as we learn from the inscriptions, was brought to Eridtu in ships from Magana, the most ancient name of the Sinaitic Peninsula. These Indian maritime traders launched their ships from the ports of Patāla, the modern Hyderabad, in Scinde, now 115 miles from the sea, and from Dwaraka, in Khatiawar, the port of the Yādavas sons of Krishna; and they made Patāla the capital of their kings. They who called themselves the Ikshvāku kings took their names from the sugar cane (iksha), which had been added to the list of national crops by the indefatigable energy of the cultivating guilds, who were the first founders of Indian foreign commerce.

It was this thoughtful and practical race which adopted for the ancient great annual festival to the rain-god, held at the summer solstice, the ritual set forth in the Brāhmanas for the Soma sacrifice. It is this festival which still survives as the midsummer festival to Juganath, which was called in the Vedas the festival of the god Soma. He, the god Soma, or Su-oma, the Ha-oma of the Zendavesta, meaning, from its root (su) the begetter, is called in the Rigveda, the Father and Begetter of the Gods, the Lord of Thought and Speech, the God of the Life-giving Rain; and he was originally the wet (suk) god, the god Sukra of the Sakyans, who became the Indian Indra. It was from Patāla that the western trading races allied with the Minyan or Sakyan kings the Parthian cavalry, who had entered India from the north-west, set forth to conquer the whole of Indra. The armies were financed by the trading Jains from the west, who had adopted the religion of asceticism and the worship of one God, whose doctrines are taught by his incarnated representatives on earth, the inspired prophets called Tirthakaras; and it was they who finally established the Indian Empire of seven States, with Jambudwipa in the centre. They fixed their capital at the centre town of Kusambi, guarding the junction of the Jumna and Ganges, which is still one of the most hallowed places of pilgrimage in India.

It was from the researches systematically begun by these united

trading and conquering races that the first beginnings of medical science arose. It was first studied as the science appropriated to the guild of Baidyas, or men of knowledge (budh), the first name given to the national physicians of the Bhars of Bhārata. This was an alternative name to that of Kushika or Nāgas, given to the victorious capitalists who ruled India as the Mahābhārata, the great Bhārata of the national historical epic. They called themselves the sons of the Bar or fig-tree, the Indian Banyun tree (*Ficus Indica*), and it is a fig-tree called the Plaksha tree (*Ficus Infectoria*) which is still adored as the national tree by the pilgrims visiting Puryag, the holy shrine at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges. This is the tree sacred to Ur-vashi, the goddess mother of fire, the fire-block whence the fire kept perpetually burning on the national altar was engendered. It was the guild of physicians among these people who first discovered the medical value of the fruit of the Bael-tree (*Aeglemarmelos*), and of the Catechu or Khadira (*Acacia Catechu*), yielding the drug called catechu, and also a valuable red dye. The antiquity of the knowledge of the great value of the products of this last tree is shown by its use under the name of ur-vashi, the ancient (ur) creatrix (vashi), as the fire-block on which the fire-drill, made of the sacred fig-tree, was, and is still, twirled to produce the sacred fire of the Indian temples. It was, as the Mahābhārata tells us, from the Bael and Khadira tree that the holy sacrificial stakes were cut for the great national festival of the Pāndava kings, the festival when the sun-horse of the old year was sacrificed to make way for the conquering sun-horse of the new, who began his victorious career as the year-god at the summer solstice.

As local government has been everywhere conceded to district and municipal boards elected by the people, there is now no reason why Indian reformers should not imitate the deeds of their forefathers. They started with absolutely no assistance except that given to them by the natural wealth and fertility of the country they occupied. And it was from their own brains and the lessons learnt and the profits secured from their never-ceasing labour of hand and head that they evolved the arts and machinery of local government, the organisation of trade, the discovery of the uses of natural products, and the means of improving and utilising them. It was they who made India the richest country in the ancient world; and if their descendants, as I believe they do, possess the same qualities which made their ancestors victorious over all difficulties, they can now make it the greatest manufacturing country in the east.

They have, in the wide-spread plains of the valleys of their great rivers, a most fertile soil, and thousands of square miles of this are protected against the worst effects of drought by canals and railways. But this naturally excellent soil is deteriorating in many places from over-cropping and the want of manure. The ancient

forests in the plain country have all been cut down by the farmers, whose great anxiety was to get possession of additional arable land, and therefore the only fuel available over the North-West Provinces, Bengal, and Behar, is that made from cattle-manure. One of the first objects that ought to be aimed at by those who wish to improve the national agriculture is to make coal the national fuel, and to use their manure for fertilising the land. If only railways were made to connect the coalfields of Chutia Nagpore with the arable land of the plains, ample supplies of coal could be obtained at a very cheap rate. Chutia Nagpore and Central India is a country possessing very much greater natural wealth than Northern England, but very like it in its geological character. It has over 6000 square miles of coalfields and hills of iron containing every description of ore suited to the making of steel, and some of these lie close to coal-beds and limestone quarries. If this country were only, like the North of England, permeated by railways, which now only touch its outskirts, it could not only supply fuel to the rest of India, but could be covered with factories, which would be able, with the cheap labour to be obtained from the large labouring population of Chutia Nagpore, and the cotton grown in the black soils of Chuttisghur, near the sources of the Nerbudda, Sone, and Mahanuddi, to compete successfully with those now being built by the Japanese.

The Indian people should now determine to imitate their forefathers, to work together like them for the good of their country, and not to be deterred by the obstacles engendered by the present caste system, which, while it makes the union of different castes difficult, renders the work of amalgamating the members of each caste under their caste leaders comparatively easy if the active sympathy of these leaders is obtained. The work to be done must be locally distributed; each district must consider its own wants, and adjoining districts can confer with each other through their representatives as to what will be most beneficial to both of them and to other neighbouring districts with similar wants and where the conditions of life were similar. Thus, districts traversed by the great rivers of the North-West and Bengal could join their forces to carry out works and promote schemes which would be generally useful to each group, and the plain-districts bordering on the central mining tracts could unite with the mining districts to benefit each other by increasing facilities for communication and exchange of products. It would be the duty of those who were accepted as the leaders of the nation to ascertain first the wants of their own localities and the best methods of improving the local industries; to form local societies for these purposes, which could amalgamate with those of neighbouring districts, and thus gradually grow into national societies like the agricultural societies, and the societies of ironmasters, cotton-spinners, and shipowners of England. All these societies have been

founded and maintained, not by Government patronage and assistance, but by the union of individuals interested in the industry which it is the object of the society to foster. It is from such societies as these that Government gets the most useful assistance in formulating projects for promoting the national welfare, for they can lay before it the opinions of practical men, who know by experience what is wanted and can tell whether the proposed measures are likely to prove a hindrance or a help. If Hindu reformers would try to work on these lines, and thus follow the example of their own forefathers, they would do much more real good to their country than they can ever do by becoming members of a talking assembly, which, however useful as a critic of Government measures and for examining and passing laws affecting the whole of India, can never be, like the captains of industry, the educators of the nation.

The railway line, made by native engineers and constructed with native capital, between Tarakeswar and Magra, in Bengal, mentioned on p. 85 of this book, is an instance of what may be done by local effort, and instances of the revival of the early ambition which made the national leaders the promoters of national trade and industry are shown in the numerous cases referred to by the author, of members of the highest caste engaging in trades hitherto confined to the lower classes. This is the only way in which the national regeneration can be effected. Let them direct their efforts to extending the benefits of the technical education which has already been started by Government, and to smoothing the way of those who learn in these technical schools, so as to enable them to use the knowledge they have acquired for increasing the prosperity of their several districts.

J. F. HEWITT.

THE VICTORIAN AGE OF LITERATURE AND ITS CRITICS.

It has often been said that we live in an age of criticism. Like many other sweeping statements, which "the man in the street" accepts unhesitatingly, this proposition is only true in a very modified sense. At the present time, we have too many critics; but we have very few good critics. Indeed, criticism in the early part of the present century more nearly approached the dignity of an art than it does nowadays. We are quite deluged with personal impressions, one-sided "appreciations," and "monographs," often generated by the desire to air a fad or to praise a friend. Although we plume ourselves on our generous admiration for all true genius, we are apt to disparage or to ignore the gifts of our best living writers. Our latter-day critics pretend to be shocked at the brutality of the reviewer who was, at one time, supposed to have "killed John Keats"; but have we not an example of gross prejudice—not to say crass ignorance—in the printed attacks on Mr. Alfred Austin by persons, some of whom, I strongly suspect, never read two pages of his poetry? It may be one of the evil results of democracy that every one is now anxious to be considered omniscient, or at least capable of forming a just estimate of everything. But certain it is that a great deal of the so-called "criticism" of our day is nothing better than a collection of hasty and worthless opinions.

It, therefore, appears to me that Mr. Frederic Harrison is rather unfortunate in assuming, as he does in his recently published volume entitled *Studies in Early Victorian Literature*, that the wings of imagination have been clipped by the critical spirit of to-day. It is impossible not to admire and respect Mr. Harrison's sincerity; but a careful perusal of his book has convinced me that his theory as to the inferiority of the poets, novelists, and historians of this age to their predecessors is, to a great extent, fallacious and indiscriminating. His introductory chapter is rendered almost valueless, from the standpoint of intelligent criticism, by its terrible dogmatism. For instance, we are told that the Victorian age has produced "no supreme master in poetry, philosophy, or romance." No doubt, we have no nineteenth century Shakespeare; but we

have a Browning—and who shall say that he is not a supremely great poet? It remains for future generations, perhaps, to appreciate *Sordello* and *The Ring and the Book*; but by persistent and, indeed, unnecessary laudation of the meteoric genius of Shakespeare—unquestionably the greatest dramatist that ever lived—we cannot belittle the reputation of a poet who approaches him in some respects, and who is certainly his superior in the faculty of introspective analysis. I would be sorry to place *Venus and Adonis* above *Pifne at the Fair*; and if Browning could not write a tragedy so full of action and variety as *Macbeth*, Shakespeare would have striven in vain to produce a short poem containing so much concentrated power, so much psychological profundity, as *Abt Vogler*.

Again, is it to be said that Mr. William Morris is an inferior poet as compared with Keats or even Shelley? Critics are too apt to underrate the greatness of their contemporaries; and certainly Mr. Harrison is no exception to this rule. He is, in fact, a hopeless specimen of the *laudator temporis acti*. The past has the effect of a mirage on his mind. Every object becomes grandiose when seen through the magic lens of half a century. A number of names are repeated in a reverential fashion, and the horde of living writers of prose and verse are thereupon admonished to “hide their diminished heads.”

For my part, I regard *The Earthly Paradise* as a most beautiful, if not an immortal production; and I am unorthodox enough to hold that Mr. Alfred Austin has written some exquisite poetry. I yield to no latter-day enthusiast in my admiration for the late Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who appears to me not only superior to Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Coventry Patmore, but only second to Browning in originality, grandeur of imagery, and supreme mastery of language. As for Lord Tennyson, he was a great artist, though he was, in my humble judgment, far from being the foremost poet of his time. In many of his characteristics he was an excellent representative of modern ideas; but he was too conventional, too womanish, to take his place amongst poets of the first rank. The minute critic of poetry will find many analogies between the late Laureate and our greatest woman-poet, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and it is possible that posterity will bestow on her a higher meed of praise; for, though inferior to Tennyson in mere technique, she exhibits far more intensity of emotion and clearness of imaginative insight.

According to Mr. Harrison, the Victorian age commenced in 1837. I do not know why literature should be regulated by any such arbitrary system of reckoning; but it seems to please Mr. Harrison, and, as far as I am concerned, he is at liberty to take his own course in dealing with a literary epoch. It is when he proceeds to lament that Scott, Byron, Shelley, Keats, and some others had passed away before that year that I feel inclined to smile. As for

Scott, his fame as a poet was never very secure, and only schoolboys read him now. His novels are also losing their glamour; and when Mr. Harrison tells us that the Victorian age has no Scott, we may complacently reply that it has more than ample compensation for the loss in Robert Louis Stevenson, Clark Russell, and Stanley Weyman. I mention the last three names, not because I regard these three writers as occupying the highest position in contemporary fiction, but because I look upon their works as romances—and far more interesting romances than *Ivanhoe* or any other piece of historical stucco-work which the ridiculously overrated “Wizard of the North” inflicted on generations of unhappy readers. We have all had to read the Waverley Novels—for our sins; but the result has not been to make us all worshippers of Scott! He invented the “novel of costume,” and it would have been well if it had died with him instead of generating a brood of G. R. P. Jameses, Harrison Ainsworths, and James Grants!

Byron was a truly great poet. Mr. Alfred Austin was bold enough to say so with considerable emphasis in his clever book, *The Poetry of the Period*, and some unwise Wordsworthians took the opportunity of “slating” him for admiring the naughty nobleman who wrote *Don Juan*. Great as were Shelley’s gifts of imagination, he lacks the masculine energy and individuality of Byron. But, though Byron and Shelley will always rank amongst the greatest poets of England, the last fifty years have given us at least one man of not inferior genius, and several who must take a high place amongst poets of the second class.

We next find Mr. Harrison declaring that since 1837 we have had no great novelist. He writes in the tone of a disappointed man, as if he had read all the fiction of the day, and discovered that it was “flat, stale, and unprofitable.” If so, he must be hard to please, or must be one of those who think nothing is good till it is at least fifty years old. Otherwise, he would not overlook such a series of novels as those which range from *Far from the Madding Crowd* to *Jude the Obscure*. I agree with him that Thackeray is a master of style; but in laying down that *Vanity Fair* is a greater novel than *The Newcomes*, this critic will be sure to fall foul of every educated admirer of that gifted writer of fiction. Indeed, Thackeray’s highest achievement was *Esmond*, and I am glad to find that in this view I am supported by no less a critic than Professor George Saintsbury, whose book, *Corrected Impressions*, contrasts very favourably in some respects with Mr. Harrison’s more pretentious volume. Scott could no more have written *Esmond* or *Romola* than he could have written *Hamlet* or *The Merchant of Venice*. But Mr. Harrison adopts the conventional notion as to the value of the Waverley Novels; and so he is unable to appreciate works which all competent critics (and in saying this I am quite prepared to characterise Messrs. James Payn

and Andrew Lang as *incompetent* specimens of that tribe) believe to be superior to anything produced by Scott.

The mention of *Romola* brings me to George Eliot. She was possibly the object of too much worship during her lifetime. But it has become the fashion of late to say that she has ceased to be read. Mr. Harrison and Professor Saintsbury both join in this parrot-cry of the hour, and endeavour to show that she was never born to write novels. What nonsense it is to indulge in such idle speculations! She did write novels, at any rate—and they were great novels whatever may be their shortcomings. According to Mr. Harrison, she must have been devoid of the novel-writing faculty because she was over thirty when she tried her hand at fiction. So then the lady novelist should commence in her teens? At that rate the readers of novels have an appalling prospect before them. When every girl fresh from a boarding-school is invited to plunge into the manufacture of romance, no wonder that the unfortunate male novelist is ordered, as he has been lately in the columns of a weekly literary journal, to quit the field of fiction, “bag and baggage.” But the absurdity of the remarks as to George Eliot’s age when her first book, *Scenes from Clerical Life*, was published, may be seen from the fact that some of the greatest English works of fiction were written when their authors were approaching old age. Daniel Defoe was fifty-six when *Robinson Crusoe* appeared. Fielding was somewhat younger—forty-two—when he produced *Tom Jones*; but *Gulliver’s Travels* (a book which I for one include amongst the masterpieces of romance) did not make its appearance until Swift had attained his fifty-ninth year. So much for the theory as to novelists who commence writing after thirty being disqualified from taking part in the struggle for fame!

Professor Saintsbury has indulged in some unworthy sneers at George Eliot on account of her relations to George Henry Lewes—not of the puritanical order, for Professor Saintsbury is above such littleness—but rather of a kind that savours strongly of pedantry. He suggests that George Eliot’s love of philosophical speculations was due to Lewes’s influence, and that her novels were the result of a system of “coaching” (this word best conveys what is meant) on his part. Now, it is really impossible to say how much or how little of the subject-matter contained in *Adam Bede*, *The Mill on the Floss*, or *Daniel Deronda*, was actually derived from the co-operation of the author’s husband. Such inquiries may be amusing to persons of feeble intellect and some redeeming capacity for laughter, but for literary purposes they are even more unsatisfactory than the attempt to find out how much a man possesses of his great-great-grandfather’s talents, passions, and eccentricities.

The greatness of George Eliot is not diminished by the fact that she was either advised or assisted by a clever man like George

Henry Lewes. She has defects as a writer—ponderosity, didacticism, and a weakness for aphorisms. But, after all, she was one of our greatest prose artists. She resembles Flaubert in many ways, and the only English novelist of our own time who exhibits genius of the rare order which she possessed is Mr. Thomas Hardy. She is, curiously enough, not feminine in the same sense as Charlotte Brontë, or her gifted sister Emily, whose *Wuthering Heights* is certainly the greatest work ever written by a young girl. *Romola* is not so much a masculine as a monkish book; and that is exactly what George Eliot's genius suggests to my mind—the intellect and imaginative power of some gifted monk. Her Savonarola is a true portrait, because she understood a kindred spirit, and could exhibit his lineaments to the world. That no female writer of any age or country can be compared with her is, in my humble judgment, unquestionable. She is greater than George Sand—greater than Matilde Serao—but she is still imperfect, perhaps partly because she aimed too high, and sought to combine the functions of a philosopher and a novelist.

Neither Mr. Harrison nor Professor Saintsbury appear to realise that there are exceptional types of genius which defy classification. Of such a kind is the genius of George Eliot. It would have been wiser for both these critics if they passed over this novelist in silence, for what they have written about her clearly proves—at least to my mind—that they do not understand her at all.

The difficulty of guiding the many-headed public with regard to modern fiction is exemplified by Mr. Harrison's essay on the novels of Lord Beaconsfield, which, in spite of all he says about them, are, for the most part, very poor stuff indeed. *Vivian Grey* is "the best of a bad lot" (I hope I am not becoming vulgar in referring to the literary productions of this Jewish accession to the English aristocracy); the rest, with the exception of *Coningsby*, which is a rather serious effort, are a collection of satirical sketches of political personages thrown together without order or cohesion. Lord Beaconsfield's power of description was exactly of the same kind as that which enterprising auctioneers possess—many passages in his works are merely catalogues of plate, furniture, and jewellery. The experiment of striving to rehabilitate such a writer must necessarily prove a failure. It is easy to see the artistic impotence of Disraeli (I gladly join with Mr. Harrison in "resurrecting" that once-famous name) by comparing his wretched political romances with the best works of Bulwer, an author who has been undeservedly neglected in this age of literary over-production.

Both Mr. Harrison and Professor Saintsbury have dwelt on the feebleness of Dickens in everything save in the talent for caricature; but their criticism is rather belated, so far as it deals with the author of *Pickwick*. With charming ingenuousness, Mr. Harrison

observes that if any writer of the present time introduced into a book *Pickwick's* "riotous tomfoolery," he would be cried down by the reviewers for having written such "vulgar balderdash." And why not? Nearly every chapter of *Pickwick* is excessively vulgar, and the book is merely saved from literary damnation by its fun. Dickens was a poor specimen of a novelist, and, though a genuine humorist, his humour was of a very low order. In fifty years he will cease to be included amongst great English writers.

Mr. Harrison praises Anthony Trollope, while Professor Saintsbury depreciates him. It must be admitted that some of Trollope's works deserve to live for their manly adherence to fact. At the same time, he was not an artist in the best sense of the word. He wrote, so to speak, from hand to mouth, and the result is that he did nothing that grips our hearts or our nerves like Maupassant's novels, or the best of Turgenev's works. I may be touching on forbidden ground by introducing the two last names; but if Mr. Harrison turns his face aside and wears a thoroughly Anglo-Saxon look of displeasure, in spite of his professions of Comptism, I am sure Professor Saintsbury will enter into the spirit of my remark.

I must sum up with apologies to the two able men whom I have ventured to criticise so candidly. After all, the best criticism is like the efforts of men to grope their way through darkness. Literature may be compared to a vast forest full of shadows and of strange, impalpable forms. To find our way into the light is hard—perhaps impossible. When we seek to realise all the objects around us, we cannot fail to recognise the dimness of our vision, and, however keen may be our sympathies, we cannot easily examine more than one thing at a time.

If, therefore, the two books with which I have dealt rather summarily, have not presented us with an entirely accurate survey of the literature of the Victorian age, their authors must get the credit of having attempted to accomplish a task which most men would not dare to enter upon; and I do not flatter myself that I can adequately supplement their efforts.

However, this much is clear to me—that the Victorian age is a great literary epoch—as great in most respects as that which preceded it—though perhaps its most marvellous achievements have been in the domain of science; that the names of Robert Browning, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Tennyson, Rossetti, and William Morris, will live in the annals of England's poetic literature for centuries; that—with the exception of Fielding, Thackeray, and George Eliot—no greater novelists have appeared in England than our best writers of fiction during the last two decades; that the materials of romance—in spite of Mr. Harrison's lugubrious caterwauling about the days of highwaymen—were never more plentiful than they are now; take, for instance, Jameson's raid into

the Transvaal and Nansen's apparently successful discovery of the North Pole. What we most need is a better educated public, who will be able to appreciate literature as literature—a thing rendered unfortunately very difficult owing to the appetite for sensationalism and the prevalence of half-knowledge, which is of course only another word for superficiality. We should not allow the weight of the past to crush us. In more senses than one, we are "the heirs of the ages." We know more, and are better able to face our destiny, than our ancestors. Science has taught us much, and has dispelled the mists of time-honoured superstition. Each of us can, if we are at all civilised, repeat the brave words of Mr. Henley:

" Beyond this place of wrath and tears
Looms but the Horror of the shade,
And yet the menace of the years,
Finds, and shall find me, unafraid."

But we have yet to learn the facts hidden in obscure depths in our cities, in our fields, and under the earth—the tragedy, the comedy of common life—the sorrows which no words can embody; the world-laughter which defies and outlives death itself—the hitherto invisible world on which our modern progress rests. To show these things is the function of the novelist, the biographer, the realistic dramatist, and the social historian; for such an accession to literature as the last-named personage is inevitable.

It may be humiliating to our vanity to reflect that England has produced but one Shakespeare; but let us remember that modern literature is nothing if it be not cosmopolitan; and if we can claim all contemporary writers as brethren, then let us hail in the Norwegian Ibsen a dramatist who has unveiled a corner of human nature unknown to the great author of *Hamlet*. Let us, too, take comfort at the thought that America has given us in Hawthorne the greatest master of spiritual romance; and that in France there is a whole school of great modern writers, with Gustave Flaubert at their head, who have in that country, at least, fought and killed the great Scott tradition, with its mediæval upholstery and rusty chain-armour. The English novel has recently thrown out vigorous shoots; and, in the future, no hybrid romance can flourish even on the soil where hypocritical prudery has reigned so long. Within the last two or three years such books as *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, *The Wages of Sin*, *One of Our Conquerors*, and, finally, *Jude the Obscure*, have made the typical English morality-monger gasp with horror, which mayhap will, with an infusion of culture, develop into genuine admiration. I believe we may look forward with hope to the literature of the twentieth century.

D. F. HANNIGAN.

THE NOTE-BOOKS OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.¹

IN the prefatory note to his admirable monograph on Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Mr. H. D. Traill deplores the fact that there are but few sources of information open to him who would write the biography of one of our greatest poets. He confesses that there are blanks which tantalise, and points that remain obscure. These thoughts must have struck every one who has endeavoured to probe some of the difficulties that meet us when we are wanting to discover the inner evolution of a nature at once so varied, so brilliant, and so sad.

It can therefore be but a matter of congratulation that this year has seen two important editions to the sum of our knowledge of the poet's life, and that apparently there is no reason to despair of our obtaining in the future a further contribution from the same source.

Early in the spring, Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge gave us two volumes of Letters; and he has within the last month or two brought out a most interesting series of extracts from his grandfather's Note-books. Extracts from the fifty or sixty note-books that are still in existence have appeared before; but these have been few in number, and are only to be found in a scattered state; whereas the contents of *Anima Poetæ* are chronologically arranged, and the book forms the first attempt to give a clear idea of these documents with the thoughts and observations of the poet as they left his hand.

Of course the book is incomplete, its extracts have been selected, and much of the matter still unpublished, though probably of equal or even greater interest, must wait yet longer before it can be presented to the public.

These pocket-books were to the poet more than their name might seem to imply; not only were they used to fix the fugitive thoughts and fancies of many a varied mood, but they in a sense took the place of a close friend to whom their owner could unbosom his mind, and to whose pages he could confide much that many a man tells only to a trusted confidant, or not at all.

¹ *Anima Poetæ*. From the unpublished Note-books of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge. London: William Heinemann. 1895.

That this was the light in which he viewed them is shown by the extract prefixed to the series. For he calls them :

"the confidants who have not betrayed me, the friends whose silence was not detraction, and the inmates before whom I was not ashamed to complain, to yearn, to weep, or even to pray."

This fact it is which gives to the present volume its peculiar charm and interest.

The Notes commence with the year 1797, when the poet was but twenty-five years of age, and when there seemed to be opening out before him a career in which no height looked unattainable.

Tracing briefly the story of his life up to this point, we see how the astonishingly intelligent child with his dislike to games, had given place to the Bluecoat Boy with his taste for metaphysics and theological controversy, and a thirst for general knowledge that led him to participate in the medical training of his brother.

How this phase had in its turn been replaced by that of the wayward undergraduate at Cambridge, snatching poetic successes in the form of Greek Odes, and delighting his friends during vacation with the *Songs of the Pivies*.

We see him, too, gaining a rather unpoetic experience, lasting, it is true, only four months, as a "slack and slovenly trooper," and then, his University days over, it is not long before he has married Miss Sarah Fricker, and, with the past love passages that circle round the names of Mary Evans and Miss Brunton, are gone the dream of an Utopian existence and much of the revolutionary enthusiasm that had characterised his *début* as a political lecturer.

It was on October 4, 1795, that he married, and entered upon a few months of nearly perfect happiness, passed in the little cottage at Clevedon, described in those lines commencing :

"Low was our pretty cot."

It was not, however, for long that he could say :

"No wish profaned my overwhelmed heart.
Blest hour. It was a luxury—to be."

And we find him planning journalistic ventures, and exchanging the pretty cot at Clevedon for another at Nether Stowey, where he went in the spring of 1797, in order that he might be near his friend, Mr. Thomas Poole, whose offer of this cottage was, perhaps, not an unmixed good so far as the poet's domestic happiness was concerned.

It was during the year 1798 that Coleridge went to Shrewsbury, where for a short period he filled the Unitarian pulpit, a cause in which he had already delivered sermons and addresses in previous

years.¹ His good friends, the Wedgwoods, though of the same way of thinking, viewed this step with regret, and by providing him with the necessary means enabled him to carry out one of the dreams of his life—the study of German theology and philosophy in their native home at Gottingen, where he went at the end of this same year, leaving his wife and children in England. This visit to Gottingen, though it formed the realisation of a cherished ideal, was really the *poet's* death-knell.

When Coleridge returned to England in 1799 the poet was practically moribund, and in his place had risen the metaphysician and theologian.

The notes from which we have extracts during these first and most important years are scantier than those of any other period, nor is this matter for surprise, as the years that saw his poetic activity at its height, that produced the *Ancient Mariner* and the best portion of *Christabel*, the pictures of *Kubla Khan*, and, indeed, almost all of his finest poems, were too full to admit of the innumerable jottings that became later, when the Muse had left him, almost his sole form of literary activity.

At this time also there was a constant intercourse between Coleridge and Wordsworth, whom he had first met in June 1797, one result of which was their joint volume of *Lyrical Ballads*, and doubtless their conversation afforded an outlet for those thoughts that, writing in after years to that poet, he said he now confided only to his pocket-books.

From these early notes we choose the following :

"Our quaint metaphysical opinions, in an hour of anguish, are like play-things by the bedside of a child deadly sick."

"What we must do let us love to do. It is a noble chemistry that turns necessity into pleasure."

"Poetry," he declares, "must be an union of harmony and good sense, of perspicuity and conciseness. Thought is the body of such an ode, enthusiasm the soul, and imagery the drapery."

On his return to London from the Lakes, he thus describes the great city in a note dated November 27, 1799 :

"The immovableness of all things through which so many men were moving, a harsh contrast compared with the universal motion, the harmonious system of motions in the country and everywhere in Nature. In the dim light London appeared to be a huge place of sepulchre through which hosts of spirits were gliding."

Here and there we find a good epigram, as, for example, "Contempt which is the concentrated vinegar of egotism."

¹ When, in later years, his mind became more and more steeped in what Carlyle well describes as a condition of "theosophico-metaphysical monotony," this Unitarian faith was abandoned like his Liberalism and so many others of his earlier ideals.

Often, too, his notes refer to his child Hartley, and are records of observations and reflections of the ways of childhood.

In the course of a note upon two books of Giordano Bruno that he had been reading he gives the following excellent rule, the neglect to observe which leads to so much non-appreciation of ideas that are foreign to us: "Till I understand a man's ignorance I presume myself ignorant of his understanding."

There are many descriptive bits dealing with his surroundings, but this first portion has not the same personal interest that we find in later pages.

We come now to the years 1802 and 1803. At this time the poet had already been for some time installed in his new home at Keswick, having quitted London some two years before. It was in the midst of the most lovely outward surroundings, and during this period, that the disastrous change took place in Coleridge's habits that, as Mr. Traill says, transformed him

"from the Coleridge of whom his young fellow-students in Germany have left us so pleasing a picture, into the Coleridge whom distressed kinsmen, alienated friends, and a disappointed public were to have before them for the remainder of his days."

It was, too, in the first of these fatal years that the *Ode to Dejection* was composed; without doubt one of the saddest poems in our own or any language, and all the sadder when we remember that its author was but thirty years of age.

Nothing, indeed, can exceed in poignancy those well-known lines commencing

"A grief without a pang, void, dark, and drear,"

a grief, the only remedy for which seemed, in his mind, to be in the drowning of his thoughts in the unfathomable waters of dreary metaphysical speculation. From this time his public literary activity slackened, and his pen confined its efforts more and more to the jotting of his thoughts on the pages of his note-books. As might therefore have been expected, the extracts are now much more numerous, and become more and more the reflections of his moods.

In January 1803 he spent some time with Southey at Bristol, during which stay the idea of going abroad which afterwards took form in his visit to Malta was already working in his mind.

Of metaphysics he writes in 1802:

"Metaphysics make all one's thoughts equally corrosive on the body, by inducing a habit of making momentarily and common thought the subject of uncommon interest and intellectual energy."

Almost anything seems to have afforded subject-matter for a note. Thus, we read:

"July 19th, 1803. Intensely hot day; left off a waistcoat and for yarn wore silk stockings. Before nine o'clock, had unpleasant chilliness; heard a noise which I thought Derwent's in sleep, listened, and found it was a calf bellowing, &c."

A note on the origin of evil, that theologically insoluble problem that had such a fatal fascination for the poet, seems to have been the outcome of a conversation with Wordsworth and Hazlitt, in the course of which both these thinkers had evidently expressed themselves pretty freely on the "malignity of the Deity," expressions which, coming from Wordsworth, had caused something akin to consternation in Coleridge's mind. At Hazlitt's part in the controversy he does not seem to be surprised, and it must be admitted that the poet's opinion of the painter and essayist was more than justified in after years by the unfriendly and uncritical criticisms that were published anonymously by the latter in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* and elsewhere.

His strictures on Hazlitt were, indeed, even less complimentary than was that remark to which he gave utterance on another occasion, when Hazlitt, either by inadvertence or with a fine Bohemian scorn for the proprieties, had sat down to whist with his hands in a rather unwashed condition. The poet, who was taking part in the rubber, called the artist's notice to this defect with the remark, "Mercy, Hazlitt, if dirt were trumps, what a hand you would have!"

Regarding the origin of evil, he returns to the charge with Hazlitt, to whom he was sitting for his portrait, on the following day, October 27, 1803, and a rather lengthy note on the same subject records what he evidently regards as a victory for his own view. It would be interesting reading if we could compare the impression left on the painter's mind.

This same topic forms the subject-matter of other notes, one of which he begins, "Woe to the man to whom it is an uninteresting question."

He is fond of recording his dreams and optical illusions, as well as the fancies of his children, and these often form the starting-point of some reflection. Such notes, with those describing the night sky, were often written at the moment of their occurrence, and show how much the poet suffered from broken sleep at this period of his life, a fact that may well excuse the early steps in his fatal habit.

The weather had much to do with his condition as with many another sensitive nature, and he writes, Nov. 13, 1803, half-past two in the morning: "Though sleepless, am marvellously bettered, and I take it for granted that the barometer has risen"; and in the same note he tells us that he has been reading Barrow's treatise on the Pope's supremacy, whose style he finds lacking in dignity.

We have often ideas and similes based upon the flame of a candle, the reflection of a fire in the outer darkness or its contemplation in

his room ; but none of these possess the beauty of the lines entitled *Frost at Midnight*, written in 1798, though they point to the survival of the same feelings that in part prompted those exquisite verses. The present steps in prison reform would evidently have enlisted his sympathy, for he writes :

"I doubt the wisdom of the treatment of sailors and criminals, because it is wholly grounded on their vices, as if the vices formed the whole or major part of their being."

Sandwiched between thoughts about the Trinity, based on the view of Joannes Scotus Erigena, and a note upon "Rosemary," we read the following description, which is fancifully pretty :

"Such light as lovers love, when the waxing moon steals in behind a black, black cloud, emerging soon enough to make the blush visible which the long kiss had kindled."

The intense hold that abstruse thought had gained on him comes out more and more clearly as we advance, and that he himself recognised its extraordinary effect is shown in the following :

"There are thoughts that seem to give me a power over my own life. I could kill myself by persevering in the thought."

To this he adds the "mem.," "To describe as accurately as may be the approximate symptoms," and speaks of this condition as "so wild a feeling of mine."

How conscious he was of many of his own failings is shown by his frequent admission of his inability to perform the task he had set himself. Thus, on January 1804, he writes :

"This evening, and indeed all this day, I ought to have been reading and filling the margin of Malthus. I have begun and found it pleasant. Why did I neglect it? Because I ought not to have done this. The same applies to the reading and writing of letters, essays, &c. Surely this is well worth a serious analysis, that, by understanding, I may attempt to heal it. For it is a deep and wide disease in my moral nature, at once elm-and-oak-rooted. Is it love of liberty or spontaneity or what? These all express but do not explain the fact."

In succeeding notes he continues this train of thought, proposing various solutions, and in their course the line, "I awoke this morning at half-past one, and as soon as disease permitted me to think at all," &c., forms an indication, not without its pathos, of his suffering state and probably the true clue to the cause of his failing.

With this feeling of self-reproach so constantly rising within, the emphasising it received in the form of outspoken advice or blame that some of his friends could not help meting out to him from time to time, must have been as gall and wormwood to the poet. How much he felt it is shown in a draft letter penned to his friend John Tobin, the solicitor who would be a dramatist, but whose only success, *The Honeymoon*, with that irony of life that too often falls to the

lot of authors, came too late to afford its writer any of the solace that springs from conscious triumph.

In this letter, written on his way to Malta, Coleridge suggests that his correspondent had this "rage of advising,"¹ and continues :

"Our friend's reputation should be a religion to us, and when it is lightly sacrificed to what self-adulation calls a love of telling the truth (in reality a lust of talking something seasoned with the cayenne and capsicum of personality), depend upon it something in the heart is warped or warping, more or less, according to the greater or lesser power of the counteracting causes. I confess to you that being exceedingly low and heart-fallen, I should have almost sunk under the operation of reproof and admonition (the whole, too, in my conviction grounded upon utter mistake) at the moment I was quitting, perhaps for ever, my dear country and all that makes it so dear but the high esteem I cherish towards you, and my sense of your integrity and the reality of your attachment and concern blows upon me refreshingly as the sea-breeze on the tropic islander. Show me any one made better by blunt advice, and I may abate my dislike to it, but I have experienced the good effect of the contrary in Wordsworth's conduct to me; and, in Poole and others, have witnessed enough of its ill-effects to be convinced that it does little else but harm both to the adviser and the advisee."

His voyage, as might have been conjectured, afforded him food for little but further introspection, and we find him acknowledging how slight the charm the historical interests attaching to any place or scene possessed for him in a note written whilst the vessel was passing betwixt Spain and Africa on April 19, 1804.

A good example of this carelessness for associations is shown in his jottings while at Syracuse.

No thought is apparently given to the great names connected with this place, nothing is said of the ruins that still exist, nothing of its history, but instead we have a reflection that occurred to him as he was seated at the opera on "The meeting soul in music."

Again, although the island of Malta was the point to which all the eyes of Europe were focussed, there is not a line in these pages that would lead us to recognise the fact or even to surmise that he was living in exceptionally stirring times.

The first note that comes from the island is dated November 23, 1804, and is a reflection on the ways of governors; the next is full of sadness, and has in it too pathetic an interest to be omitted.

"Days and weeks and months pass on and now a year—and the sea, the sea, and the breeze have their influences on me, and so too have the associations with good and sensible men. I feel a pleasure upon me, and I am to the outward view cheerful, and have myself no distinct consciousness of the contrary, for I use my faculties, not indeed at once, but freely. But oh, I am never happy, never deeply gladdened. I know not—I have forgotten what the joy is of which the heart is full, as of a deep and quiet fountain overflowing insensibly, or the gladness of joy, when the fountain overflows ebullient."

¹ He embodies some of these ideas in another letter to Robert Southey, written at this time.—See *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 474.

A thought that occurred to him at this time foreshadows the well-known lines of Tennyson :

“There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds ;”

for in a note he says :

“To doubt has more of faith, nay even to disbelieve, than that blank negation of all such thoughts and feelings which is the lot of the herd of Church-and-Meeting-trotters.”

His opinion on the Catholic religion is characteristically given in the following :

“‘Well,’ said Lady Ball (the wife of the Governor of Malta) ‘the Catholic religion is better than none.’ Why to be sure it is called a religion, but the question is, Is it a religion? Sugar of lead is better than no sugar. Put oil of vitriol into my salad—well, better than no oil at all. Or a fellow vends a poison under the name of James’ powders—well, we must get the best better than none. So did not our noble ancestors reason or feel, or we should now be slaves even as the Sicilians are to this day or worse, for even they have been rendered less foolish in spite of themselves by others’ wisdom.”

He classifies talkers as of two kinds: those who use 500 words more than needs to express an idea and adds, “that is not my case;” the others use 500 more ideas, images, reasons, &c., to arrive at their object till the mind of the listener is dazzled and he says, “Now this is my case and a grievous fault it is,” and he admits that “he goes on from circle to circle till I break against the shore of my hearer’s patience, or have my concentricals dashed to nothing by a snore. That is my ordinary mishap.”

This description of his own conversation shows how surely Carlyle hit the mark when in later years he speaks of it as “talk not flowing any whither like a river, but spreading every whither in inextricable currents and regurgitations like a lake or sea;” terribly deficient in definite goal or aim, nay often in logical intelligibility, with the result that the listener could tell neither what he was to believe or to do.

In another and later note, written in 1822, which although not avowedly personal is clearly enough the record of his own experience, he offers us his explanation of the length of his monologues; and of that tendency to “accumulate formidable apparatus, logical swim-bladders, transcendental life-preservers and other precautionary and vehiculatory gear for setting out.” He speaks of “the injurious manner in which men of genius are treated” in social company, owing to the curiosity of those who wish to hear the genius speak, but who themselves are often quite unfit to listen to genius, or they put questions that can only be answered “by a return to first principles, and then they complain of him as not conversing, but

lecturing. He is quite intolerable, might as well be hearing a sermon," and because by the nature of the subject of conversation it is impossible to reply with conciseness, "It is, Lord, how long he talks."

Another extract during his life at Malta, from what was apparently a draft of a letter occasioned by the news of the death of John Wordsworth, is not the less fine because Coleridge himself failed so signally to act up to it:

"But a nobler feeling than these vain regrets would become the friend of the man whose last words were 'I have done my duty, let her go.' Let us do our duty. All else is a dream, life and death alike a dream. This short sentence would comprise I believe the sum of all profound philosophy, of ethics and metaphysics conjointly from Plato to Fichte."

Occasionally, amidst the numerous reflective analyses, we meet with his views of different personages; thus Campbell and Rogers he designates as pseudo-poets. Knox and other reformers he admirably likens to *scopæ viarum*—that is, highway besoms.

Pope he accuses of using "unnatural metaphors, quaintness, perversion, and cold-blooded use for artifice or connection of language, justifiable only by enthusiasm and passion."

It costs his philosophy some exertion not to be vexed that "I must admire, nay, greatly admire Richardson," whose mind he considers "so very vile, oozy, hypocritical, praise-mad, canting, envious, concupiscent."

"Fielding's talent," he says, "was observation, not meditation."

Coleridge well describes the source of his greatest weakness in a note on the thinking disease, which, as Max Nordau tells us, is a well-known symptom of degeneration. This he (Coleridge) defines as

"that in which the feelings instead of embodying themselves in acts, ascend and become materials of general reasoning and intellectual pride. . . . Feelings made the subjects and tangible substance of thought, instead of actions realisation, things done, and, as such, externalised and remembered. On such meagre diet as feelings, evaporated embryos in their progress to birth, no moral being ever becomes healthy."

How well he was able to recognise his own weaknesses the above passage again proves, confirming in a singular manner what Southey wrote to Rickman, as cited by Mr. Traill, when the poet had left England for Malta in 1804.

"Coleridge," writes his brother-in-law, "is worse in body than you seem to believe," and in almost the next sentence he continues: "His mind is in a perpetual St. Vitus' dance. Eternal activity without action."

On September 27, 1805, Coleridge started on his return journey from Malta, having been absent from England for over eighteen months, but having, unfortunately, gained nothing either in body or mind by his stay on that island.

On his homeward way he halted at Naples and at Rome, staying in the latter city for some months.

It was on this home voyage that the poet was, in reality or in imagination, the object of pursuit of a French vessel, the First Consul having ordered his capture.

He landed in England during August 1806, and entered upon the darkest portion of his chequered life. He describes his condition as "ill, penniless, and worse than homeless," and "sunk under a strange cowardice of pain." Absence from his children, as the pages of these note-books and his letters prove, caused him many a pang, but absence from his wife¹ seems to have been almost a relief, and though they were together for some little while after his return to England, their total estrangement was but a matter of time.

Yet the loss of his domestic happiness was not without its pangs, and a note written at this period says :

"I trust you are very happy in your domestic being—very; because alas! I know that to a man of sensibility, and more emphatically, if he be a literary man, there is no medium between that and the 'secret pang that eats away the heart.'"

Most of the year 1807 he appears to have spent visiting different friends. In May of that year we find him writing a note at Bristol on the villainous quality of the metallic pencil with which he is writing. In July he was at Bridgewater with Mr. Chubb.

London was also visited, and an interesting note, jotting certain intentions respecting a stroll in the book-haunts with De Quincey, shows the difference between the process of book-buying then and now. He proposes to spend half an hour in Cuthill's shop, not exactly in the purchase of books, but in the perusal of a certain work, "in order to form an accurate idea of its utility," when compared with some other kindred book, and even to write out a desired passage at the same forbearing Cuthill's.

In February, 1808, he commenced an erratic series of lectures on poetry and the fine arts; a dismal failure from every point of view. These lectures over, he appears to have remained in London for some time, occupying himself in journalistic work.

During this stay in London, by the kindness of Mr. Stuart, his old friend, for whom he had worked when the former was connected with the *Morning Post*, the poet and lecturer was able to lodge at the offices of the *Courier*, and the following note was written in his room on May 16, 1808:;

"O that sweet bird, where is it? It is encaged somewhere out of sight, but from my bedroom at the *Courier* office, from the windows of which I look out on the walls of the Lyceum, I hear it at early dawn often, alas! lulling me to late sleep," &c.

¹ His letters to his wife at this period are of a much less affectionate character than those he penned to her in earlier years from Germany.

Towards the commencement of 1809 he returned to the Lake district as a guest in the house of his friend Wordsworth. Here he started his second literary journalistic venture, *The Friend*, which, like the *Watchman*, was doomed to failure.

Amongst the extracts at this time are some "Hints" for this paper, which do not seem to afford very promising material for the pages of a periodical that had to depend upon public favour, and on January 3, 1810, is the following rather caustic remark :

"Thought and attention are very different things. I never expected the former from the readers of *The Friend*. I did expect the latter and was disappointed."

It became extinct in March 1810, and in the following summer we find him once more in London, he having left the Lake country for the last time.

The next few years are left in comparative vagueness; he passed much of his time at the houses of various friends, with most of whom he managed to quarrel, as in fact he nearly always did, sooner or later, with almost every one with whom he associated, not even excepting Wordsworth⁵; yet there was a something in his pettishness that must have lessened its effect much as the pettishness of a child is never taken too much *au grand sérieux* by those who surround him, for, save in a few cases, these misunderstandings passed away, and the strong personal fascination of the man secured him a constant succession of proofs of real affection from his companions throughout his life.

He resumed his public lectures with more success in 1811, and carried on a certain amount of journalistic work for Mr. Daniel Stuart. This work, however, came to an end, and the circumstances of the poet were still further straitened by the loss of half the annuity that he had received for so many years from the Wedgwoods.

In 1812 Lord Byron came to his assistance, as on a former occasion De Quincey had done, and it was through his brother poet's influence that the *Tragedy of Remorse* was produced at Drury Lane on January 23, 1813. In 1814 he yet again took up his lecturing at Bristol, where he arrived owing to a pure freak three days after the date fixed for his first lecture, and allowed his audience to wait for an hour after they had assembled before he deigned to put in an appearance.

Of course the lectures proved a failure; and in August of the same year we find him again in London in needy circumstances.

It was at this period that his fatal habit reached its climax; and letters concerning even the welfare of his children could not draw from him a prompt reply, nor even a reply at all.

Yet the first note for this year (1814) is well worth quoting :

"The first man of science was he who looked into a thing, not to learn

whether it could furnish him with food, or shelter, or weapons, or tools, or ornaments to play with, but who sought to know it for the gratification of knowing; while he who first sought to know, in order to be, was the first philosopher."

Most of the extracts, however, at this period are concerned with theologico-metaphysical speculation, with here and there a reference to the Edinburgh and other Reviewers who had begun to treat him in a manner that can only call for condemnation. It is therefore not surprising that we find him writing:

"Reviewers resemble often the English jury and the Italian conclave, they are incapable of eating till they have condemned or craned."

The year 1815 was spent at a friend's at Calne. He lost all power over a will that had long been of the weakest, and in 1816 he took up his abode at Mr. Gillman's, under whose roof he not only found a physician, but a warm and patient friend, whose help and guidance continued with the greatest advantage to the poet until his dying day.

From his entry into his Highgate home till the close of his life the extracts from these hitherto unpublished note-books become far scantier. His life gained in tranquillity, and for a brief period his literary activity increased. *Christabel* was published by Mr. John Murray, to whom Byron had introduced his fellow-poet, and the year 1817 saw the production of the *Biographia Literaria*.

During the following year he made his last appearance as a public lecturer, with greater pecuniary success than had attended his previous efforts in the same direction.

From this time forth his energies were almost entirely devoted to the subject that, as the pages of these pocket-books prove, had more and more occupied and now monopolised his mind—the subject of theology. This trend of his thoughts must have rendered the task of "writing MSS. sermons for lazy clergymen" more congenial than the ordinary man would be likely to consider it. Besides this he occasionally contributed papers to the magazines of the time, and in 1825 appeared *The Aids to Reflection*, the best known of his prose works. It met with very considerable success.

In 1828 he revisited the Continent with his companion of his German visit, Wordsworth, making the tour up the Rhine. From about this time his health steadily failed, and he remained almost a total invalid until his death, which took place on July 25, 1834.

The few extracts in the foregoing article give but a faint and imperfect impression of the many interesting pages contained in *Anima Poetæ*. As one lays it down one is struck with the astonishing and unrelaxing faculty of self-introspection, analysis, and original thought that the book displays. Nothing so insignificant that it does not offer some point whereon to hang a philosophical idea.

All sorts of subjects are touched upon, and analogies and similes abound.

Some have described this series of extracts from the note-books of Coleridge as an example of "a poet in the making"; we would venture to suggest that it might more aptly be considered as that of a poet in the undoing.

It cannot be denied that the poetic genius of Coleridge owes not a little of its fascination to that tendency which led him so far in the paths of metaphysics and theology; but his poetic career was as a meteor that marks its brilliant course through our denser atmosphere, gaining brilliancy from the source that causes its extinction.

CLARENCE WATERER.

SUPERANNUATION FOR ELEMENTARY TEACHERS.

SHOULD teachers in the schools belonging to the nation receive pensions or superannuation allowances ?

Mr. W. A. Hunter, M.P., in the January (1894) issue of the *Contemporary Review* answers this question in the negative, although in rather a half-hearted fashion, as if ashamed of the brief which he held.

His article would seem to prove more than he intended it should do, as it sets forth most strikingly the great difference between the salaries of teachers paid by poor, frugal Scotland, as compared with those paid by the richly dowered Church of England.

That part of his article was admirable, and it is hoped, may bear fruit. But to return to the matter in hand.

Mr. Hunter either does not know, or else purposely shuts his eyes to the facts and arguments in the teacher's case.

He traverses the low salaries argument, and holds up his native land as a teacher's heaven, but does not inquire what causes these low salaries. He argues that instead of agitating for superannuation the pedagogues should raise their voices to increase these low salaries, forgetting the half-dead phrase "Supply and Demand." If the supply of teachers is greater than the demand, how can the salaries be raised ? School managers are not millionaires, but in many cases have to keep a tight hand on their exchequer ; how, then, can they or dare they pay decent salaries when the supply is so great ?

But is the supply so great ?

At the Easter Conference of the National Union of Teachers, held at Cheltenham a few years ago, Mr. J. C. Horobin, M.L.S.B., conclusively proved that the Education Department was granting the diploma of qualified teacher to nearly three times as many teachers as there was any demand for ! That is, two out of every three of these sucking pedagogues, who had spent periods averaging six years in learning to teach, when fully trained were unable to get the work to do. In a large number of cases a generous country had provided from £80 to £100 to train these teachers, and left them stranded on the eve of their life's struggle. They left the Normal Colleges at Christmas, and months, yea, even years went by before they obtained posts as teachers. Some emigrated, others joined the Civil Service,

in which they would be sure of a pension, many ousted older and tried teachers, because they took low salaries.

After seven years spent in preparation, hundreds of men took salaries of £50 per annum, and thousands of women teachers were glad to earn £40 per annum. Many of those who were ousted from their posts found it impossible to obtain work at any salary, and at fifty years of age were compelled to apply to the Education Department for the dole which in their youth had been promised them.

Mr. A. Acland, in everything but name our first Minister of Education, himself said, in December 1892, that from figures supplied to him by Mr. Kekewich, of the Education Department, he found that since 1875 nearly one-third, or 204, of the pensions granted to men teachers were granted to broken-down pedagogues under the age of sixty, and that about one quarter, or 124, were granted to women teachers under the age of fifty-five years.

The only conclusion to draw from these facts was, that the nation lost at both ends of its educational system; it trained teachers at great cost to use their training for everything else but teaching, and it turned adrift men and women when their powers as true educators, as opposed to crammers, were at their highest development. Since that time the supply has somewhat decreased, and, consequently, salaries have slightly increased; yet, even now the average salary of male teachers who leave the Normal Colleges is barely £70 per annum. The Education Department has lately done something to restrict this over-supply, but has at the same time opened other channels which will tend to over-stock the teaching market.

Was absurdity ever carried to such an extreme? Did Hook, when he wrote his delightful *March of Intellect*, ever imagine in his wildest flights that a country would spend its money in training teachers, and then send them adrift to be grocers or custom-house officers?

As well train soldiers and send them to sea, or sailors to act as barristers.

If, then, the Education Department has done these things; has allowed teachers' salaries, in the majority of cases, to remain rather under than over a "living wage," surely they owe some small duty to these worn-out soldiers of education, and this duty rightly is fulfilled by superannuation allowances.

If the Education Department acted to all its servants alike, even in the matter of salaries, the teacher's cry would not be so strong. But, *au contraire*, it pays a decent minimum salary of £150 to its inspectors' assistants, and a fair salary, ranging from £400 to £900, to her Majesty's inspectors, besides a pension after twenty years' service, yet leaves its teachers, who *do* the work, not *inspect* it, to be the sport of every cheese-paring grocer or ex-policeman who happens to be a member of a School Board.

Of course, the public would think that this same Department

would carefully examine its own special servants, as well as the teachers. But no; while it examines its *teaching* servants no less than seven times in as many years, it only examines its *inspecting* servants once, or not at all. What a specimen of English equality of treatment!

It is sometimes claimed that those persons who train our young ideas are not Civil Servants, because they are engaged and paid by local bodies scattered over the land. That is true; but these local bodies cannot engage a teacher without the Department's permission, although they can, strangely enough, dismiss him without that same permission. Can anything be more farcical?

At the same time, the Department itself can dismiss a teacher for any offence against their Code of Regulations, and if the local managers do not obey the mandate and find a new teacher, the Government grant is withheld.

The Government cannot do more with a Civil Servant.

The Civil Service Commission examines its servants once or twice, and fixes a living wage with a sure pension to follow; the Education Department examines its teachers seven times, leaves the salary to chance, and provides a pauper's dole of £20 or £30 per year and calls it a pension. It may be a small instalment of deferred pay, well earned, but it is a scandalous fact in the history of the education of the youth of our country that her teachers should have to beg their bread at the end of a laborious life, because a grateful country paid them starvation salaries, and gave them, after thirty or forty years' service, about a quarter of the pension of a police-sergeant.

All the teachers who are now falling out of the ranks, or are being pushed out because of the many new requirements in the Educational Code, were enticed into the work by the promise of a pension calculated exactly on the same lines as those now being daily granted to relieving officers and masters of workhouses—viz., two-thirds of the retiring salary.

It is a strange fact that those who took care of the aged and infirm should reap their just reward, and that those who cared for the children should lose everything but the shadow of their reward.

Why Lord Sherbrooke, then Robert Lowe, should have consented in 1871 that the Poor-law officials should not be molested and the "captains of education," *vide* Lord Rosebery, should be robbed, passeth the understanding of man or woman.

When the educational history of Britain is written, one of the strangest facts chronicled will be that if a State sees fit, it may abrogate any contract it may have entered into with its teachers without compensation or even apology.

No wonder that the name of Lowe is never received with cordiality by teachers over forty-five years of age; no wonder that many have been inclined to teach their charges not to believe in promises given by any Department of State.

Frequently parents go to the schoolmaster and ask his advice in reference to their sons, and the chances of earning a fair livelihood in the teaching profession. Invariably the master replies: "Put your son to anything else than teaching. The State has not in the past kept its promises, it may not do so in the future. To provide *cheap* teachers it lets many pass its examinations who are poorly qualified, and in the case of women teachers, not qualified at all, so send your son to some other profession, as I shall send mine." In consequence of this boy pupil-teachers are scarce; the London and other School Boards advertise for them in vain.

On February 24, 1893, the House of Commons by a large majority affirmed the principle that the teachers of the State, or nation's, schools should receive superannuation allowances, and Mr. Acland, chief of the Education Department, sent the question to a Departmental Committee consisting of Sir George Kekewich, C.B., chairman; Mr. W. Tucker, Assistant-Secretary, Education Department; Mr. S. E. Spring Rice, of the Treasury; Mr. A. J. Finlaison, C.B., actuary of the National Debt Office; Mr. W. Sutton, actuary to the Registry of Friendly Societies; Mr. T. S. Robertson, Assistant-Secretary, Scotch Education Department; and Mr. W. J. Ritchie, of the Education Department, as secretary.

This strong Departmental Committee was instructed to consider the following reference:

"In view of the resolution passed by the House of Commons on the 24th of February, 1893, in favour of the establishment, at an early date, of a national State-aided system of superannuation for teachers in public elementary schools in England and Wales:

"To consider and report upon alternative methods for establishing such system, the form it shall take, both generally and in detail, and to make suggestions as to the conditions, amount, and limits of the contributions by the State, and the control and management of the superannuation fund.

"The Committee should have special regard to the evidence taken, and the recommendations made by the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider the best system of providing for the superannuation of public elementary teachers in England and Wales, as embodied in the report of that Committee, dated the 27th of May, 1892."

This Departmental Committee met at intervals from August 1893 to January 1895, and during the last days of February their Report was laid on the table of the House of Commons.

The Committee bring up a scheme whereby a schoolmistress who begins teaching at twenty-one years of age, and continues so to teach for the next thirty-nine years (an almost impossible task), shall receive for the remainder of her life the munificent pension of £28 per annum; and a master who begins at the same age, and continues for forty-four years (an equally impossible length of time), shall receive at sixty-five years of age the munificent pension of £46 per annum. Thus it will be seen that the Departmental Com-

mittee have carefully watched their scheme, so that the cost to the State shall be reduced to a minimum.

When it is remembered that the average age of the 50,000 teachers in England and Wales is about thirty-eight years, and that the average after lifetime for men and women at that age is only twenty-seven years, it will be seen that a very small percentage of the women will arrive at the pension age of sixty years, and that fewer of the men will survive till sixty-five years.

If the lucky ones who survive do receive these pensions, it will be a miserable dole compared with that of the police sergeant, relieving officer, workhouse porter, not to mention the Customs and the Civil Service.

It is generally alleged that pensions are another name for deferred pay, and I have shown early in this article that the Education Department, by flooding the teaching market with partially qualified and cheap teachers, saved themselves large sums of money, which would have been earned by better qualified teachers, and so this deferred pay should be earmarked for the benefit of those who lost it early in life, and all their lives.

Still, we believe that the public elementary teachers will accept this scheme with modifications in the retiring ages, as an earnest of a better scheme in the future, perhaps, equal to the policeman's.

Sir John Gorst, the new Secretary of the Education Department, has, during the present session, promised to bring in a Bill to provide superannuation allowances for teachers, but it is feared that its chances may be spoiled by the measure which will provoke so much discussion—*i.e.*, "A Bill to make further Provision for Education," especially in Voluntary schools.

Managers of Voluntary schools constantly complain of the "intolerable strain" of the competition with Board schools, but too many of them forget that their teachers bear the major portion of this "strain," in the guise of small salaries, poor staffs, and insanitary surroundings.

On all sides the teachers' claim for pensions is admitted to be a just one. We trust the House of Commons may satisfy that claim, and that speedily.

F. H. WILTSHIRE.

THE MAKING OF WOMAN.

"Hereafter, the highest ambition of the beneficent will be to have a share—even though an utterly inappreciable and unknown share—in the "Making of Man." Experience occasionally shows that there may arise extreme interest in pursuing entirely unselfish ends; and, as time goes on, there will be more and more of those whose unselfish end will be the further evolution of humanity."—HERBERT SPENCER.

WITH laudable zeal to 'range themselves amongst workers whose independence is the meet reward of their toil, women have gained admission to professions affording opportunities for intellectual work of the highest order. It must not, however, be forgotten that the present high standing of these professions is mainly due to the well-sustained labours of men. Energetic in their quest for new fields of action, women might yet find work ready to their hands would they but earnestly study whether, in a vocation consecrated to them from time immemorial, they have attained the fullest development now possible to them in their capacity as mothers of the race. Necessity enforces a more general observance of the most obvious maternal duties by the poorer classes than by those whose means enable them to engage the services of a hired substitute. Small marvel is it indeed that women whose daily bread depends on their activity should find scant cause to rejoice in a condition which more or less disables them from active life. But such anxious forbodings, crushing out gladness, have nothing in common with that unnatural repugnance to motherhood, which is no rare product of educational hothouses where the taste for artificial pleasures has been fostered from early youth, until desire to gratify it predominates over all other promptings, translating the joys of maternity into vexations. Even the natural rejoicing of most women over their new-born is narrowed and the fulness of it missed through imperfect conception of the powers vested in motherhood—or, where a sense of the high import of their relation to their offspring is more or less developed, it has seldom been so trained that the burden of responsibility should not weigh too heavily on the young mother, mingling with her joy a sorrowful sense of unfitness for her charge. Rarely is one to be met who has drunk in with her mother's milk the belief that through maternity nature has entrusted woman with power so exclusively her own that, if she neglects it, it must lie unused; and who, gathering strength from the earnestness of her purpose to steady

her child's footsteps that he may tread firmly by himself, is brave, even while conscious of the magnitude of her task, to strive for its perfect fulfilment.

It may be said, and said very cogently, that among a population in which, like our own, the female population considerably outnumbered the male, motherhood is not for all women, of whom many, either voluntarily or involuntarily, pass their lives in spinsterhood. But since all women are either actually or potentially mothers, their pre-ordained adaptation to the functions of maternity being the basis of all their physical and mental constitution, and since indeed, only by virtue of their potential motherhood are they women, we must fain accept this destiny of theirs with the best grace we can, seeing, with the late Professor Huxley, that, "unless the human species is to come to an end altogether—a consummation which can hardly be desired by even the most ardent supporter of 'Woman's Rights'—somebody must be good enough to take the trouble and responsibility of annually adding to the world exactly as many people as die out of it."

Little account is, however, taken of these considerations in the education of girls of all classes. In the higher social grades where the conditions of life are most complex, we omit to teach many simple and useful household arts, proficiency in which begets good house-mothers among those whose lives move along narrower lines, while we rarely attempt to fit our girls for the duties of motherhood under circumstances demanding the highest mental attributes in those who would worthily achieve their maternal calling.

For, putting aside the merely physiological functions of parturition and lactation, of the physico-psychical obligations of nurturing and cherishing and in all things providing for the needs of her infant, the mother, its naturally constituted guardian during its early years, should be the closest friend of its later life, and its preparatory instructress during the initial process of developing mental activities.

But although the development of embryo-babe and of growing child proceeds according to the order of definite and immutable physical laws, yet few women are trained to the observation, much less to the understanding, of the action of physical forces on their offspring throughout either of these stages of its expanding life. Only through intelligent study of the great forces governing individual and social existence may parents spare their children the manifold sufferings arising from lives spent in contravention of laws to which all natural evolution is inexorably subject. Still, in spite of imperfect, often faulty, education; in spite of unconscious breaches of sundry wholesome dicta of nature; in spite of the incessant war around us of distracting opinions based more frequently on sentiment and individual bias than on careful weighing of ascer-

tained facts, and thanks often to mother-love alone, we many of us do struggle up to win our way more or less bravely through life, although even in these days, when means for intelligent education are plentiful, a very large proportion of us whose lives might the most easily be enriched with useful knowledge can only plaintively apply to our intellectual personality the simple process which Topsy ascribed to herself when she naïvely explained her corporeal "dasein" by the words, "Spects I grow'd."

But if mother-love can be so strong, even when associated with comparatively limited intellectual expansion, to influence the lives of growing child and grown man, what may we not expect from future generations of mothers when they have learnt to prepare themselves by means of reverent study of natural phenomena and their causes, so to direct their own lives, together with those of their children, that they may "walk in harmony with nature's laws"?

The higher education of women would then logically come to mean their more complete preparation for the office of motherhood; for since they are by nature specially moulded for that office, bodily, mentally, and morally, it follows that it is one which none can rob them of, none usurp, and which they cannot delegate to others without direct violation of sexual law. But, although such higher education may be carried on either in college or in home life, it is not compatible with the feverish, Quixotic striving to achieve the renown of scholarship which now often runs current under that name. From the standpoint of social worth, satisfied personal pride in obtaining a degree, after a period of more or less arduous collegiate training for that purpose and for it alone, would be but a poor set-off to neglected opportunities for developing the special characteristics of womanhood to their fullest extent. The most perfect development of womanly character should be the end in view, the ideal striven for; not mere intellectual rivalry in an arena where the competitors are in many ways unequally matched, and where they must of necessity so remain as long as humanity, as we know it, is likely to last. If we unduly appraise the worth of pursuits that afford tempting opportunities for securing immediately personal benefits, we shall assuredly miss the fullest expansion of our lives, whereby both man and woman become fitted to comprehend and perform their natural parts in furthering the social progress of the race.

Among the most thoughtful women of the present day there are many to whom the unnatural friction now too often existing between mother and daughter gives cause for painfully anxious reflection. The remedy for an evil threatening to become an element of discord wholly destructive to the harmony of home life is, however, not far to seek. Parents realising the righteousness of supplying youthful

energy with wholesome and useful work will realise, too, that their children's desire to cast from them the shackles with which mistaken affection fetters free action is not only natural, but distinctly praiseworthy, so long as, while yet members of the family circle, they must lack opportunity for developing their activities. Out of the discord harmony may come only when it is possible that the strongest and most beautiful traits of character and intellect should together attain their fullest development within the atmosphere of home life. But girls are, as yet, constantly forced either to abandon earnest study, or to maintain an uphill struggle at home, their efforts not unfrequently depressed both by the impossibility of obtaining personal help in their studies, as well as by negative, if not positive discouragement from those whose sympathy would be most powerful to give fresh impulse to work. And this, not from any objection to their desire for self-improvement, but usually because their inclinations have led them to select some branch of learning the value of which, for women, is not universally appreciated.

A girl of naturally nervous temperament is sometimes stupidly warned off the study of any subject connected with the nervous system, on the assumed plea that she would "fancy pains all over her," an assumption which practical experience of the results of such study would demonstrate to be baseless. Individuals of acute nervous sensibility, being often those of finest intellectual fibre, will be able to realise with greater clearness the injuries to which they expose themselves by yielding to morbid influences of hysterical origin. The battle they have to fight is a hard one even under most favourable circumstances. Let us, then, endeavour to aid them in the best way we can, by indicating to them a natural, as against a morbid, interpretation of their state.

Have we not innumerable examples about us continually of constitutions ruined, of irretrievable mischief done, of happy lives sacrificed, and bright prospects blighted through stupid neglect of some of the most rudimentary lessons to be learnt from physiology? Truly we have; but it is difficult to cultivate respect for their bodies in those who know so little about bodily functions as habitually to ignore the important part they play in every action of our lives, however highly intellectual those operations may be.

Would it might be said that only amongst the minority still exists that ignorance of our physical nature from which comes neglect of precautions against the inception of disease, and which fosters a false sense of shame deterring young people from open speech and inquiry concerning their own bodies, whose maintenance in health or degeneration into sickness is so largely dependent on personal care. Even with their mothers young girls frequently shrink from open speech concerning any functional irregularity, or regarding some developmental peculiarity which attracts their attention; and they

are thus loth to confide their trouble to her who bore them, solely because of the ignorant reserve usually maintained on the subject of bodily functions. For many of us are still unaware that in our prudish reticence we are encouraging a double mischief. First, we leave children in ignorance of things they certainly ought to know, and ought to know from us only, for their own well-being's sake; and secondly, the very mystery which we throw around these things quickens their natural inquisitiveness clandestinely to seek information regarding such matters, and often from persons whose vicious habits, or interested motives, will tempt innocent youth into the very ways from which, we vainly imagine, we are preserving them; ways that may taint, if not utterly mar, all their future lives, and from which, even at the best, they may not extricate themselves until after years of distress and self-discipline. Surely that supremely wonderful piece of mechanism, the human body, which is admittedly of divine creation, calls for more respect at our hands. Is there any evil in its anatomy, its physiology, its many complicated God-appointed functions which are

"All in their proper place
As much God's work as sun, moon and stars,"

or does the evil of misinterpreting these lie in our own corrupted natures?

"The human body is not vile. Men (and women) make it so
By harbouring vices in its tenement."

Owing to a general lack of appreciation of the serious consequences likely to ensue on constant recurrence of ailments, usually regarded as trivial, these, at first easily prevented, are allowed to become a habit of body.

Fretfulness, when exhibited by infants of tender age, is, in the absence of any very obvious external cause exciting it, recognised as probably betokening some disturbed condition of health. Not so, however, are similar symptoms regarded when these appear in older children. Inquiry into their cause is then frequently neglected, even when, together with the obscure digestive irregularities of which they are the usual expression, they have grown into a more or less constant habit. For, with all the vagueness of ignorant assumption, we permit ourselves to ascribe to an "unhappy disposition," rather than to seek in any physical cause, the reason of irritability and unrest in young creatures, forgetful that joyousness, not peevish discontent, is natural to healthy youth. In such, indeed, life may yet be so strong that the discomfort they suffer depresses their energies only for a while, and, if naturally vivacious, they scarcely pause to consider whether, by taking no heed of present warnings, they may not involve themselves in future evil.

And when the most critical period of adolescence approaches, these symptoms become not only aggravated in themselves, but associated with certain abnormalities regarding which, even if a medical man is consulted, the false sense of shame attached to such physical phenomena constantly withholds the patient from absolute frankness, her reticence rendering doubly difficult a diagnosis already beset with difficulty. But being utterly without understanding of physical laws she fails to appreciate that her future health is at stake, and in her desire to enjoy active, stirring life, probably also strongly influenced by the impatient gibes of comrades at what they carelessly designate "fancifulness," she spurs on her failing strength to meet calls for which it becomes less and less able; while, seeing that when stimulated by excitement, she can for a time sustain her energy as well, or if endowed with an unusually sensitive nervous temperament, probably better than others, those whose anxieties may have been roused concerning her are deceived into the soothing belief that her malady is "only hysteria." That poor word hysteria! For what a load of tedious suffering its misinterpreters have witlessly made it responsible! Thus, at last, when the limits of her reserve energy have long been reached, comes a breakdown of the brave spirit which had struggled so well only to find that its efforts had been misguided; and, may be scarcely yet a full-grown woman, she realises, but too late, the fatal error into which she had been ignorantly led when taught to regard as unimportant the physical suffering that she has hitherto believed might indeed, in familiar phraseology, "pass away as she gets older." And she learns, then, that the weapons she used to maintain her hard-fought battle with pain have turned to her own hurt, and that years of careful treatment will now be necessary to even partially re-establish her health. Were indeed the whole truth made known to her, she might learn also that her prospects of maternity in case of marriage, if not absolutely compromised, are at all events seriously impaired by the probabilities of grave dangers.

Such cases are of frequent occurrence even amongst girls brought up at home, and under the care of a mother wishful, above all things, for their welfare. What then must be—what, in fact, *are* the results in numerous cases when many or few years are spent in large schools where neither individual care nor love watches over the developing maiden? Yet it constantly occurs that girls, and especially those whose aforesaid "unhappy disposition" is considered to require stricter discipline than that which rules at home, are sent to school even at the very age when the evidences of their potential motherhood will shortly betray themselves, and when, more than ever, they require the intuitive care of a mother. Even intimate acquaintance with her individual physique, and with all the circumstances of her environment, is not always sufficient to ensure adequate comprehension of

the manifold and perplexing symptoms which may accompany this momentous transition-stage of a girl's life. At this crisis we confide her to the care of strangers, sometimes carefully chosen, occasionally accepted on wholly insufficient recommendation. Her emotions at that time being most easily aroused, the influences to which she then becomes exposed are especially powerful to affect her future life. We place her amongst companions whose dispositions are unknown to us. We unconsciously submit her to surroundings where dissimulation of every kind prevails, and we must not therefore be surprised if seeds are insidiously sown which later ripen into an immoral perversion of natural instincts.

The woman who prefers school to home education for her child confesses herself either unable or unwilling to assume the responsibilities of motherhood. To her, however, who, while realising the misfortune and the evils of separation from her children, is living in circumstances that necessitate their parting, it should be feasible to obtain the services of one qualified in the best possible way to substitute a mother's care. How far the facilities for such sympathetic service may become available when women in general are brought up to recognise the large spheres of influence which they can command by virtue of their sex and their potential motherhood, is a question deserving the serious attention of all who are interested in the useful employment of women.

The temporary care of children parted by reason of unavoidable circumstances from their parents is a vicarious office demanding the highest virtues of self-denial, and greatly to the credit of the sex must it be said that there are women to be found amongst us who, for no remuneration, and bound by no ties of blood, but induced only by strong maternal instincts, fulfil this task of love with a self-devotion proclaiming them to be far more truly mothers of the race than those who, bringing forth children carelessly, confide them as carelessly to the guardianship of strangers.

By degrees, as the vast import of true motherhood comes to be more generally studied and recognised, the number of women who will voluntarily devote themselves to the charge of children orphaned temporarily or for life is likely to increase, obviating all necessity for boarding schools where discipline, not mother-love, is the rule, and where, in the herding together of young people, the arrogant self-assertion of coarser characters frequently crushes out the finer and purer instincts of more delicate natures, or, at best, impedes the orderly unfolding of their moral as well as intellectual endowments.

When girlhood comes to be consecrated to a system of training which will gradually work up to the full development of feminine character compatible with the highest attributes of maternity, we shall possess what may most appropriately come under the name of

the "higher education of women." Prediction is a mental operation always more or less attended by problematical results; but in this case it does not seem unreasonable to hazard the augury that the seeds sown of such education would sooner or later bring in a plentiful harvest for good, not only in modifying the existing social relations between the sexes, but also in working out many of the intricate economic problems which are agitating humanity in our day. The way is being prepared for us by many of our most earnest workers of both sexes, and by none has this task been more admirably accomplished than by him who has recently left us mourning for the vacant place he filled so nobly in the foremost ranks of science. It was one of the many virtues whereby the name of Thomas Henry Huxley will be remembered and revered amongst us that he lent his mighty intellect and stupendous fund of learning to the diffusion of sound practical knowledge regarding natural phenomena, and the laws governing them, amongst unprofessionally scientific people, while at the same time he persistently indicated the only true way of devoting oneself to the efficient study of them and of applying their teaching to every procedure of our lives.

None could rejoice more than he would have done were the fruits of his labour to help in bringing about a fuller understanding and a more right-minded balance between men and women of the true end of their reciprocal relations, social, moral, and intellectual, so that it might be conscientiously recognised that "women are meant neither to be men's guides nor their playthings, but their comrades, their fellows, their equals, so far as nature puts no bar to that equality," conceding at the same time that, in the interests of potential motherhood, "the duty of man is to see that not a grain is piled upon that load beyond what nature imposes, that injustice is not added to inequality," and for the rest, "Let nature alone sit high above the lists, rain influence, and judge the prize."

L. VANSITTART DE FABECK.

AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION UNMASKED.

ALTHOUGH pessimists alone subscribe to the doctrine that agriculture in England is on the brink of collapse, a doctrine whose altitude of grotesqueness is equalled only by that of its impossibility of realisation, it would be idle to suggest that the industry were not in a condition of distress. Granted the depression has existence, the questions arise, What is it composed of? and, How is it to be extinguished? It consists of no single item beyond doubt; if it did, that item would conspicuously present itself, and its removal *per se* would shatter the whole fabric of depression and bring it to the ground. Neither is the depression, as darkness in a room, removable by a simple act as lighting a candle. Agricultural depression is a colossal body, consisting mainly of excessive rents, unjust agricultural laws between landlord and tenant, and unsatisfactory management of landed estates by incompetent agents. That there are other contributions to the distress no one will question; but every year it becomes more apparent that these three alone constitute the very keystone of what is called agricultural depression.

It has been stated by competent authority, and the statement has every appearance of accuracy, that tenant farmers throughout England, taken as a body, are paying, or making efforts to pay, rent quite 50 per cent. in excess of the value of their holdings. If this be correct, it must surely rank as a very important factor in the sum total of agricultural depression. If half of the large sums of money at present paid in the shape of rent by tenant farmers to landed proprietors could be retained by the former, it would undoubtedly minimise very considerably the present agricultural depression; and if such reduction be in sympathy with value it ought to be effected. Landowners should be made to understand that by purchasing agricultural land twenty years ago, or about that time, or holding it from then until now that they made an unsatisfactory and unremunerative speculation or investment, and they must abide by the issue, the same as if they had placed capital in any other deteriorating species of property, and so accept a small return from money so unfortunately invested.

It no doubt appears to those unacquainted with agriculture inconceivable that landowners are receiving rents altogether beyond value, and that tenants are to be found willing to pay such rents. A study of agricultural law and conditions of tenancy will, however, at once show the intense difficulty that a tenant farmer experiences in obtaining rent reduction, and the enormous loss that he suffers on leaving a holding. Consequently he is not in a position to assert himself and grapple with the difficulties which beset him. If he approach his landlord upon the subject of rent reduction, he is usually referred to the agent, and his request is at once refused. If the tenant go further and vacate the holding, the cruel and dishonest laws not only permit, but actually encourage, the landlord to confiscate the whole of the improvements which the tenant has carried out. This means that a farmer, on quitting a farm, is deprived of property in the shape of manures, plantations, buildings, and various other things that frequently cost him several hundred pounds. It is true that there is an Agricultural Holdings Act, under which a tenant can claim for certain improvements; but it is so clumsily drawn, and requires the fulfilment of so many unreasonable and awkward conditions, that landlords and agents manage to entirely evade it in nine cases out of ten, and so purloin the tenants' property. Rather than be deprived of his possessions wholesale in this manner, a tenant usually prefers to continue his tenancy and struggle against adversity, and hope that times may alter, the landlord continuing to exact excessive rent until the tenant's capital is exhausted and his ruin is complete. He is then turned out, and another tenant takes the farm, frequently at a rent that would not have been accepted from his predecessor.

On most estates, it may be remarked, an odd rule exists, or appears to exist, judging from the tactics of landlords and agents. Which rule prohibits reduction of rent to all old tenants. A landowner, of course, suffers little when he reduces to bankruptcy or insolvency a tenant, as he, the real and direct cause of the failure, receives rent in full at the expense of the other creditors, in addition to becoming possessed of all improvements. Therefore a tenant farmer paying excessive rent is, as it were, "between the devil and the deep blue sea." He has ruinous rent to pay if he retain the holding, and abandonment of his property if he vacate it. In choosing what he considers to be the lesser of two evils, he decides to continue the tenancy, and thereby pay rent that he knows to be in excess of value. Into this disastrous trap, in addition to being driven as above stated, he is frequently allured and decoyed by some enchanting bubble or dazzling spectre, such as protection, bimetallism, or one equally or more absurd, which is dangled before his eyes frequently by the landlord or agent, the hopeful mind of the farmer—hope being a characteristic of the fraternity—being

assured that the enactment of one or more of these grand ideas must soon take place, and the result enable him to pay his rent and prosper. While he is being hoodwinked in this way his ruin is being effected, which fact he does not realise until too late. The exposure of these facts may show those who were unable to see before the reason why farmers pay exorbitant rents and the difficulty they experience in obtaining reductions concordant with value. Such facts will in time, it may be hoped, demonstrate to the English mind that a landowner occupies a position of pre-eminence that he has no title to, carrying with it, as it does, both faculty and license to practice plunder and to procure by actual menace extortionate rent.

A landed proprietor is, in reality, but a retailer of raw material, which land is, out of which his customer, the tenant farmer, manufactures a commodity—*i.e.*, farm produce. The station of a landowner appears to be altogether misunderstood; the fact that he has money invested in land appears to some persons sufficient reason for them to pay him extreme homage, and regard him as some kind of superior being to themselves. Unfortunately the miserable pristine dread of landowners by their tenants, thought by some people to be defunct, still has life, and this hateful fear or feeling, erroneously called respect, emanates from no other source than the knowledge of the tenant that he is in his landlord's hands, and that the landlord has it in his power to wrong and injure him if he be so disposed. Is it impossible, it may be asked, to rescue these unfortunate farmers from the hands of the Philistines? Is it unreasonable to appeal to our legislators to place the tenant farmer in a position of security and safety—that is, in a relationship to his landlord similar to that existing between trader and trader, the one possessing no facility or advantage to act dishonestly towards the other; in other words, to bring about the independence of a farmer to the extent of making him able, without fear or risk of his landlord doing him injury, to thwart any action, unjust or arbitrary, on the part of the landlord, as he is at present able to do if such action be at the hands of any tradesman with whom he may do business? Placing a tenant farmer in this position would be, although conferring upon him an immense boon, but an act of simple justice.

In an agricultural district the question is often asked, if a certain landlord be good or bad, What does such inquiry really mean? Simply this—is he an honest man, or does he avail himself of England's agricultural laws? We hear no such questions regarding other traders; plunder they are not encouraged or even allowed by law to practise, this privilege being reserved for those who possess the broad acres. The law, while not permitting ordinary traders to chastise their customers even with whips, actually incites landowners to chastise their tenants with scorpions. It is not, of course, every

landowner who makes use of these instruments of torture which are placed in his hands ; on the contrary, there is a small number of landowners who altogether discard their use, and treat their tenants with honour and honesty, and decline to adopt the popular idea that what is legal is moral. Such landowners would have nothing to fear or object to in an alteration of the law, which would compel others to act as themselves. Such alteration would only affect the dishonest and unprincipled, those who take advantage of the present law, as burglars do of the dark, to prosecute their nefarious practices.

Unfortunately, it is necessary to protect man from man, and it is a delusion to imagine that any particular class of the community possesses a larger proportion of morality than another. Man, whether he belong to the upper or middle class, has a leaning towards evil impulse, and laws to restrain him from setting it in motion are absolutely indispensable. It is altogether absurd to think that the simple fact of possessing land creates in the possessor undiluted integrity ; therefore, why a landowner should be expected to act with honour and honesty, without any means of keeping him within their bounds, and should have it in his power to determine whether he confiscate his tenant's property or not, are matters for intense wonder and amazement. Our very curious agricultural laws can only be attributed to the fact that until very recent times law-making was almost entirely in the hands of landowners, and that they made laws for their own benefit and advantage. Very glaring specimens of this selfish law-making are conspicuous in the arrangement for payment of full rent in bankruptcy cases, and also the cruel law of distraint. Of course it is quite possible, if tenant farmers had made the laws, that they would have made them less to their disadvantage, but, it is to be hoped, not so dishonestly towards landowners as they are now towards tenants. Another way the odious laws injure farming is this---with the knowledge that all improvements become the landlord's property on the termination of a tenancy, a tenant will not embark in carrying out improvements and alterations that would be beneficial to him and the farm he occupies. In the near future English agriculture should develop largely into what is popularly called market-gardening ; but what tenant farmer in possession of his senses would go to the enormous expense of planting cherries, gooseberries, strawberries, currants, or asparagus, all most lucrative crops to grow, with the knowledge that his landlord might turn him out of the holding at six months' notice and confiscate the whole of the plantations ? Our laws thus cripple and hold back the expansion of profitable agriculture at home, to our great detriment, and make room on our markets for foreign produce. It may further be pointed out, that the growth of such crops as the above-mentioned would find far more employment for both men and

women than the growth of cereals, therefore the confiscatory system materially injures the working classes.

The unsatisfactory management of landed properties is very difficult to explain in a clear and concise manner to those unacquainted with farming; but that, as a rule, it is unsatisfactory there is not the least doubt. An estate agent is usually appointed, not from his knowledge of the business that he has to transact, but from various other reasons, such as relationship to or connection with the landowner, or some service rendered to him or his political party. Agents are consequently, as a rule, men with a very limited knowledge of their vocation. Younger sons of the nobility, half-pay officers of the army, briefless barristers, solicitors, and ex-tradesmen, without having undergone any previous agricultural training, frequently occupy the position. The result is highly prejudicial in many ways to the interests of tenants. Rents are unfairly and unequally fixed by such agents, first-class farms being let at an equal rent to that paid for the poor ones, and in some cases the best are let at the lowest rent; and a tenant's rent is frequently raised in consequence of his own improvements upon his farm. Agents also practise all kinds of boycotting and partiality, and dispense favours and disfavours in a most unsatisfactory and unbusiness-like manner; the tenants, owing to their position of insecurity, being entirely dependent upon the agents' whims; politics, sectarianism, and all kinds of bias playing important parts in guiding agents' decisions. Many tenants are, consequently, very considerably injured and wronged. None but those who have had transactions with land agents of the kind mentioned can imagine the extent of damage that they do to the farming interest.

To bring about an alteration in these matters, to destroy the components of agricultural depression, would necessitate the enactment of State control or supervision of agricultural tenancy, with plain and uncomplicated rules and regulations, entirely independent of the caprice or selfish motive of landlord or agent. The indispensability of restraint upon the present systematic daylight robbery as practised upon tenant farmers is beyond question, that is, if farming in England is to prosper; for it would be far beyond the bounds of reason for us to dream of its doing so with its limbs, as at present, manacled and fettered. In these days of keenest competition, with the land of plenty, by means of all species of improvement in the method of transit, drawing nearer to us every year, it is somewhat surprising that English agriculture in shackles is enabled to maintain the position it does. It is, however, certain that this position, though bad, will become far worse unless the obstacles and impediments to progression aforementioned be removed.

T. M. HOPKINS.

THE GENESIS OF EXPRESSION ;

BEING THOUGHTS ON THE EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE.

IF, as Professor Max Müller holds, it is impossible to think without words, thought and language must be so related as to be *practically* simultaneous in order of conscious evolution and coeval in natural origin. If we try by reflecting upon our consciousness and analysing our expressions to determine which is primary in point of sequence, thought, or speech, we fail to reach any definite result ; first, because all thought is itself an ideal form of expression or language, of which gesture, pantomime, and phonetic utterance are but continuous aspects evolved through voluminous apparatuses of ultimate physical organs ; and secondly, because the whole personality moves together, and its every expression, whether psychic or articulate, involves a co-ordination of the whole self-conscious organism. I have said every expression, whether psychic *or* articulate, but really there is no psychic expression which is not articulate, or articulate expression which is not psychic, for the unuttered thought is articulate to itself—*i.e.*, ideally—and the uttered thought is articulate to itself and to objective selves through the medium of the external senses.

The fact that the language of a nation always corresponds with and is in proportion to its mental development, shows that there has never been a time when man was man and incapable of intelligible expression or articulate language ; the human consciousness—the power to think, feel, and perceive—evolves *pari passu* with the power, the instinctive capacity for creating intellectual symbols and giving them pantomimic or phonetic shape. The confusion in which philosophers become involved in trying to discover the true position of words in the circle of conscious evolution, arises largely from the limited conception of the meaning of language, which restricts it to pantomime, hieroglyphic, and phonetic symbols, expressing states of consciousness existing in the minds of those who employ them, and regarded as the evolution of a specific faculty whose function is to give external expression to such states ; whereas, the power to express—and all expression is a species of language or speech—is not confined to any part of the organism, for it is common (and in sense) to speak of a speaking eye, an expressive face, voice,

or deportment. What distinguished the different organic functions as the oral, the visual, and locomotive is, that each has the power to express any or all the conscious capacities through itself in a *specific manner* or *specialised form*. Thus, the mental state known as *fear* is expressed through the entire organism, and through each organ assumes a different aspect, which is the natural language of the emotion, recognisable at a glance, and understood in all countries, even by the veriest savages. It dilates the eyes, blanches the skin, contracts the organism generally, produces through the voice a distinctive sound—in fact, in each organic function assumes a specific expression. All these expressions are the language of fear, the *word fear* is only the intellectualised symbol, or nomen, created by the English intellect for handling the state of consciousness in the abstract, without having recourse to its instinctive expressions; yet, while the instinctive expressions of this emotion are understood by all human beings, and even by the brutes—as they are possessors with us of this capacity—the intellectual symbol of four hieroglyphics with specific phonetic significance, has to be learned and its meaning acquired before individuals can connect it with the emotional state of consciousness for which it stands. But when a knowledge of its meaning is once acquired, the mind can use it without experiencing, or inducing in the minds of others, the instinctive emotional state of which it is the intellectualised representative, because the word is an intellectual transmutation of that state, and its relation to it is consequently indirect. How readily does a child or a dog distinguish the expression of real fear from that which is feigned.

The language of pantomime is generally an instinctive species of expression; but intellectual pantomime is also possible, as shown in the deaf and dumb alphabet expressed with the hands. Further, it is impossible to form a conception of any abstract state such as fright, except as expressed in a human or other living organism when under its influence. Thus no one has ever seen a living embodiment of fear alone. Who, therefore, can conceive of it as having separate existence in itself? We know what a timid person under the influence of fear looks like; and such a person is our highest idea of the impersonation of fear. The recognition of this truth conducts to that of another very important one—viz., that the mind has no such thing as a faculty *per se*; and that what psychologists call such, are but capacities or potentialities of the living organism to assimilate itself to certain actual states or forms of *expression*; consequently all psychological phenomena, in fact, all phenomena whatsoever, within the circle of the knowable, which we call nature, are but a catena of expressions, and reducible to the idea of language. Descartes, in his celebrated sentence, "*Cogito ergo sum*," recognises this truth. He means to say: My subjective existence is an inference from my capacity to evolve objective

existences or expressions which are self-individualisations—*i.e.*, thoughts. For what are thoughts but expressions, the result of a capacity of life to propagate itself in a specific way through an organism, and thereby give individuality—or a special form of expression—to the attributes of its own capacities, and those of the objective existences or expressions of which its own are indirectly a continuous part? If we divide, as we can, all psychological phenomena, and, in fact, all phenomena (for there are none which are not resolvable into psychological), into two classes—*viz.*, expressions and impressions—we shall find on examination that these apparently dissimilar and antipodal categories are reducible to expressions only; what we call impressions being, when analysed, the assimilation of entities to an expression or form other than that in which they were previously existing. When a sculptor impresses a piece of marble, he reduces it to the expression of his own conception. And the artist who sways the minds of generations does so by assimilating them to the expression of his own mental states.

It is misleading to restrict the idea of language to vocal expression, for all the phenomena of nature are but forms of language—the expressions of changes in her unfathomable and impenetrable conscious activities. Thus, if we take a single word (which is one form of expression), and trace it in all its relations, we are compelled to unravel the whole science of speech; and if we trace inward the science of speech to that of its antecedent thought, we must, to understand it, unravel the whole science of psychology; and that is conterminous with the whole science of being—*i.e.*, universal nature. A word, therefore, is thought evolved through an unbroken catena of psychic laboratories (brain centres), to an expression in which it is objective to itself.

Our modern scientists represent that the hidden and impalpable forces of nature, such as we call life and thought, are discoverable only by vivisection. Such a method of research is equivalent to dissecting a criminal alive, not with the idea of extorting confession by the torture to which we subject him, but under the delusion that we shall discover the nature of the thoughts he won't express, as they arise in the brain. Tennyson speaks of "When a great thought strikes along the brain and flushes all the cheek." Now the flushed cheek is the most ultimate and intense expression which the thought can assume through the organism in which it has arisen, except vocal speech which is a more ultimate expression than the blush, as in it (speech) the thought assumes an independent individuality, in which form it passes beyond the subjective consciousness in which it apparently originated, and becomes objective to that parent consciousness as a sound impressing it through the organs of hearing; or if the person wrote the words which are the phonographic symbols of the "great thought," it has then acquired an objective form which

impresses him through the sense of sight. Thought is obviously a birth-process, life, issuing from a state potential through an indefinable series of physiological changes, until it assumes the most perfect actual expression it is capable of through the organism which is its medium of utterance. So, if we cannot comprehend by observation and inference the nature of the thought which has flushed the cheek by perceiving the flush, we should not be likely to do so by watching the molecular changes in the particular centre of the brain in which the thought had birth.

Mr. Herbert Spencer speaks of the "science of mind, which, through an indeterminate region, passes into the science of being; if we can call that a science of which the issue is nescience." Now, as we have seen, the whole physiognomy of nature is a series of *expressions*; and every expression is a form of language: all natural phenomena are, therefore, the expressions or language of life—physiognomical appearances which result from antecedent changes of vital and psychic activities. To say that "the science of being ends in nescience" seems incorrect. As we have seen, all phenomena are expressions of *thought*; in other words, *thought-forms*, manifestations of thought, the most positive aspect which in the terrene order it assumes. Mr. Spencer probably means to assert that thought is unknowable. And when Professor Max Müller speaks of the impossibility of thinking without words, he means that it is impossible to think a *formless thought*, which is obviously true, for it is impossible to think about nothing, thought being essentially a self-creative process, the source of its own existence, and of all the catena of expressions which it subsequently assumes through what we call matter. Thus, thought has knowledge of *itself* in precisely the same way that it has knowledge of *all existence*—i.e., in its attributes. Our thoughts know themselves by their forms; it is impossible to conceive of existence apart from the attribute of form; a thing is called formless when its shape is too vast in complexity for human definition—but that is the very opposite of absence of the attribute of shape. It is also impossible to distinguish between personality and thought; they are identical. Thought, then, Professor Max Müller means to say, has attributes; indeed, the attributes of all material existence are but the replica and counterpart of the attributes of thought. Mill has laid it down that "the ultimate laws of nature cannot possibly be less numerous than the distinguishable feelings or sensations of our nature." Thought is, therefore, related to itself as to all existence *in its attributes*; for if we say thought is related to existence *and its attributes* we contradict ourselves, for we assert that entity has existence independently of its attributes, and that its attributes are non-existent; whereas, entity has no existence (for us) apart from its attributes, and cannot maintain its individuality if a single attribute be changed in the slightest

degree. We are able to speak of a tree and its attributes, or of a thought and its attributes; yet tree or thought, apart from their attributes, are but undefined notions, resulting from the capacity of thought to generalise the particular, to unify multiplex attributes to the single notion of existence. But, to distinguish a tree from another entity, or one thought from another, we must resolve either into that special expression of abstract attributes which constitutes its individuality, individuality being that special modification of attributes by which any part of universal existence is at once related to and distinguished from all existence of its own kind *directly*, and *indirectly* from all existence whatever. Can thought, then, be said to be unknowable when it has attributes corresponding to those of all existence of which it gives us cognizance? And all we can know of any existence is by assimilating ourselves to consciousness of its attributes; and to this knowledge we can equally attain of thought.

Thought cannot exist, for example, apart from such attributes as form and extension. We can conceive of a world or a globule, but we cannot conceive of *nothing*, thought being a positive expression of which our organisms are the negative or potential side. If we picture a vacuum, our idea is of matter in a specific form and extent of separateness. How can thought be said to be less knowable than a tree, when we can express it, or rather its attributes, in written hieroglyphics, or spoken sounds, or direct symbolic representation as drawing or sculpture? Thus, in tracing the genesis of expression, we are conducted by inevitable sequence to thought, which is expression in the most positive and mobile form in which it has actual existence, *i.e.*, existence knowable to itself; thought being self-evolved and self-perceived expression. We are now prepared to consider the apparently opposite opinions of Professor Max Müller and Mr. Galton, as to the constitution and modes of action of the mind, and to show that the views of both are correct and reconcilable. Professor Max Müller holds tenaciously to the belief that all minds are radically alike in constitution; and Mr. Galton asserts that it is an absolute error to believe that the minds of every one else are like one's own, and that he at all events has no difficulty in thinking without words. To see how such contradictory opinions can both be correct and reconcilable, we must analyse the individuality of the mind, for minds vary as strikingly as faces, each of which, though built upon the same ground-plan and of the same elemental features, is a specialisation of that plan, and each feature is again a specialisation of the ground-plan of the feature, and thus we have interminable variety resulting from the same radical elements, and yet producing an interminable unity. But to understand the individuality of the mind, which, as Professor Max Müller contends, has no actual independent faculties, is not so easy as to understand that of the visible face, though the face is but the result, the materialised

reflection of a corresponding potential mental individuality. Now if Professor Max Müller's view be correct, we must look for the individuality of the mind, in *thought—in each thought*—and every thought being the offspring of the whole mind, must contain the whole individuality of the mind, part *actually*, the remainder potentially. To cease to think, as before remarked, is to cease to be *actually* (*cogito ergo sum*). It is possible to exist potentially without being self-conscious, as in sleep and in the embryonic state of being, but in such states our existence is known only to self-consciousness external to us. We are self-conscious then, only so long as thought is evolving itself through the alembic of the brain, and issuing into articulate actual *being* or *expression* through the brain, nerves, and ultimate organic processes of the body. So, when we speak, it is not our voice which is operating through us, but our thought, *i.e.*, our entire consciousness assimilated to some special *thought-form* through some special part of the brain, evolving through intermediate organic processes and issuing in ultimate expression through the vocal apparatus. And as every feature and bodily organ is a specialised expression of the physical individuality—so that we say a person's nose, or eye, or mouth is characteristic of them—so are the psychic activities whose recurrent operation has moulded these features and given them their character, equally expressive of all the activities—the total energies of the ego. So that a person's individuality or character is expressed in his look, or gait, or voice; all his psychic potentialities are indirectly in a state of actual expression through the *one organic process* which is supremely active. All the capacities are in a state of co-operant and co-ordinate alignment to the one which is supremely active, in a perfect and harmonious scale of degrees of relatively subordinate activity.

Here we see the consistency between the opinions of Professor Max Müller and Mr. Galton. The mind has no distinct positive faculties, only potential capacities; but it will necessarily express itself most perfectly through the medium of those organic processes which are most highly developed, in other words, through those organic channels which, having expressed itself through most frequently in the subject and his progenitors, have become the most easy media by which it can evolve itself to the most perfect expression or state of actual being. For example, a blind man cannot express himself in a glance, though he may be able to do so in a very pronounced manner through his voice; and a dumb man cannot express himself through his voice, though he may be able to do so eloquently through his eyes or by gestures. But in the expression of the dumb man's look there is something wanting, which indicates his deficiency of vocal power, if we had the discernment to recognise it; and in the voice of the blind man his sensory deficiency is indicated if our perceptions were sufficiently delicate to distinguish the

absence of expression. Thus the whole is perfect in proportion to its parts, and each part in proportion to every part. A blind man can acquire knowledge of his own physical conformation; but an idiot, however perfect the apparatus of sight, cannot see himself. We are conscious how we are looking at any particular time, by how we are feeling subjectively. How then is it possible to deny that thought is the basis of sight as of all definite sensation? Professor Max Müller would doubtless admit that a man who has learned a single word and its meaning, has modified and enlarged his individuality to some extent, for he has acquired the capacity, which he did not possess before, to handle in the abstract some conception, in a form in which he could not handle it before. If, for example, he has been told that a certain object is a ship, instead of conceiving the ship he can think of the phonetic substitute, and if he has learned to read the word "ship," he can conceive the four hieroglyphics which stand for it. Yet, says Professor Max Müller, one man's mind is not different from another's, though if he were to use the word "thaumaturgic" in addressing one audience every member would understand him, while if he used it to another not one would know what he meant. And if we use the word *fear* to an individual like Lord Nelson, who said he knew not what fear was, it has no more meaning relative to such a person than the word "stone"; while to others, who can experience the emotion, it is indissolubly associated with a specific state of consciousness. Now there might be a language invented in which the word "stone" might be made to signify the conscious state called "fear," and the word "fear" to signify the concrete substance that we call "stone," both words being arbitrary humanly-invented symbols directly related to the *intellect* only, because the *intellect* immediately evolved them; yet, though they were coined by the intellectual faculties, because the consciousness which evolved them issued into being, or took ultimate shape, through those capacities, upon analysis we shall find that they contain within them the potentialities of the entire human consciousness, simply because any and every expression is indirectly related to all expression, which fact makes human language possible of illimitable development. We use the words "fear" and "stone," but before the mind can understand them it must resolve them into conceptions of the abstract attributes of the things for which they stand. I say, of the *things*, but only the word "stone" stands for a thing, the other represents an abstract state.

This brings us to a crucial point of the problem—viz., the difference between things and persons. We shall further see that each human self-consciousness is a more or less intense expression or focussed reflection of a universal self-consciousness; and that each actual expression of a human self-consciousness—whether the expression be what we call sight, hearing, taste, smell, speech, love, hatred, anger, hope, fear, or any other state of consciousness—is a *directly specialised*

form or individualisation of the total self-consciousness which expresses it, and *indirectly* of the universal self-consciousness of which the human is a 'miniature individualisation or expression. And now to show how far this seems an inevitable induction, and that every thought as it issues into being is the universe in abstract miniature, and that every human being is in the most literal sense a microcosm, and "the temple of the living God," and materiality itself an aspect or expression of thought.

Victor Hugo speaks of "The reduction of the universe to an individual" in describing love; and Descartes says "that to conceive quite clearly is to possess." If by mutual arrangement people might use the word "fear" for "stone" and "stone" for "fear," each of these words (which, as before remarked, are *directly* intellectual in origin and relation), must contain within them *indirectly* the potentialities of the entire conscious capacities of the human mind, otherwise they could not be reversible and made capable of identical significance, so that, by a paradox, the truth of which the intellect reaches through its capacity for endless comparison, anything can be made to indirectly express everything, and everything anything; the phenomena of existence being an interminable circle of expressions, at any point of which circle such expressions may with equal truth be said to begin and terminate; but capable of widening farther and farther into an interminable infinitude, the most ultimate zone of which is but an indirect individualisation of the most central, and *en rapport* with it. How do we understand the words "stone" and "fear"? To have knowledge of the individuality of a stone, we must be able to assimilate our self-consciousness to certain expressions which are the counterparts of certain expressions or characters of the stone.

Now the expressions or characters which give the stone its distinctive nature are abstract attributes; change any one of them, and you change the individuality of the stone. And what are attributes of the stone but capacities to affect or modify in a specific manner certain capacities in us—*i.e.*, to assimilate our central consciousness (thought) through the medium of its specialised radiations or organic points of assimilation (the external senses) to special shapes or expressions corresponding to such attributes, and which constitute our only attainable knowledge of the objective entity we call a stone. The external senses are therefore media through which the subjective self-consciousness, which is directly *en rapport* with its own materialism, is placed indirectly *en rapport* with all material existence, and attains to knowledge of it through consciousness of its attributes; which shows that what we call objective existence is but an indirectly subjective, and what we call subjective an indirectly objective. Our knowledge of objective existence is, therefore, a specific state or relation of our subjective consciousness. Sight is but an exquisite form of tactility, by which the subjective

ego touches certain aspects of the attributes of entity external to it, so that the objective is an indirectly continuous expression of the subjective and the subjective of the objective, and they are placed in a state of incessant reaction, each involving and evolving itself through the other, and, in doing so, differentiating themselves to new shades of expression. This is why we cannot distinguish between thoughts and words: the exterior surface of a man's body is as much himself as the most central molecule; and if one could translate a thought into a million languages, the last would be as much a continuation, or ultimate expression or individualisation of the thought as the first. It is impossible to separate the idea of quality from that of existence; an adjective has no meaning in itself. Nor is it possible to describe the most concrete object except in abstract terms, which implies that it must be resolved into thought-forms before we can reproduce it in word-forms indirectly comprehensible to our own and other minds. So that abstractness and concreteness are but the extreme degrees of a single circle, at which these positive and negative aspects of matter converge, and enable it to react upon itself. All matter has consequently its abstract point at which it is assimilatable more or less directly to the highest abstract form known to us—viz., thought.

The real explanation of this puzzle of minds being alike and yet different, is that every human mind is a microcosm through which the All-self-consciousness reflects itself, a medium through which the abstract side of the universe is refracted and its character differentiated while its identity is retained. When we say "I," we mean nature as expressed through our own organism. To a mind incapable of experiencing the emotion of fear, the word fear would have no more personal meaning than the word stone, no matter how great the intellectual capacities of such a mind. Again, such a person could not form conceptions (mental images) of those expressions which are the natural language of fear any more easily than of the hieroglyphics which make the word, or than conceptions of stones, while, when endowed with the capacity to subjectively experience the emotion of fear, the mind spontaneously and involuntarily forms ideas of such expressions (sensation pictures), or of those which are the natural language of any other emotion which it has the capacity to experience. But human ideas do not involuntarily take the form of the intellectually invented symbols which we employ to express such states; no one instinctively thinks in such expressions as the words fear, terror, or panic, in the same sense in which he instinctively thinks in those expressions which are the natural language of fear; they have to be acquired by voluntary effort, and then become inseparably linked with the emotional states of consciousness which they are used to express. There are men unable to read who would not know the meaning of hideous, who could

nevertheless form very intense ideas of the terrible, and recognise the faintest gleam of the natural expression of fear in a human countenance. We see, therefore, that our capacity to read intuitively those expressions which are the cardinal language of nature, will be proportionate to our capacity to assimilate ourselves (and we cannot assimilate ourselves mentally and not physically) to counterparts of such expressions. A person entirely destitute of the capacity to express fear instinctively, would be incapable of reading its natural expressions more easily than the words which stand for them: his intellect would have to voluntarily learn their significance. Yet the capacity to evolve intellectual language must be intuitive, or alphabets and language would never have been invented. Words have therefore a wider or narrower meaning according to the scope of the mind from which they proceed, or which re-assimilates them. A word is nucleated personality embodied in "matter-moulded" characters; it is an embryonic centre of assimilation which, evolved through a human mind, acquires personality in the attributes of the entity or modicum of entity for which it stands. The capacity for ultra or super-instinctive language which is the impassable barrier separating man from the lower animals, is a capacity for illimitable expression and therefore for illimitable advancement.

The Mosaic account of creation tells us that "The Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them," &c. This statement is exactly in harmony with the capacity which man alone of all terrene beings possesses, to evolve from himself expressions *ad infinitum* with which to designate and distinguish objective phenomena. Further, though the power of the human mind to invent arbitrary symbols for natural phenomena is clearly limitless, such symbols have no meaning apart from the cardinal natural expressions to which they bear reference. Natural expressions are therefore at once the *basis* and *object* of language, its *source* and its *raison d'être*; neither can thought assume expressions higher than those of nature. If the poet, artist, or sculptor describes angels or the Deity, his symbols are a transcendent anthropomorphism. This illustrates the truth of Professor Max Müller's opinion, that all minds are constituted on the same radical plan, and recalls again the Scripture, "God created man in His own image;" for the human individuality is the highest image thought is capable of assuming. The artist may arise who will portray forms more God-like than any yet evolved by the human mind, but such forms will be but more exquisite and perfect expressions of the human form divine; the scale of idealisation may have no limit; but the radical type will always be the human.

If we could know the genesis of a single word we should have penetrated the origin of thought, and therefore of all being; we

should know the beginning and end of self; "we should know what God and man is."

If ideas did not terminate in sensations they could not recognise themselves, or be recognised by other objective selves; it is thus that the ego is at once subjective and objective to itself. Self-consciousness is a self-evolved circle, beginning in the idea and expanding until it expresses itself through the senses in such form as to become sensually objective to itself, and by a centripetal or return process reacting upon the self, to be re-evolved from the centre, expanding through it in the form of another idea, so that we can translate through ourselves one idea into any number of symbols or languages, every one of which is an individualisation of the same primitive thought-form. This truth must have been haunting the mind of Descartes, when he asked "where a thought is lodged in its author." Milton makes Raphael say, when discoursing with Adam, "One Almighty is, from whom all things proceed and up to Him return." Our self-conscious existence, as it emanates from moment to moment, is a perpetual evolving and involving—a flowing in and a flowing out of expressions—the points of confluence or reactive assimilation being the external senses.

Our power to translate our ideas into words is a capacity to create embryonic psychological symbols in which to handle in germinal miniature the stupendous and more fully evolved symbolism of nature. What are the melodious measures of the poet, or the glowing creations of the artist when "he dips his brush in dyes of earthquake and eclipse," but miniature representations of certain expressions of that nature which is "the living mantle of God," and so perfect that it can serve as a pattern for the imitation of human art, for all time? Can any philosopher show that a word is other than infinity in embryonic miniature? It is a form of thought—and thought is the true self—but where in the self it begins and ends, who can say? If we could determine this, we could determine where in the All-self the so-called human-self begins and ends. The universe is its source, the universe is its object; it is therefore but a centre of expression through which the universe diverges from and reconverges to itself. As therefore a word is a human self-consciousness in indirect miniature, so is it the universe in still more indirect miniature.

MAURICE L. JOHNSON.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

FACTS ABOUT QUEENSLAND.

IN the August number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW—which has just reached Australian readers—appears an article by H. W. Boyd Mackay, under the title of “Ruined Queensland: the Secret of Her Downfall,” which has caused those who have seen it an amount of surprise, not perhaps easily understood by most of your readers on the other side of the globe. To those, however, acquainted with the conditions of life here, who have means of estimating the growth of the Colony in material wealth, the progressive development of her great natural resources, and the perfect political freedom enjoyed by all classes, it is difficult to take the article seriously. But for its appearance in a publication of standing and repute, it would have been unnecessary to call attention to the inaccuracies and extraordinary perversion of facts, so noticeable to colonial readers. But this picture of the condition of Queensland, acquiring an accidental importance from the vehicle which conveys it to the public, cannot be treated altogether as burlesque. It is therefore necessary to take it seriously and to show how much credence the statements and opinions of the writer are entitled to.

Briefly to summarise Mr. Mackay's article, the case stands thus. Queensland, according to him, is being run on the lines of a corruptly administered joint stock company, in which the directors are bent solely upon their own aggrandisement, but prudently share the plunder with a clique of influential shareholders, who keep them in office for purposes of mutual profit: that though these directors “engage exclusively in unremunerative enterprises,” bankruptcy is averted by continual borrowing, which simple expedient postpones the inevitable collapse, only to make the final crash more overwhelming. So much for the administration of the country. But it appears that corrupt government is by no means the only evil that blights the prospects of this unhappy land. Its population is recruited almost exclusively from two classes, the wage-earner without a shilling, and the banished young profligate of good family. In its capital city are 3000 vacant houses, and the impoverishment of its farming population may be judged from the fact that one firm alone holds 13,000 mortgages from farmers. And all this might be changed, it seems, and the Australian colonies made “solvent, populous, and prosperous” by the adoption of an “electoral law like

that of England," which, according to Mr. Mackay, would give a vote to certain classes now disfranchised. The recent telegrams from the Colony show, by the elections just ended, that twenty-four Labour members are returned instead of the seventeen mentioned by Mr. Mackay in his article.

Let us see what is this electoral law, which is represented as so unjust and illiberal. It gives to every man a vote, provided he has resided for six months in the electoral district in which he desires to vote. Six months' residence is the only qualification necessary. He may be a lodger in a boarding house, a householder of any sort, he may live in a tent, or camp in a bark hut, but if he can only say "That is my home and there I have lived for six months" he can claim the franchise. There is no trouble whatever in getting his name placed on the electoral roll. He has only to show that he is the person he represents himself to be, and no one can deny his right. A more liberal franchise it would be difficult to devise. The nomadic class of bush shearers who roam all over the western pastoral country in search of employment have no votes; but why should they? It would be arrant injustice to the resident population of a district to be electorally swamped by a body of wandering voters with no local interests at stake.

Mr. Mackay represents the men as striking "for a wage of 30s.," and in consideration of their being unenfranchised exclaims, "What wonder then that some of the shearers have taken to burning woolsheds?" Without criticising the appropriateness of their methods of recommending themselves for the franchise, it may be well to state what remuneration they receive for their toil. The rate, which has not varied for many years, is 20s., per 100 sheep. Most shearers do 100 sheep in a day, many put through 200. At Northampton Downs, a station shearing about 250,000 sheep, which I visited during this shearing season, with 60 shearers on the floor, they put through in one day 9300 with the Wolesly machines, an average of over 150 per man. These men were earning in one day a sum equal to that which Mr. Mackay represents them as endeavouring to obtain per week, and enforcing their claim by striking. Shearers are a highly paid class, and in cases where the men are thrifty, a good balance rapidly accumulates in the Savings Bank.

A moment's reflection must expose the fallacy of the statement that the "dominant class" favour a large body of unemployed as a reserve in case of strikes. No one has so much to lose by the discontent engendered by dearth of employment as the squatter. Content and order amongst the wage-earners would be promoted by a settled population, which would also be more likely to furnish reliable workers. On the Darling Downs, an old settled sheep district, dotted over with farmers and selectors, during all the industrial troubles of late years shearing has gone on quietly in the

different sheds, undisturbed by strikes, and practically closed to the voluble labour agitator.

Experiments have been tried at the instance of the Labour party, with a view of settling communities in localities of their own choosing. There have been in all twelve communal settlements, which, after being spoon-fed for a time by the Government, at a cost of £1300, have all failed. In the socialistic principle they were intended to demonstrate, they carried with them the seeds of their failure. So long as men are mentally and physically unequal, they will not be content to pool the results of their labour. Till they are turned out in one pattern, each will selfishly insist upon enjoying the fruits of his own effort. It is unlikely that we shall try other experiments in communal settlement.

What is the excuse for speaking of Queensland as ruined? A country may fairly claim to be judged as regards solvency by her exports, and a comparison between her revenue and her expenditure. The growth of revenue from year to year must also be accepted as an indication of material progress. Without wearying your readers with figures, perhaps I may be permitted to quote a few. In 1864—that is, thirty-one years ago—Queensland's revenue was £369,425; in 1894 it was £3,358,302, an increase of nearly tenfold in one generation. Last year the revenue exceeded the expenditure by £104,738. Considering that our annual remittance for interest on our loans is £1,200,000, and that our population is barely half a million, some idea may be got of the producing power of the country. Wool is, of course, our leading staple, and the value of this export last year was £2,923,281, or say, in round numbers, three millions sterling. This, too, at a time when the market was more depressed than at any previous period. This year it is safe to predict that our wool clip will reach nearly, if not quite, £4,000,000; a rise of 1*d.* per pound in the wool distributes an additional £500,000 amongst the Queensland flock-masters, and the actual rise since last season's sales has been about 2*d.*

"Why must the Australian colonies," Mr. Mackay asks, "float periodic loans instead of raising the money for carrying on their Government and Government works by taxation? Because they have not the necessary wealth to carry on these things by taxation. Does private capital come out to enrich these colonies? Very little." To reply to the first question it is obvious that it would be most unfair to expect the handful of present colonists to develop the rich estate that has been handed over to them exclusively with funds raised from taxation. They may fairly look to the inheritors of this splendid domain to bear their share of the burden. Railways in a new country are not constructed merely with a view of returning immediate interest on the outlay. They are primarily designed for the opening up and settlement of the country, and it may be years

before they prove commercially successful. Cheap money from Europe enables these works to be undertaken, and if the present colonists can pay the interest upon the money borrowed, they have the satisfaction of knowing that the burden will fall less heavily on their successors. But had they been required to find the capital from taxation, it would have taken hundreds of years to reach the wonderful degree of material advancement which has been attained in the last thirty years. Queensland has during that time constructed 2379 miles of railway, at a cost of £16,470,000. The gross receipts from these lines last year were £932,000, and the expenses £580,000, leaving an amount over working expenses sufficient to provide 2·13 per cent. as interest on the cost of construction, a rate only 1 per cent. less than that returned in the aggregate by the railways of the United Kingdom. And it must be remembered that as settlement progresses, the receipts continually increase, so that we may fairly expect some few years hence to receive from our railways a handsome profit, after defraying the interest charge. The amount of our public debt is £30,639,534; and it is no exaggeration to say that this one asset, our railways, would alone sell for a sum in excess of our total indebtedness. But besides our railways, we have erected public buildings worthy of the country, constructed telegraphs and harbours, lighted the coast, provided for its defence, and in a hundred ways converted the wilderness into an estate, which is a going concern with revenue and exports such as I have shown. Every effort has at the same time been made to improve and perfect our system of government. In all ways possible, political influence has been divorced from the great spending departments. Our railways are managed by a Commissioner appointed for a term of years, who receives a salary of £3000 a year, and is entirely independent of political control. Our lands, so far as the fixing of rents and assessing values are concerned, are administered by a Board, as independent of Parliament as a Supreme Court Bench. For many years past all expenditure for roads, bridges, and other local works, which at one time was defrayed out of Parliamentary votes, and afforded members and their constituents ample opportunities for log-rolling, is administered by local boards, who raise the requisite funds by rates on the property in their divisions, the amount so raised being supplemented by a fixed *pro rata* contribution from the Government. As these bodies spend their own money, it is found that a much stricter economy is practised than when the Government was the milch cow.

The amount of private capital which comes for investment in Queensland is necessarily difficult to estimate, but that the sum is large is unquestionable. Much of it goes into mining. Charters Towers is our leading goldfield, from £12,000 to £13,000 being paid weekly as wages to the men employed in the various mines. The

dividends for last month, August, were £21,250, making for the eight months of this year a total of £161,351. Some of the best-paying mines on the field are owned chiefly by English shareholders, and large sums are continually coming for investment here.

Amongst the working class in Australia there is a jealous feeling of hostility to foreign capital, which is presumed in some way to rob the country of profits which should be distributed amongst Queenslanders. It is difficult to discover how the interests of the wage-earners, or of any other class, have suffered from the enterprise of the wealthy English Corporations who have spent their capital in bringing portions of our territory into such a highly remunerative state of development. With the advantage of large capital all work has been done on an extensive scale; their dams have been large and substantial, their paddocks numerous and small, and their stocks have been improved by importations of the best blood. Full complements of hands have always been employed, and their resident managers, with liberal salaries, have taken the place in the district which they would have filled had they been resident owners.

After all, what signs are there in this busy country of the downfall of which Mr. Mackay speaks, and of which he ventures to tell us the secret? In every department of industry the producers are being multiplied. Sugar planting used to be the exclusive business of the man of large means or large credit. With a bank at his back, the planter laid out enormous sums in reclamation of scrub lands, cultivation, and machinery. He now begins to limit himself to one process. He finds it safer to leave the cultivation to small farmers, and become a manufacturer only, buying the crops grown by the lessees or purchasers of his fields. This has led to the small farmers aspiring to own mills by co-operative effort. Parliament passed an Act to assist the accomplishment of this ambition. By it the Government are empowered to advance the sum necessary for the purchase of manufacturing plant on the security of a mortgage over such plant and over the lands of the shareholders. Before this is done a Government valuator makes the necessary valuation of the lands, to ensure that the margin is a safe one. Of the co-operative mills started on this principle all have been wonderfully prosperous, their profits having enabled them in most cases to anticipate the annual sum for interest and sinking fund due to the Government, by large payments in advance.

The "secret" of the ruin discovered by Mr. Mackay, and so impressively disclosed, is, in his opinion, the insufficient representation of labour in our Parliament. There are now in the Assembly seventeen Labour members out of a total of seventy-two representatives. These men vote solid on all questions. The narrowness of mind which is inseparable from an absence of that knowledge of the world which is not to be acquired in books, stamps every utterance

of these Labour members. They cannot understand how any public servant can be worth a big salary. They suspect some ulterior motive in every provision conferring on the Executive discretionary powers, and they have no faith in the honesty of any public man.

In his mention of the great strikes, Mr. Mackay represents the strikers as an orderly, law-abiding body, rendering a ready submission to the lawful demands of those in authority. He speaks of the shearers striking for 30s. a week. The strike of 1891 was not on a question of wages, but on the admission of the principle of "freedom of contract." The employers, who, previously to forming themselves into an Association, were at the mercy of the Unions, which waxed continually more aggressive as they found each demand conceded, claimed the right to employ whom they liked, irrespective of their being members of Unions. The Labour leaders impressed upon the men that unless they could stop all leaks their Unions must lose their power, and that they were bound in their interests to resist the employment of non-Unionists. All over the Colony the Unionists were called out. Gangs of men scoured the country, forcibly taking men away from their employment, and in many cases leading them as unwilling prisoners to the strike camps. Others paraded the country, destroying fences, burning gates, and firing the grass wherever it could be got to burn. Fortunately, 1891 was a phenomenally wet season. But for this merciful intervention of Nature, the whole country would have been a blackened waste. The violent faction stuck literally at nothing. They endeavoured to wreck trains; and after the frustration of many such attempts, no train went westward without a pilot engine, whilst running at night had to be discontinued. The strikers took the lynch pins out of the wheels of the waggons conveying men to the work which they refused; they endeavoured to take the winkers off the horses drawing some of the employers to their hotel at Clermont; they shot the horses and bullocks of those teamsters who ventured to carry loading; they helped themselves to sheep in any paddock where they required rations; they burned wool-sheds all over the country. At length the authorities recognised the condition of things as equivalent to civil war. The Defence Force and a large number of volunteers and special constables were sent to the disturbed districts to restore order, and a number of the strike leaders were seized and tried for conspiracy, the Supreme Court awarding them varying terms of imprisonment up to three years. Are these the quiet, respectable men whose enfranchisement is to regenerate the country?

I pass over the 3000 houses vacant in Brisbane, and the statement to illustrate the impoverishment of the farming class, that one firm holds 13,000 mortgages from farmers. Such absurdities scarcely call for a denial. The best answer regarding the condition of Brisbane is found in the fact that land in the principal street (Queen

Street) sells now at £500 per foot, at which price sales have been quite recently made. The public credit is best testified to by the price of the loan floated this year. Two million was asked for in London at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the response was a large over-subscription, at an average price of £101 12s. 7d.

Laurence Sterne makes a whimsical complaint against those persons who cannot visit a town without drawing their pen across its gutters. But a much more serious grievance could be brought against the writer, who, after visiting one town, ventures to draw his pen across the whole country.

Queensland, if not "a working-man's paradise"—a phrase scornfully quoted by Mr. Mackay—is, at all events, a country in which an industrious man can always find employment at good wages, and in which the man of very moderate capital will find many openings and avenues leading to wealth. If the wage-earner be steady and thrifty he can soon enrol himself amongst the small capitalists, and, availing himself of the same avenue, attain a position he never dreamt of when he left the Old Country. Assuredly there is no hope in Queensland, any more than elsewhere, for the idler or the bungler, and the comparatively small amount of actual poverty and destitution is more in evidence than it is in older countries, where it is confined to certain quarters of vast cities. Upon this fact the Labour party trade and agitate; but when one of the many public holidays takes place, and crowds of happy and well-dressed men, women, and children, are seen enjoying themselves under the cloudless skies of Australia, the best refutation is given to the slanders upon their adopted country, of men who have most of them been imported at the public expense, and who show their gratitude by trying to exclude others, and by disseminating all kinds of misrepresentations.

R. NEWTON.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

IN recent years a kind of metaphysical scepticism has taken the place of the old theological scepticism in relation to the conclusions of science. This scepticism has been voiced by Mr. Arthur Balfour on the theological side and Mr. Bradley on the metaphysical side. This philosophical scepticism is commonly expressed in the superficial utterance that "there is nothing to speak of that we can know with certainty." As nothing is certainly true, it is best to fall back upon authority, and so on. To oppose this tendency is, in a measure, the aim of Mr. L. T. Hobhouse in his *Theory of Knowledge*,¹ which is a volume of considerable size and co-relative importance. It is really a masterly work and deserves close study. Mr. Hobhouse acknowledges his indebtedness to Mill, and, in quite a different way, to Mr. Bradley, whose *Appearance and Reality* affords Mr. Hobhouse an opportunity of meeting his most powerful antagonist. As we did not give a particularly warm welcome to Mr. Bradley's book,² it is only natural that we should derive more satisfaction from Mr. Hobhouse's, and we think most readers will share our feelings. The work is in three parts—Data, Inference, and Knowledge. The first part deals with psychological facts, the second with logical methods, the third with results.

The author exhibits not only learning but insight, and an ability to express himself, not only lucidly but vigorously. Mr. Hobhouse's doctrine cannot be better expressed than in a few sentences in which he sums his theory of the conditions and validity of knowledge. "Our starting-point was the datum of immediate *apprehension*, which we took to be fact. We assumed these data, and we postulated that they can be *analysed* with elements, that they can be *remembered*, and that any portion of the continuous stream which they form can be *constructed* into wholes for thought; the relations in which they are found are *generalised*, and that with certainty, except so far as a conflicting generalisation can be formed from the apprehended data. By these five methods, judgments and inferences of all kinds are built up, and their *validity* is tested by their consilience, which

¹ *The Theory of Knowledge: A Contribution to some Problem of Logic and Metaphysics.* By L. T. Hobhouse. London: Methuen & Co. 1896.

² See WESTMINSTER REVIEW, Vol. 140, p. 453.

similarly justifies the methods postulated. The resulting system, then, is knowledge, and is valid" (p. 515). To reject this method and this conclusion is to plunge into doubt and inactivity, and we quite agree with Mr. Hobhouse that "it is better in the long run to be guided by the evidence as far as we have got it than to sit down with our hands before us because half a loaf is worse than no bread." Mr. Hobhouse therefore contends that what we know is reality, genuine reality, as far as it goes, and not mere appearance, and that each addition to knowledge is a further step towards the right understanding of the whole of things as they are.

Outlines of Logic and Metaphysics,¹ by Johann Eduard Erdmann, translated from the fourth (revised) edition by Dr. B. C. Burt, who also contributes a prefatory essay, is a very different work from the above. It is one of the series of Introductory Science Text-books, and is strictly technical both in aim and terminology, which will make it difficult reading for those who have not been drilled in the subject. The use and importance of this science of sciences is well expressed in a few words by Dr. Burt in his essay: "The final interpretation and valuation of the results reached in the sciences is not possible within the limits of the natural sciences as such, but must depend upon the co-operation of the science of thought as such."

Mr. J. H. Lupton has by considerable industry produced an essay on a subject which lacks interest at the present day, in which he relates the endeavours of Archbishop Wake to bring about a union between the Gallican and Anglican Churches (1717-1720).² The archbishop's correspondence with Dr. Du Pin and others is laid under contribution, and the characteristics of Gallicanism are pretty clearly shown and the state of the French Church in the early years of the eighteenth century illustrated by references to, and extracts from, original documents.

An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, by the Rev. James Dodds, D.D. (London: A. & C. Black), is another of the remarkably cheap and useful series of Guild Text-books. The exposition is an able one and the standpoint orthodox.

We have received from Amsterdam the first half of Part II. of a thoughtful work in Dutch by C. P. Tiele, dealing with the history of religion in ancient times to Alexander the Great.³ The present part deals with Zoroastrianism and the Zend-Avesta, or, as the author has it, with the "*Godsdienst onder de Iranische Volken*." Those who have the advantage of reading Dutch may follow the author in his

¹ *Outlines of Logic and Metaphysics*. By Johann Eduard Erdmann. Translated by B. C. Burt, Ph.D. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1896.

² *Archbishop Wake and the Project of Union between the Gallican and Anglican Churches*. By J. H. Lupton, B.D. London: George Bell & Sons. 1896.

³ *Geschiedenis van der Godsdienst in der Oudheid tot Alexander den Grooten*. Door C. P. Tiele. Amsterdam: Van Kampen & Zoon. 1896.

learned and interesting discussions and speculations on the age and the number of the books composing the Avesta; the birthplace of Zoroastrianism, the possible influence of Semitic thought on that creed; the Poet-prophets, Dualism, the Duties of the Pious, &c.

An interesting little book before us gives an account of the Cistercian monastery, Hude, near Oldenburg.¹ It appears that on the spot where Count Christian of Oldenburg was murdered, on his return from the Crusades, his relatives, in accordance with the pious notions of the times, for the "Seelenheil" of the murdered man founded a convent about the year 1232. The nuns, however, did not flourish, and the convent was handed to the care of Cistercian monks. It flourished for some centuries, and perished in evil repute in 1536; the monks of Hude, like their *confreres* in some other similar institutions, while forbidden to marry, did not abstain from loving. The picturesque ruins of the monastery are situated between Bremen and Oldenburg.

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

In furnishing us with a completely revised edition of his "Manual for Advocates and Agitators," Mr. George Jacob Holyoake—veteran and best beloved of agitators—has given us a pure delight.² It is over forty years since the first outline of this book on *Public Speaking and Debate* was published in Europe and America. These have been so many years of added experience in the career of the author of *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life*. The first edition was found helpful by men like Wendell Phillips, already severely trained by the combats of his abolitionist reform, and by the Rev. Joseph Parker, then beginning a career which may have diverged theologically from Mr. Holyoake's, but which has merited the final dedication of the agitator's work to the popular preacher.

We are not far from thinking that this may be the written work of its author destined to enter among the classics of English literature. The work which he has done, like all valiant action, will keep on indefinitely as a part of the continued evolution of society toward an ameliorated democracy. His *History of Co-operation in England*, of *The Rochdale Pioneers*, and his reminiscences of a long and active life among men making the England that is to be, will be invaluable to the historian and the student of social changes. And it

¹ *Das Cistercienerkloster Hude bei Oldenburg.* Von Dr. Georg Sello. Oldenburg and Leipzig: A. Schwartz. 1893.

² *Public Speaking and Debate. A Manual for Advocates and Agitators.* By George Jacob Holyoake. Second and revised edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

will be many generations before they cease to be entertaining to the general reader. But the interest of the art of public speaking is as perennial as mankind itself. The Crassus and Mark Antony and Brutus of Cicero's dialogues on the oratorical art are forgotten two thousand years later, and the erudite dispute their precise relationship to the men of the same names who are remembered for killing Cæsar or being loved till death by Cleopatra. But the sayings of Cicero's interlocutors, drawn from long experience of Roman speaking, are a part of the world's literary treasure.

In Mr. Holyoake's book there is a great wealth of precept, without the scholastic form, with much shrewd practical comment, and with an abundance of examples from Englishmen and Americans (sometimes from Frenchmen and Italians), whom every one has heard of. It does not matter that some of the anecdotes have been told before. They are not found in their proper oratorical connection as here ; and then Mr. Holyoake has added to them wonderfully from the retentive memory of one who has read as much as he has mixed with the orators of the day. Thus the clergy have not always been tender of his own agitation. But he has apparently listened with the greatest kindness to them in theirs, and he has brought away a mass of wise sayings and entertaining anecdotes. Perhaps only the student of technical rhetoric, who has laboured to analyse completely the mental processes of persuasion, will appreciate how far and how well this simple statement of oratorical facts corresponds with its title. But every reader will find new satisfaction with each re-reading of the book's two and a half hundred pages.

Like every work of a thoroughly practical man, the book is furnished with a table of contents for its short, orderly chapters, and a good index of both subjects and names for the *silva* of anecdotes scattered through the text. On the uses of rhetoric there is a valuable passage from one of Cobden's letters to Delane in 1864. On the nature of rhetoric Plato's definition is given, supplemented by Dr. Johnson's morality. The definition of Aristotle would have sided well with the ethical quality which Mr. Holyoake always seeks in the orator—"the faculty of seeing in a thing that which persuades (produces belief)." The logic of everyday life, delivery and gesture, "effectiveness" (Cicero's *vis dicendi*), laws and policy of debate, method in expression, tact, originality, "the outside mind of the orator," poetry in relation to rhetoric, pulpit and parliamentary oratory—all receive first a genuine and intelligible elucidation, followed by the freshest of illustrations.

Dipping at random into this little book, which is as full of thought as an egg is of meat, we find examples of what has been said on every page. Thus, on effectiveness :

"One conspicuous element of force is a defined purpose. Better say nothing than not to the purpose. No part should attract the main atten-

tion entirely to itself. The chief merit of any part is its subserviency to the whole design. When parts are praised, a speaker is said to have brilliance; when the whole impresses, he is said to have power."

This is almost a direct commentary on a vexed question in the translation of Cicero, and a model of using plain words for teachers who find it difficult to interest their classes in rhetoric as usually taught.

Of well-known public men, whose oratory is portrayed with a few bold strokes, we have Lord Beaconsfield, John Bright, Lord Brougham, in the B's alone, with instances from Joseph Barker, Henry Ward Beecher, Rev. Mr. Bellew, Louis Blanc, Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, Edmund Burke, and Thomas Burt. It is this personal element—personal on the part of the author and in the anecdotes which he brings forth from the treasure-house of his memory—which will make the book entertaining and instructive to those who never dream of speaking in public or appearing in print (there is a good chapter on writing for the press). The book is itself a monument to the experience of one who has used pen and voice for more than half a century to the unique end of benefiting his fellow-men.

Amongst the numerous written lectures delivered by the late Sir John Seeley were found two courses upon Political Science. Under the supervision of Professor Sidgwick those two series of lectures have been reduced to one treatise, entitled the *Introduction to Political Science*,¹ and the whole carefully revised by him with such corrections and alterations as the author himself would have desired in publishing his lectures in book form.

With Seeley's theory of the true functions of the historian we cannot agree. Seeley would limit the scope of the historian's inquiry to that of the political origin and growth of States, leaving the lawyer, theologian, scientist, economist, and artist each to treat of his own special department. But surely the true theory is that the historian must avail himself of the results obtained by each specialist, and describe not only the outward and political growth of the State but the inner life of the State—that is to say, the moral and intellectual development of the people, and their social and economic condition. Seeley pleads for the older and more correct use of the term "aristocracy;" but it is always difficult to change the popular meaning of a word, and he himself retains the term "democracy" in its modern acceptance.

These lectures are marked by all those characteristics of clear exposition, logical treatment, wealth of illustration, and high level of thought which we are accustomed to associate with the name of the

¹ *Introduction to Political Science.* Two Series of Lectures. By Sir J. R. Seeley, K.C.M.G., Litt. D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, &c. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

late Professor. The absence of an index and even a list of contents is difficult to understand.

We have already noticed *The Labour Question in Britain*,¹ by M. Paul de Rousiers, in the original. In our opinion this is one of the most important works upon this subject that has appeared of recent years, and the translator and the publishers are to be heartily commended for their joint enterprise. The translation, which could not be bettered, is by Mrs. Herbertson, wife of Mr. A. J. Herbertson, Lecturer at Owens College. Passages explanatory of English familiar customs and objects have been judiciously omitted.

The title of Professor Shield Nicholson's latest work, *Strikes and Social Problems*,² is somewhat misleading, since the first twenty pages only deal with the subject of strikes.

In the essay on profit-sharing Professor Nicholson seizes the real reason why this system has failed of general adoption. It is that the economic value of various so-called moral forces is altogether under-estimated. The value, for instance, of business capacity is under-rated, and efficiency is sacrificed to nominal cheapness in management.

Amongst other interesting articles not the least important are the two dealing with the Zanzibar slave question. Professor Nicholson sweeps aside the arguments put forward by the Government for the retention of the *status quo*, the old familiar arguments put forward by the supporters of this abominable traffic in the early years of this century. Mr. Chamberlain would do well to read Professor Nicholson's strictures, and act in accordance with his views.

We are somewhat disappointed with the *History of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain*,³ by Professor Burrows. It commences with the reign of Elizabeth, and concludes with the Egyptian question. To attempt to cover this period in a single volume of 360 pages of large type is no doubt courageous, but it presupposes a knowledge of history which few possess. The Professor's main object has been to trace the threads of British foreign policy, to show its continuity and its continuous development. According to the Professor, two principles have been at work—one the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe; the other the extra-continental expansion or development into a world-wide maritime power.

That the application of the former principle has been the conscious aim of English statesmen is a matter of history, but it has always been considered that our extra-continental power has been, more or

¹ *The Labour Question in Britain*. By Paul de Rousiers. With a Preface by Henri de Trouville. Translated by F. L. D. Herbertson, B.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

² *Strikes and Social Problems*. By J. Shield Nicholson, M.A., B.Sc. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1896.

³ *The History of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain*. By Montague Burrows, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

less, the result of fortuitous circumstances. As one eminent statesman recently said, we have stumbled into all the best places on the globe. At any rate, we do not think that Professor Burrows has succeeded in showing that the expansion of England has been of set design, consciously and continuously carried out.

The Professor is always interesting, but the subject is too vast to be adequately treated within such a small compass, and the main lines of the argument are not clearly brought out. This subject, above all others, demands breadth of view, a knowledge of proportion, and lucidity of treatment. In fact, a master-hand is essential, and this we miss in the work before us.

The subject of light railways is at the present moment exciting considerable public attention, and an authoritative work such as *Light Railways*,¹ by Mr. J. C. Mackay, is as timely as it is valuable. Light railways must be distinguished from "little railways." Both types may be so constructed and so worked as to entirely fail of their object. On the one hand, a light railway with the standard gauge may be far too expensive to work to pay even working expenses, much more earn dividends; and, on the other hand, a little railway may be so expensively constructed as to overwhelm the undertaking with dead capital. And, moreover, light and little are relative terms. What is light in one country is heavy in another. In laying down a line the first consideration, says Mr. Mackay, is that the railway shall be in proportion to the traffic which may reasonably be expected. By adopting a light or little railway suitable for the traffic even in poor districts, the undertaking may be made to pay its way, and, as the traffic develops, the permanent way and its rolling stock can be removed to develop another district, and the main line standard substituted.

The sole advantage of light railways is, of course, the possession of the standard gauge, but experts consider this outweighed by the numerous advantages of the little railway. Whichever is adopted, the construction and working must be of the cheapest and simplest. The present restrictions of the Board of Trade must be modified, and the heavy Parliamentary preliminary expenses curtailed. The work deals most fully with the local railways already established on the Continent, in India, and our colonies, explaining their construction, the various kinds of locomotives and rolling stock, and statistics of working expenses, together with their comparative financial results.

The Appendix contains various Reports and Imperial and Colonial Bills. The whole is elaborately illustrated with photographic plates

¹ *Light Railways for the United Kingdom, India and the Colonies.* A Practical Handbook setting forth the Principles on which Light Railways should be constructed, worked and financed; and detailing cost of construction, &c. By John Charles Mackay, F.G.S., A.M. Inst. C.E. Illustrated with Photographic Plates and other Diagrams. London: Crosby Lockwood & Sor. 1896.

and diagrams in the style with which Messrs. Crosby Lockwood & Son have made us familiar.

Classes and Masses,¹ by Mr. W. H. Mallock, the substance of which, together with the illustrations, originally appeared in the *Pall Mall Magazine*, is an attempt to render social problems intelligible to the humblest mind and to supply the platform speaker with facts to meet the arguments and demands of Radical agitators and excited Socialists. These facts Mr. Mallock considers comprise a complete answer to the dangerous commonplaces of the agitator, a conclusion which relieves the reviewer of further discussion thereon. There is much to be said for the following: "The great practical lesson which requires to be instilled into social reformers is that the tendencies of a civilisation must be studied in its effects for good on nine-tenths of the population, rather than in the absence of any such effects upon one-tenth; and that the real problem to be solved is not how to alter these tendencies, but to bring those under their influence who have hitherto remained outside it."

Just as Mr. Mallock writes from a strong individualistic standpoint, so does Mr. Statham from an equally strong socialistic in *The New Kingdom*.² Mr. Statham fails to see that everything is for the best in this best of possible worlds. On the contrary, he believes that society is capable of reorganisation and will be all the better for it. No doubt, in Mr. Mallock's eyes, Mr. Statham will appear as an "excitable reformer," but although he advocates such tremendous reforms as the nationalisation of land and mines, he writes soberly enough, and his criticisms of present society, if somewhat trenchant, are not exaggerated. What the extremists on both sides nearly always forget is this, that in certain matters individualistic effort is best at one period of a community's life, and socialistic or collective effort at another.

Mr. Storey Deans, in his *Student's Legal History*,³ has supplied a want which has been much felt since the introduction of Constitutional Law and Legal History as one of the subjects for the Bar Examination. Reeve's *History of English Law* is, although still valuable, quite out of date, and Pollock and Maitland's great work, besides being too advanced, only deals with a limited period of the ground covered. *The King's Peace*, by Mr. Inderwick, again, only deals with certain aspects of the subject, and moreover is not intended for examination purposes, but for the lay public. In fact, we know of no other book which gives in a clear, succinct, and reliable form such an accurate account of our legal history from the

¹ *Classes and Masses; or, Wealth, Wages, and Welfare in the United Kingdom.* By W. H. Mallock. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1896.

² *The New Kingdom.* By F. Reginald Statham. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd.

³ *The Student's Legal History.* By R. Storey Deans, Barrister-at-Law, LL.B. London: Reeves & Turner. 1896.

"Dooms" of the Saxons to the latest Act of Parliament. Moreover, it is not a mere cram-book ; it is the work of a scholar and a lawyer.

The Personal Responsibility of Judges,¹ by Major Greenwood, is an able little pamphlet, in which he comes to the conclusion that absolute judicial irresponsibility is not in accordance with the civil law, or with what has hitherto been regarded as the law of England, or with public policy. Major Greenwood does not deal so fully with the English cases as Mr. Hugh H. L. Bellot has done in his recent article in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, nor does he distinguish them with the same care ; but he considerably strengthens the case for judicial responsibility by his precedents from the civil law which the latter writer, perhaps from want of space, omitted.

We have also received *A Contribution to the Study of a Constant Standard and Just Measure of Value*,² by Mr. T. N. Whitelaw, which is an argument against bimetalism and in favour of a similar proposal, with some minor exceptions, to that advocated by Mr. Fonda in *Honest Money*, noticed by us recently.

The Path of Progress,³ by Mr. W. D. Macgregor, is an attempt to combat Mr. Blatchford's Socialism, as represented in the pages of *Merric England*. To our mind Mr. Macgregor is almost as extreme on the one side as Mr. Blatchford is on the other.

Dr. Jameson's Raid,⁴ by the Rev. James King, will be welcome to those who desire a short impartial account of the history of this disastrous expedition, the consequences of which are now being seen in Matabeleland.

¹ *Personal Responsibility of Judges*. By Major Greenwood, M.D., LL.B. London : Geo. Barber.

² *A Constant Standard and Just Measure of Value*. By T. N. Whitelaw. Glasgow : P. Donegan & Co.

³ *The Path of Progress*. By W. D. Macgregor. Manchester : John Heywood.

⁴ *Dr. Jameson's Raid*. By the Rev. James King, M.A., B.D. London : G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 1896.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

If the author of the book entitled *Ulster as it Is*¹ represents—as he apparently believes he does—enlightened political opinion in the north of Ireland, what must be the condition of the mass of ignorant Orangemen and party zealots in the northern Irish province? These two volumes are written by an Englishman who, during a quarter of a century, has been engaged in journalistic work in Belfast; and though he claims to be a “Liberal,” it is evident that his associations have converted him into a bitter opponent of the Irish Nationalists, and a hater of every form of Irish nationality. Now, the excitability of the Celt shows itself in a more disagreeable aspect in Belfast than in either Dublin or Cork. It would have been well for the population of the city for which Mr. MacKnight appears to have conceived a great affection, if it had heeded the advice of the Ulster poet, Dr. Drennan, when he said :

“Drive the demon of Bigotry back to his den.”

The author of these two volumes plumes himself on his absence of bigotry; but we fear he regards everything so much from the Ulster point of view that he cannot realise the odiousness of even the moderate bigot in an age like this.

His glorification of Belfast may pass without hostile criticism. Its prosperity is creditable to the industry of its inhabitants; but it must not be forgotten that, as Protestants, they have had everything in their favour for the past two centuries. Many of Mr. MacKnight's general propositions are exceedingly illogical. For example, he emphatically declares that the United Irishmen were not Irish Nationalists, and he gives the following reason for this statement: “The descendants of these men ought to know what political convictions their fathers and grandfathers held on the great Irish questions of the time. They one and all told me that their ancestors at the end of the last century were not Irish Nationalists, but that the most advanced of them contemplated setting up a cosmopolitan republic, based on the principles enunciated in Paine's *Rights of Man*.”

With all respect for Mr. MacKnight, we cannot assent to the view that the “descendants” of persons who took a prominent part in Irish politics a century ago are the best judges of their opinions. The *acts* and *public utterances* of the United Irishmen are a far more reliable test, and these certainly belie Mr. MacKnight's statement.

¹ *Ulster as it Is*. By Thomas MacKnight. Two Volumes. London: Macmillan and Co.

It is amusing to find the author of this book referring to Mr. Gladstone patronisingly as one who excited his "youthful enthusiasm and with whom it was delightful for him to co-operate." Of course, Mr. MacKnight is at daggers drawn with Mr. Gladstone, the Home Ruler; but we certainly think that sympathy with Protestant ascendancy in Ulster—for that is what it amounts to—has far more to do with this Northern journalist's dislike to Home Rule than reason or sincere conviction.

When he lauds the Union he ignores the damning fact that since the passing of the Act which abolished the Irish Parliament Irish industries have decayed, and that for the past half century the bone and sinew of the population of the country have been forced to fly for the means of subsistence to a foreign land. When Mr. MacKnight seeks to taunt the late Isaac Butt for being guilty of a fallacy in desiring Home Rule while regretting that Galway is not like Glasgow, he should remember that the circumstances of Ireland and of Scotland are entirely different.

The book deals in a partisan spirit with the political events of close on thirty years. As might be anticipated, Mr. MacKnight can see no good in Fenianism. He wisely refrains from entering into the controversy about Mr. Parnell's struggle to retain the leadership of the Irish party. Mr. Balfour is, of course, a political hero in Mr. MacKnight's eyes. A great portion of the two volumes is made up of political dialogues, no doubt genuine reminiscences. On the whole, we can see no rational ground for the publication of this book, unless it be to exhibit to the world the narrow-mindedness and intolerance of even the moderate Liberal Unionist of Ulster.

We may venture to treat the late Matthew Arnold's *Discourses in America*¹ as a work of an autobiographical character. It is perhaps unfortunate that everything connected with the life of this good and gifted Englishman is not known. His *Letters*, published not long since, only reveal a small portion of his mental history. In the little volume now before us we have his views on the true value of numbers in a community, on the relative importance of literature and science, and on Emerson's position as a representative of Transatlantic thought and culture. The book is, from beginning to end, a characteristic piece of self-portraiture. It enables us to gaze into the depths of the author's mind as if into a mirror; and certainly we cannot fail to admire the loftiness of Matthew Arnold's ideal, even if we disagree with many of his views. The discourse entitled "Numbers, or the Majority and the Remnant," is specially important at the present time. It commences with the startling admission that there is "some plain, robust sense and truth" in Dr. Johnson's

¹ *Discourses in America*. By Matthew Arnold. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

epigram as to patriotism being the "last refuge of a scoundrel." Matthew Arnold observes: "We do often see men passing themselves as patriots who are in truth scoundrels; we meet with talk and proceedings laying claim to patriotism, which are these gentlemen's last refuge." The main drift of the discourse is that salvation for every community lies in the soundness and virtue of the remnant, which, in the midst of corruption, remains uncorrupted.

He brings forward as upholders of this very doctrine, Isaiah and Plato; and he ingeniously points out that, whereas in ancient Greece and in Judea the "remnant" must necessarily have been very limited in number; it is comparatively large in such great modern nations as England, France, and America.

While expressing his admiration for all that France has done for humanity, he dwells with much severity on certain tendencies of modern French literature which appear to him demoralising. As a matter of fact, Matthew Arnold misunderstood the character of realistic fiction, and at no time was he a reliable authority on the subject of the novel. His weakness for generalisation misled him here, and he falsely assumed that France was an unchaste nation because it had produced a crop of novels dealing with sexual relations.

The proposition that the study of literature is more important than that of physical science, owing to its power of relating what we have learned and known to our sense for conduct and our sense for beauty, will receive assent amongst most persons of true culture; but it is to be feared that, in his criticism of Darwin's intellectual characteristics, Matthew Arnold exhibits only a superficial acquaintance with the subject.

The estimate of Emerson is probably a little exaggerated. He is described as a sort of modern Marcus Aurelius—the truth being that this over-rated American essayist was the slave of platitudes, and that nearly all his philosophy consists of second-hand aphorisms. Matthew Arnold, however, proves his possession of the critical faculty by clearly showing that "we have not in Emerson a great poet, a great writer, or a great philosophy-maker; that his literary talent is much inferior to that of Hawthorne; and that his strong points are to be found in isolated sentences resembling boulders." What we find it hard to understand is how the author of *Literature and Dogma*, after such admissions, finds it logically open to him to lay down that Emerson's "relation to us is of even superior importance" than would be that of a great poet or a great philosopher. Can it be that his object was to throw a "sop to Cerberus"—in other words, to cast some balm on Transatlantic *amour-propre*? Incidentally some injustice is done to Carlyle, who, whatever Matthew Arnold may have thought, is a really great writer. Altogether, this volume

shows the strength and weakness of its author. Matther Arnold was a critic of the highest order, a man of deep poetic sensibility, and the possessor of a noble and beautiful style, by which alone his works must live. But he lacked robustness of intellect. He was over fond of fads, and, in spite of his extensive classical and literary acquirements, he was deplorably ignorant of the extent and depth of the achievements of modern science.

Alexandre Dumas Père was a most industrious man of letters. His romances are so numerous that even to give their names would be a difficult task; and, when not engaged in writing historical fiction, he devoted himself to collecting materials on which the historical novelists of the future may work. Mr. H. S. Nichols, whose enterprise in the publication of rare books calls for special commendation, has brought out a superb English version of *Celebrated Crimes*,¹ a monumental work, in which the elder Dumas has displayed very great research. It deals with the history of the Borgias, with the career of Mary Queen of Scots, with the strange life of Joanna, Queen of Naples, and with other personages not perhaps so well-known, though entitled to a prominent place in the annals of crime.

The book of Dumas is by no means a mere Newgate Calendar. The author displays not only an extensive knowledge of the history of the various periods with which his narratives happen to be associated, but a masterly skill in unravelling mysterious occurrences where the facts have become obscured by tradition, prejudice, or lapse of time. Take, for instance, the subject of *The Man in the Iron Mask*. Here we find, instead of a romantic story, a minute bibliographical study of one of the most extraordinary and puzzling events in modern history. In other cases, Dumas falls into his accustomed rôle of historical romancer, and, when reading the story of Martin Guerre and that of the notorious Marquise de Brinvilliers, we are conscious of being under the spell of the enchanter who gave us *Monte Christo* and *The Three Musketeers*.

Certainly, Dumas has his shortcomings, just as Scott had. The best criticism of him we have ever met is embodied in a remarkable passage in Gustave Flaubert's posthumous novel, *Bouvard et Pécuchet*—a work which we should gladly welcome in an English version, as it is perhaps the only specimen of French fiction which displays as high an order of humour as *Don Quixote*, or *Gil Blas*, or *Gulliver's Travels*. Perhaps Mr. Nichols, who has recently published an admirable illustrated English translation of Flaubert's *Tentation de Saint-Antoine*, may be induced to try a similar experiment with *Bouvard et Pécuchet*.

Flaubert belongs to a later and more critical school of writers

¹ *Celebrated Crimes*. By Alexandre Dumas. Eight Vols. London: H. S. Nichols.

than Alexandre Dumas Pere, and, no doubt, his comments on the romancer's blunders are over severe. We may forgive much to the man who has given us so much delight by his picturesque historical tales. In the present instance, we have to deal with Dumas as a historian, and, though he is rather conventional, and inclined to accept the archives of bygone days without applying to them a very close or logical analysis, his work on *Celebrated Crimes* is just as interesting as any of his romances.

Mr. Nichols has brought out the work in eight beautiful volumes, with photogravures from designs specially prepared for the purpose by M. Jacques Wagrez. As none of the ordinary editions of Dumas contain this important work, all collectors who desire to possess a complete collection of the writings of the author of *Monte Christo* will be sure to purchase the eight volumes so splendidly printed and illustrated by Mr. Nichols.

The Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century,¹ gives some very interesting information as to the actual condition of slaves in that colony two hundred years since. It would seem that a universal—or all but universal—belief prevailed at the period, both in England and America, that the African race possessed no qualities entitling them to occupy any higher position in life than that of servitude to civilised white men. This idea was at the root of the system, and explains why negro slavery was long regarded with such complacent indifference, for nearly two hundred years. At first the term "slave" was kept out of the Statute-book, and it was not until many years after the introduction of the negro into Virginia that the word was introduced. The first charter for the acquisition of slaves granted in the seventeenth century to an organised body by the English Government was in 1618, when the exclusive privilege was conferred on the Earl of Warwick and his associates of carrying on the traffic on the Guinea coast. In 1663 the slave-population of Virginia was not above 1500; yet so numerous had the slaves become towards the close of the century that a planter stocking a new plantation with slaves was not compelled to rely entirely on the merchants engaged in the importation of negroes. We learn that a young negro man was in 1682 appraised at £26 and a young negro woman at £27. The strength of the feeling against treating the negro as an ordinary human being is shown by the reply of a lady of Barbadoes to Godwyn, the author of the *Negro and Indian's Advocate*, that he "might as well baptize puppies as negroes." In some respects the negro slaves of Virginia were better treated in the seventeenth than those of the nineteenth century, for they were better fed, and, in many other respects, less harshly

¹ *The Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*. Two Vols. By P. A. Bruce. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

treated. Indeed, the planters appear to have been, as a body, just and humane to their slaves. Still, there were examples of great cruelty. Samuel Gray, a minister of the Gospel, bound his runaway slave—a mere boy—to a tree, and compelled another slave to beat him till he died. There were cases in which infants were torn from their mothers, and the fact that many negroes committed suicide may be taken as evidence of their ill-treatment. The account given by Mr. Bruce of the domestic life of the planters and of Virginian industries at the period will be read with interest, and he has evidently devoted enormous attention to the collection of his facts. The chapter devoted to the exchange system of the colony is a curious one. It shows that up to the year 1700 only the crudest ideas prevailed on this subject amongst the planters, and that tobacco was the only standard of value.

M. Edouard Richard's book on Acadia¹ deals with a theme which is not quite new; but he has treated it in a way which throws much additional light on the subject. The book is well described on the title-page as "Missing links of a lost chapter in American history." The persecution of the Acadians inspired the muse of Longfellow, and the author of this work gives the prosaic history of matters which are either idealised or transmuted into romance in "Evangeline."

Under the title of *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*² Mr. E. A. Wallis-Bridge presents us with a series of translations of the Ethiopic histories of Alexander by the Pseudo-Callisthenes and other writers. The variety of legends with regard to Alexander affords matter for curious speculation. According to one account he was an Egyptian, and the son of the last native king of Egypt, Nectanebus II. Another version describes this Nectanebus as a magician. There are also Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Siamese, Syriac, and Armenian versions of the Alexander story. In the Ethiopic version, with which the author specially deals, Alexander was a Christian king, and he is credited with a chastity equal to that of Sir Galahad. The probability is that the Ethiopic translator received the story through Arabic from the Greek, and that the Greek took it from some Semitic source. The author of this "Christian romance" was a monk, and his object was manifestly to Christianise every act of Alexander's life. Mr. Bridge's book is a monument of scholarship. The notes in the volume show his profound knowledge of Oriental languages.

It would be hard to find a book more useful to the student of French social life during the Revolution period than M. Gustave

¹ *Acadia: Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History.* By Edouard Richard. Two Vols. New York: Howe Book Co.

² *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great.* By E. A. Wallis-Bridge. Cambridge: The University Press.

Isambert's work, *La Vie à Paris pendant une Année de la Revolution* (1791-1792).¹ The author has vividly sketched the characteristics of the time. He has described the costume, the fêtes, the cafés, the theatres, the clubs of Paris in that memorable year which preceded the more terrible and tragic crisis of the Revolution. The book will be found pleasant reading, not only by the author's countrymen, but even by English readers who have no objection to perusing a book written in the French language. Our only difficulty in reading the work was with the announcements of Parisian *modistes* at the period, which are given verbatim by M. Isambert. To us they appeared to be expressed in a jargon which, to ordinary minds at the present time, must be all but unintelligible.

BELLES LETTRES.

MESSRS. GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS have issued the first volume of what promises to be a most complete edition of *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*²—that meteoric genius, the record of whose brief, brilliant, but unhappy life exercises no less a fascination over the reader of biography than do his tales and poems over lovers of the weird and picturesque, and of whom it has nevertheless been said that the events of his life are variously related, and all that can be told with certainty is that he was poor. The present volume is enriched by an appreciation of "the genius of Poe," by a life of the poet by R. H. Stoddard, by an article by James Russell Lowell, by an account of the death of Edgar A. Poe by N. P. Willis, and by those characteristic dissertations by the author on "The Poetic Principle" and on "The Rationale of Verse;" and among the contents are the miscellaneous poems, including the memorable verses on "The Raven," "Lenne," "The Bells," "The Haunted Palace," "Israfel," "Dreamland."

A Primer of Tennyson, with a Critical Essay,³ is precisely the sort of book that ought to be placed in the hands of a student of either sex who wishes to pass beyond the mere enjoyment of the melody

¹ *La Vie à Paris pendant une Année de la Revolution*. Par Gustave Isambert. Paris: Ancien Librairie, Fermer Ballière et Cie. F. Alcan, Editeur.

² *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. With an Introduction and a Memoir by Richard Henry Stoddard. Vol. I. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 1896.

³ *A Primer of Tennyson*. With a Critical Essay. By William MacNeale Dixon, Litt. D., A.M. LL.B. London: Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, W.C.

and surface meaning of musical verse to a more serious study and mature appreciation of the mind and method of the great poet. The list of dates and bibliography will be of great service to readers of all ages.

*Schoolmasters' Sketches*¹ is a booklet, published by Messrs. Cassell & Co., which contains some delightful reading about the humours of a schoolmaster's life. The calling, under poorly paid conditions, especially in country districts, is not without its pathetic circumstances, and these are deftly sketched by Mr. Macnamara in a way that opens our eyes and excites our sympathy without conveying the unpleasant sense of being invited under the guise of light literature to listen to complaints and grumblings.

In *The Heart of a Mystery*² we find a powerful and deeply interesting tale, of a kind somewhat going out of fashion, with plenty of plot and incident, and with serious intention, though not obtrusive. The interest and attention of the reader are at once riveted by the opening chapters of the Prologue, which describe the home-return of a castaway of good family, who has disgraced her proud and unrelenting sisters, the latter suddenly having revealed to them a little of the tragedy of life.

Readers unacquainted with the original language will owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. T. Fisher Unwin for placing within their reach another notable Italian novel—*Malombra*,³ by Antonio Fogazzaro. We have always endorsed the opinion that it is better to read a good translation—and with the present one by Mr. Dickson there is not much fault to be found—than to labour unduly with the text and to lose the thread of the narrative. Those, therefore, who know a little Italian, while they can afford to spend many days over *I Promessi Sposi* and a dictionary, will doubtless prefer to follow in English this less classic, but not less romantic, tale of love and tragedy, of cavern, cathedral, and castle—of all the elements of Italian fiction.

We have also received from the same publisher *Good Reading about Many Books, mostly by their Authors*, in which the delightful idea of making authors talk briefly about themselves and about their latest book is still further elaborated in a second instalment; *Moff*, by J. Tweeddale, in which the author upholds the standard of the "Century Library" by relating "the vexinest thing that's happened at Preencod for at least yae month o' Sundays"; also two volumes of the "Autonym Library": *A Marriage by Capture*, by Robert Buchanan, and *Sleeping Fires*, by George Gissing—short stories sufficiently recommended by the names of the writers.

¹ *Schoolmasters' Sketches*. By T. J. Macnamara. London: Cassell & Co., Ltd. 1896.

² *The Heart of a Mystery*. London: Jarrold & Sons, 10, 11 Warwick Lane, E.C.

³ *Malombra*. By Antonio Fogazzaro. Translated from the Italian by F. Thorold Dickson. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square.

"There are no countries in the world less known by the British than these self-same British Islands, or where more strange things are every day occurring, whether in road or street, house or dingle." Such is the key-note of George Borrow's writings, the novelist who, as Augustine Birrell observes in his Introduction to the present volume, had a true English heart. Who else, indeed, could begin a passage with "O England," and yet in the end not fall into bathos? And yet it is not as a stylist or a literary artist that Borrow continues to charm, but by brilliant originality and sparkling humour—by "the elixir of life" and "the glory of motion." The present edition of *Lavengro*,¹ illustrated by E. J. Sullivan, and with an introduction by Augustine Birrell, Q.C., M.P., is worthy the permanent reputation of the writer.

Dr. Congalton's Legacy.² This is a new novel by the author of *Chronicles of Glenbuckie*, concerning which, it appears, Professor Max Müller wrote that, though he rarely read stories, he had found the tale a real treat—"full of life and full of those simple human feelings which form the soul of all true poetry." The present volume gives us rural scenes and characters and incidents in North Country byways, and is in no way inferior to its predecessor, either as regards sympathetic insight or refreshing sense of humour.

*Battlement and Tower*³ is a rousing romance of no ordinary merit, dealing with the stirring times of the Commonwealth, and in particular with the taking of Conway and the expedition under St. Pol. Notwithstanding the large number of tales written about the days and doings of Prince Rupert, in these episodes of the Civil War, the scenes of which are laid entirely in Wales, the author has distinctly taken new ground, and, having reared his fabric of historical romance on careful and industrious research, may be congratulated on having written a book because he had really something to write about.

"He sat down again by her side, and she whispered three words in his ears which seemed almost to transport him into the seventh heaven of bliss—"I love you." Evidently an appropriate book for Leap Year this *Trapped by Avarice*,⁴ and we may add that this wholesome and pretty tale will do no harm to anybody, and will afford pleasure to many.

¹ *Lavengro, The Scholar, The Gypsy, The Priest*. By George Borrow. Illustrated by E. J. Sullivan. With an Introduction by Augustine Birrell, Q.C., M.P. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

² *Dr. Congalton's Legacy*. A Chronicle of North Country Byways. By Henry Johnson. London: Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, W.C.

³ *Battlement and Tower*. By Owen Rhoscomyl, author of *The Jewel of Ynys Galon*. With Frontispiece by R. Caton Woodville. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co.

⁴ *Trapped by Avarice*. By Helene Grimshawe. London: Digby, Long & Co., 18 Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C.

Stripped of the Tinsel,¹ by J. E. Maddock, is, needless to say, a novel of considerable power, and one not likely to be overlooked by those who wish to read a graphic and original "Story of Bohemia." "In the under-depths of everyday life," says the author in his preface, "there are incidents startling enough to be found by him who knows how to look for them; and the lives of the denizens of Bohemia are often tinged with a certain romance, even weirdness." So, in pursuit of this realistic or naturalistic object, that of "placing before my readers graphic and untinselled pictures of certain phases of life," the writer plunges into such scenes and situations as are sufficiently indicated by the chapter-headings: "In a River-side 'Pub,'" "A Bohemian Haunt," "The Tomb of Dead Hopes," "Blotted Pages from a Wasted Life," "A Sunday Supper at St. John's Wood," "At Cleopatra Villa," "Peccavi," and "Treading on Delicate Ground," which latter title might, perhaps, so far as the majority of readers are concerned, be taken as the motto of the book with even more propriety than the actual legend which adorns the fly-leaf: "It's a damned wicked world, Sir Oliver, and the fewer people we praise the better."

*Juanita Carrington*² is a new sporting novel by an authoress, Mrs Robert Jocelyn, who is already well known to most readers of light literature—light in the sense of being amusing and vivacious. The chapters, which seem to communicate something of the exhilaration of the hunting-field, are for the most part appropriately capped by quotations from Whyte-Melville. The buoyancy and breeziness that characterises the book as a whole is scarcely spoilt, but perhaps is rather heightened and made more real and life-like, by the undercurrent of contrariety and disappointment. "Alas, how easily things go wrong."

Mr. B. W. Ward has chosen an excellent subject and an exciting period for his *Sir Geoffrey De Skeffington, a Romance of the Crusades*;³ but unfortunately he has been anticipated by one Sir Walter Scott. A tale of old English life, introducing us to Prince John and to his treatment of Jews and others, to Robin-a-Dale and his doings in the merry green wood, and which takes us to Palestine and treats us to glimpses of the Old Man of the Mountain, King of the Assassins, and of Saladin, after planting us, in the opening chapter, in a woodland dell (the very swineherd is not far to seek), is surely a little *de trop* even in these days when standard literature is rudely jostled by modern trash. We have searched diligently for merit in this

¹ *Stripped of the Tinsel*. A Story of Bohemia. By J. E. Maddock. London: Digby, Long & Co., 18 Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C. 1896.

² *Juanita Carrington*. A Sporting Novel. By Mrs. Robert Jocelyn. London: Digby, Long & Co., 18 Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C.

³ *Sir Geoffrey de Skeffington: or, a Romance of the Crusades*. By B. W. Ward, M.A. (Dublin). London: Digby, Long & Co., 18 Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C.

amalgamation of feeble reminiscences of *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*, but have been forced to the conclusion that the most important part of this book is its dedicatory epistle.

A work entitled *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*,¹ edited by Dr. Robertson Nicoll and Mr. Thomas J. Wyse, of which the first volume has now appeared, will supply some facts about English authors of which even enthusiastic students of literature may be ignorant. In the first volume the painstaking editors give an account of the curious trial of William Blake, the celebrated painter and poet, for sedition. It would seem that a common soldier accused Blake of "damning the King," and he had to stand his trial on this charge. As Blake was a friend of Tom Paine, he, no doubt, may have incautiously expressed in public some contempt for George III. (surely that would have been perfectly justifiable?) but those were days of panic, and there were fears lest the artist's life might be forfeited. However, he was acquitted. The sketch of the poet, Thomas Wade, and the specimens of his works given, will enable many to form an estimate of one of Shelley's most passionate admirers. We must, however, express our own view on the subject, and to us it seems that, though his admiration for Shelley was genuine, he possessed none of that great lyricist's genius. Most of Wade's sonnets are poor stuff, and his "Helena" is a very feeble echo of one of Keats's most beautiful poems. The correspondence of Walter Savage Landor with Lady Blessington, with poetical fragments and the correspondence of Shelley and Leigh Hunt, will, of course, attract all lovers of literature. There is in the volume a very elaborate contribution towards a Bibliography of Browning's works.

The publications of the English Dialect Society are not only useful, but interesting. We have received three volumes, in which we have found much out-of-the-way information. *A Glossary of Words Used in East Anglia*,² by Mr. Walter Rye, though professing to be only a mechanical collection of dialectical expressions, shows a thorough knowledge of the subject. The work is founded on that of the Rev. R. Forby, but many ordinary words included in his collection are judiciously omitted. We find amongst the words in this glossary "dash" in the sense of abash, "daunt" in the sense of knock down or stun, and "duffer," which means a cross-bred pigeon. In ordinary English we sometimes hear these words used in much the same sense. We speak of a silly person as a "duffer." Perhaps we find the origin of this slangy expression in the East Anglian word, for a cross-bred pigeon must be an inferior species of bird. It is curious to find that the word "dame," once an honour-

¹ *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*. By W. Robertson Nicoll, LL.D., and T. J. Wyse. Vol. I. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

² *A Glossary of Words used in East Anglia*. By Walter Rye. London: English Dialect Society.

able designation of women of high rank, is now, when used at all, only applied to the lowest in the district where the dialect prevails. The Rev. Walter Skeats is an indefatigable toiler in this field of linguistic research. His *Nine Specimens of English Dialects*¹ include a Devonshire poem entitled "Jim and Nell," which has some real pathos in it, not unmingled with homely humour, though the language is exceedingly difficult to follow, even with a glossary. *John Noakes and Mary Styles; or an Essex Calf's Visit to Tiptree Races* (date 1839); *A Day in the Haaf* (Shetland dialect), by Samuel Hibbert, an Edinburgh physician, and some good specimens of the Yorkshire dialect. The Durham dialect, as far as we can gather from the remaining volume,² contains some very curious expressions, for which it is not easy to find analogies. Take the phrase, "We cannot *back-cast* it," which is sometimes used of illness in the sense of "We cannot order it differently now." The word more usually means a relapse. A bumble-bee in this district is called a "bummeler." Who would imagine that "fley" meant scare, or "fladges" snowflakes? Such language we may expect to find amongst the Durham miners, of whom the Rev. Mr. Palgrave has, we are glad to find, a good word to say.

*Old Caleb's Will*³ is a pleasant little story with a certain "temperance" interest in which everything is made to end happily. We might object, if in a hypercritical mood, that the second title is better than the first, as the latter seems to promise a good deal more excitement than it actually affords. Several times we seem to have arrived at a crisis as to the disposal of Old Caleb's money, but nothing results. Most of the workmanship is given to the two characters of Robin Cardew, whom Old Caleb saves from beggary at a decisive moment of his life, and his sister Janet. Both make a gallant struggle against early difficulties; both at last find happiness; and, through their courageous and persistent goodness, the Cardew family triumphantly surmounts a long and trying time of eclipse. We only wish Old Caleb himself had been spared to us rather longer—there is more human nature in him than in any of the other figures, who are really somewhat colourless. They all, however, illustrate the victory of good over evil, which is, in spite of prejudice to the contrary, an excellent motive for a story of human life, though its attractions seem lately to have paled before the attractions of its opposite—the triumph of evil over good.

¹ *Nine Specimens of English Dialects*. Edited by Rev. W. W. Skeat. London: English Dialect Society.

² *A List of Words in Every Day Use by the Natives of Hetton-le-Hole, in the County of Durham*. Edited by the Rev. F. M. T. Palgrave. London: English Dialect Society.

³ *Old Caleb's Will; or, the Fortunes of the Cardew Family*. By Frances Armstrong. London: Jarrold & Sons.

There is, by the way, a rather pretty bit of love-making in chapter xi., which is one of the best scenes in the book.

*Dame Prism*¹ is an American story for girls, mainly turning upon the old expedient of a lost will, which, when found, puts "the first last," and mercilessly throws down after raising up. It is pleasantly and brightly written for juveniles, but other people, we are afraid, would find it rather long, and its studies of feminine nature (or ill nature) somewhat petty and commonplace. We cannot say either that we are enamoured of the illustrations, which in *Old Caleb's Will* distinctly add to the effect of the story.

¹ *Dame Prism*. A Story for Girls, By H. M. Matthews. New York: F. A. Stokes & Co.

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF SUNDAY OPENING.

(Continued.)

THE Editors of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW are happy to continue the publication, begun in the May number, of the important communications received on the present position of the question of opening museums, art galleries, and libraries on Sundays. The names of the writers alone will show how justly they were described at the beginning as "leaders of this reform movement": the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Hereford; M. Yves Guyot, former Minister of Public Works in France; and the following vice-presidents of the Sunday Society: the Rev. Alex. Webster, M.A., St. David's parish, Edinburgh; the Right Hon. Jacob Bright, of Her Majesty's Privy Council; the Rev. Bernard J. Snell, M.A., B.Sc., Brixton Independent Church; Mr. J. Allanson Picton, late M.P. for Leicester; Mr. Felix Moscheles, one of the first London artists to open their studios on Sundays to the Sunday Society; Dr. Moncure D. Conway, L.H.D.; and Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Chairman of the International Arbitration and Peace Association; Mr. H. Rutherford, barrister-at-law (Deputy-Chairman of Committee); Mr. Frederick Long (Treasurer); and Dr. W. H. Corfield, M.A., M.D. (Oxon.), Professor of Hygiene and Public Health, University College, London (Chairman of Committee). The Right Hon. Professor Max Müller, also a Vice-President, draws the conclusion in a single kind word: "I was glad to help the Sunday Society as long as it was uphill work. The ball will now roll by itself." Further communications will be published in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for July.

6. *From the Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD.*

THE PALACE, HEREFORD, *May 12, 1896.*

DEAR SIRS,—I desire to see our English Sunday continually observed as a day of rest and refreshment and rational freedom, to be anticipated from week to week with interest, as a day of bright associations, and not a dull and depressing day. At the same time,

I should object to anything which would tend to destroy its character as a day of religious or spiritual influence.

Consequently I desire that, as far as possible, all workers should be relieved from their ordinary burden of daily work, and all the idle classes should cease on this day from their strenuous pursuit of amusement. The opening of museums, gardens, libraries, and public galleries for some convenient portion of the day, can hardly fail to contribute to the quiet, refreshing, uplifting, and reverent use of it, and therefore I heartily support it.

J. HEREFORD.

7. *From M. YVES GUYOT.*

DEAR SIRS,—As you remind me that I took part in the Conference held in Paris by the English Sunday Society in 1885, it is natural for you to think that I may have something to say upon the Sunday opening question; but really I have very little to say. I was induced to take part in the first Conference by the late Dr. John Chapman, who, with Mr. Mark H. Judge, called upon me to explain the object of the Sunday Society in sending a deputation to Paris. That object seemed to me to be so reasonable that I could not refuse my co-operation, and the result was that the information sought for by the Sunday Society was obtained. A series of questions was drawn up and submitted to the President of the Municipal Council of Paris as to the result of Sunday opening in Paris, more especially as to the labour involved, and whether the attendants were employed consecutively for more than six days a week. The statistics obtained proved that, whatever else the "Continental Sunday" as observed in Paris might be answerable for, the employment of the attendants for seven days a week could not be laid to its charge.

To open museums on Sundays is such a matter of course in France that to find arguments for it would be like seeking reasons to justify the right of the citizen to labour on Monday. What we had to say was said at the second Paris Conference, of 1889; and, as the present situation in France remains as it was then, I may, perhaps, with propriety quote from the report of the proceedings which appeared in *Galignani's Messenger* of Nov. 3, as follows:

"The Sunday Society of London invaded the French capital yesterday, and held a conference, Mr. Mark H. Judge, the hon. secretary of this London organisation for opening museums and art galleries in England, explaining that the object of the visit was to obtain reliable information as to the success, or otherwise, of the opening of the great Exhibition on Sundays. Mr. Judge referred to the conference which the society held in Paris in June 1885, in connection with the statements which up to that time had been industriously circulated in England by the Sabbatarian societies, to the effect

that the opening of museums in Paris led to the continuous work of the attendants for seven days a week. These were so conclusively proved to be false that they have since been given up by the Sabbatarians themselves. The statistics furnished to the conference by the President of the Municipal Council of Paris in 1885 showed that the authorities, while providing for the Sunday recreation of the people, were not unmindful of the weekly rest required by the attendants. It was of some importance to the Sunday opening movement in England that the real facts connected with Sunday opening in Paris should be known. Since the conference of 1885 several additions had been made to the institutions open on Sundays in England, and four public libraries were now open in London on that day, but as yet the people were shut out of the British Museum, the Natural History Museum, and the National Gallery, though, oddly enough, the people of the metropolis could take a journey by train, when the weather permitted, and visit the national museums and galleries at Kew, Hampton Court, and Greenwich. Any evidence of the good done by the opening of the Exhibition on Sundays would be of service to the movement for a more rational observance of Sunday in England.

“M. Yves Guyot, Minister of Public Works, remembered the conference of 1885, and said that no change had taken place in France since then in the direction of greater labour on Sunday. Indeed, the tendency was quite in the contrary direction. He was absolutely ignorant of any section of the French people wishing to see such a marvellously instructive and entertaining collection as that gathered together in the Exhibition being closed at any time when the people had their leisure to visit, much less on the day of their greatest leisure. It was difficult for French people in their own country to appreciate the necessity of considering this question as having two sides.

“M. Marc Millas, the general secretary of the Foreign Sections of the Exhibition, said that the only results of the Sunday opening of the Exhibition had been good, and in his opinion, but for this and such like opportunities of spending Sunday profitably, the weekly holiday would often prove to be a curse rather than a blessing. He knew of no single Frenchman who would dream of closing such a place as the Exhibition on Sundays. There was undoubtedly a tendency in France to reduce Sunday labour, but it was not confined to Sunday, as the desire extended to reducing the hours of labour on other days. It was quite a mistake for any one to suppose that those who promoted the movement for reducing Sunday labour in France were opposed to the opening of museums and similar institutions on that day. To do so would take away one of the reasons for resting from ordinary work.

“Dr. John Chapman said it would be very satisfactory to Mr.

Judge and his colleagues in London to hear that practically the Sabbatarian sentiment was non-existent in France."

As I said, the situation in France is as it was in 1889; but I rejoice to know that the situation in the United Kingdom has changed for the better, and I congratulate the English people, and the Sunday Society in particular, on the successful result which has followed their labours for the opening of museums and picture galleries on Sundays.

YVES GUYOT.

8. *From The Rev. ALEX. WEBSTER, M.A.*

The recent victory gained in the House of Commons will no doubt come to be looked back upon as a turning-point in the religious history of this country, for it will greatly help to bring about a still truer, broader, and healthier treatment of the long vexed question of Sunday observance. I am inclined to believe that the opinions a man holds upon this question alone might be taken as a tolerably accurate index to his conceptions of the whole Christian religion, which is a religion, not of legalism and literalism, but of liberty. The opponents of a reasonable Sunday appear to be in their temper and spirit quite analogous to the Judaizing party in the early church who caused St. Paul so much trouble and grief by their narrowness and their persistent contentions for a religion of dry-cut rules and ceremonialism. On the other hand, those who advocate freedom from bondage to the letter and a religion of reverent joyfulness appear to be in line with the great Apostle and with the Founder of Christianity; for there can be no doubt that Christ Himself not only practised but recommended to others a manner of observing the day of rest which was not Sabbatarian, as this term has come to be understood. Hence the charge flung against him by the Pharisees that he was a Sabbath breaker. Since then there have always been and still are these two parties in the church. We find at the present time numbers who denounce the recent vote in the House of Commons as being only another of the many signs they can point to that the country is going downhill to destruction and the devil. These alarmists need not be much heeded; they will have their day and cease to be after they have served their purpose, which is to be obstructionists and to exemplify the law that progress is made of antagonism.

Although Scotland has been long noted and quoted as a country where Sabbatarianism is to be seen exhibited in its extreme forms, yet within the past quarter of a century or thereabout a wonderful change has been going on in the opinions and practices of the Scottish people. The history of Sunday observance in Scotland would form an interesting chapter if it were fully gone into. Fifty

years ago Dr. Thomas Guthrie, when he went to preach in the Highlands, quite shocked the family he was living with when he asked for some hot water for shaving purposes on the Sunday morning. About thirty years ago a proposal to throw open one of the Prince's Street gardens of Edinburgh, that people might have a pleasant walk through them on their way home from church, was met with much fierce opposition on the part of clergy and laity together; but by-and-by the thing was done, and after the storm there came to be a great calm, because people saw that none of the prophesied evils took place. Later on, after the successful meetings held in Edinburgh by the Sunday Society, when Mr. Mark Judge and other friends from London attended, a proposal to throw open the Botanical Gardens on Sundays at non-church going hours was similarly declaimed against from pulpits and platforms; but the thing was done, and it is now seen by all thoughtful Christians to have been a step in the right direction.

Quite recently there has been a renewed outbreak of Sabbatarian feeling in the northern metropolis against cycling and golf playing, as also against a proposal to have bands playing, and sacred music in the public parks on Sundays, at non-church going hours. Judging from the past, there can be little doubt that the prejudices and the bigotry of the Scottish people will be gradually melted away and a new era ushered in when the Sunday will be made, especially for the young, a day of gladness rather than of gloom, as it has too often hitherto been. The spread of education, the influence of the press, foreign travel, and many other causes will work together to lead people to think more for themselves and to claim their right of private judgment, allowing no priesthood to overawe them or to hold them in subjection to ecclesiastical authority. The opening of museums, picture galleries, and public libraries on Sundays will now be put upon its trial, and it is to be hoped that few, if any, will be found abusing, instead of using, these privileges that have been extended to them. Let it be distinctly understood that the object of the Sunday Society (of which I have the honour to be a member) is not to draw people away from the churches, or to make them any less religious, but rather to make their religion, their Christianity, of a more comprehensive and more beautiful type, and to enable many to have a pleasant as well as profitable Sunday who have hitherto been without the resources to make such a day for themselves.

A. WEBSTER.

April 18, 1896.

9. *From The Right Hon. JACOB BRIGHT.*

SIRS,—At your request I am happy to give to the readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW my views in regard to the opening of

museums on Sunday, especially as your magazine was one of the earliest advocates of this reform.

When the subject has been before the House of Commons, one or two voices from among the Labour members have been raised against the proposal on the ground that the acceptance of it would tend to increase Sunday labour, and would, therefore, be prejudicial to working men.

I do not think there need be any fear of such a result. The whole tendency of modern thought is in favour of greater freedom, shorter hours, and happier surroundings for working people. What is called the "religious difficulty" still remains. Whilst in Parliament I never failed to vote myself in accordance with the precept laid down by Christ—"It is lawful to do well on the Sabbath days"—and it has always been a matter of astonishment to me that so many "religious" people seem in this matter to be so irreligious.

Some little time ago I was visiting one of the strongest opponents of Sunday opening. He is a very "religious" man. He lives in a splendid house in a beautiful part of England. His home is surrounded with picturesque gardens. He has green-houses and hot-houses, and abundance of rich fruit and flowers. He has horses and carriages, and is in the full enjoyment of every luxury which a well-filled purse can supply. Yet he would withhold from the poor people of London on their only day of leisure the right to enter their own national museums. Are they not their own? Is there a poor washerwoman anywhere, who buys her two ounces of tea, who does not in her little measure contribute to their maintenance? Why, then, must they be excluded from these treasures of art and science? The repose my friend is able to enjoy, the refinement, the cultivation of the artistic sense in which he may revel, are conspicuous only by their absence from the daily toil and the unsanitary dwellings in which the majority of those who have crowded to the South Kensington Museum, during the last three Sundays, are compelled to live. Is it wise to keep from the mass of the London population such means of education as are furnished by the South Kensington Museum, the British Museum, and the National Gallery?

In this matter of the observance of Sunday a very great change of opinion is making itself felt. Larger and more charitable, more social, and more sympathetic views and feelings are coming into play. We observe our neighbours across the Channel, and we see that the way in which they regard Sunday does much to give harmony to family life. Instead of sleeping away half his day, the French workman is up betimes on Sunday, and takes his wife and children to picnic in the Bois de Boulogne or the gardens at Versailles. In Berlin the many pleasure gardens around the city are full of little tables, where fathers and mothers and children eat their Sunday meal together, and enjoy the music provided.

The fact that the dulness of our climate makes this sort of excursion a rather doubtful pleasure, except for a short period of the year, is a reason for providing every possible source of innocent enjoyment within doors. The large, well-warmed, well-aired halls and galleries of our great national museums furnish exactly what is wanted for the comfort, the instruction, and entertainment of our people.

We must go on as we have begun until we have thoroughly convinced the most "religious," as well as the most brutalised, of our population that a day spent among the beauties of nature, or in the galleries crowded with the art treasures and the curiosities of science, is perhaps as instructive to the moral and spiritual nature as are the sermons preached in some so-called "places of worship," and can be made more attractive than even the grog-shop.

JACOB BRIGHT.

April 20, 1896.

10. *From* The Rev. BERNARD J. SNELL, M.A., B.Sc.

SIRS,—You are kind enough to ask me for a note on the recent victory in the matter of the Sunday opening of the national treasure-houses. As a Congregational minister, who has taken a keen interest in the subject for the whole of my ministerial life, I am glad that this unobtrusive movement towards rational and Christian liberty has been crowned with the success that was inevitable all along. The opening of great public possessions on the day on which the great majority of the public can avail themselves of their privilege of entrance has seemed to me as natural of acceptance as the famous Spanish decree: "Every honest man is hereby commanded to go to dinner when he is hungry." The sight and study of beautiful things does not desecrate Sunday; what desecrates Sunday is the same as that which desecrates any other day.

It has always been a pain to me to contrast the dreary wilderness into which Sunday has been resolved in many of our towns, with the delightful hours which, in various European capitals, I have spent with the interested throngs of people passing through their galleries. And I have asked myself, Who am I, that I should deny like privileges to visitors to our towns? Surely the dominant note of a weekly Sabbath has ever been rest and refreshment. The nature of the Sunday rest must depend upon the nature of the week's work; any hard toiler easily ascertains what rests and refreshes him the most. Happily the origin of the Sabbath is religious; in other words, it is meant to be a boon and blessing to men, not a burden. We want to make the most of its blessing, to enjoy it thoroughly, and to fill its hours with opportunities of wholesome relaxation and uplift from the wearying and often degrading grind of the week's work.

I do not anticipate an immediate revolution from this latest move

towards light and freedom ; but I am glad to have borne a share, however modest, for the last twenty years, in helping to make Sunday somewhat more sunny and less dreary for some section of my fellow citizens. It has not been always easy, even for a Congregational minister, who enjoys considerable liberty, to speak and write on the subject. Sundry mild anathemas have been spilt harmlessly over my head. I would not willingly have missed the educative influence of association with a movement like that of the Sunday Society, which has been so irrationally belaboured with abuse. It was good to "suffer fools gladly," when one felt so sure of the result to be gained ere long.

BERNARD J. SNELL.

BRIXTON, *April 25, 1896.*

11. *From Mr. J. ALLANSON PICTON.*

As I write these lines, the National Gallery is for the first time made available for the nation on the only day of leisure in the week. The occasion has an interest even greater than that of the previous opening of the national museums. For the embodied ideals of beauty, heroism, aspiration, faith, hope, and charity amongst our art treasures, gathered from many centuries and many lands, are surely richer in inspiration than any collections of natural history or antiquities. That there ever was an age when rulers thought they were doing God service by locking up the works of his painter prophets on Sunday will in another century or two be one of the difficulties of historic belief.

The difficulty will be all the greater because in the drier light of the future all will see what only a few appear to see now, that the book to which rulers have appealed as a sacred authority is entirely against them. The fate of the New Testament is curious in many ways. Not only the critic and the commentator have affected its interpretation. The verse divider, the heading writer, the printer with his capitals and his italics, have played their part. It remains only to recognise the binder. His function has been most important. For by putting two volumes into one cover he has compelled thoughtless readers to presuppose a sort of unity which does not exist. One result of this has been that the Sabbath superstition of the Jews has cast its shadow over the Christian protest against it, and forced non-natural interpretations on the teaching of Jesus and his apostles.

As to Jesus himself, his indignation against the Sabbath superstition is just one of those traditions concerning Him which commend themselves as probable by the stamp of originality. The men who were bent upon identifying Jesus with the predicted Messiah were not likely to invent the story which tells how, when forbidden to

heal on the Sabbath, "He looked round about upon them in anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts." The attitude of St. Paul, the secondary founder of Christianity, was in this respect at any rate quite in accord with that of Jesus and perhaps even more pronounced. To "observe one day above another," was in his view a sign of weakness in the faith. In fact, from the beginning to the end of the New Testament there is not one word urging the observance of any day as sacred; but there are many words to disparage and discourage any observance of the kind.

On the other hand none are more anxious than the members of the Sunday Society to recognise that the custom of confining labour to six days in the week has a sanction stronger and more abiding than that of any creed or sacred book. It has the sanction of proved adaptation to human needs. He who would merge the day of rest in the hurly-burly of competition is more sacrilegious than any heretic. But rest includes more than idleness or somnolence. The breathing of purer air is good both for body and soul. Those who listen to a great preacher, not a spinner of words, but one who can unfold the divine side of facts, are certainly breathing a purer air than on the Stock Exchange. No one denies that they are making a good use of Sunday. We only claim that they who in the National Gallery to-day gaze on the works of Raphael, Michael Angelo, or Turner are likewise breathing a purer air and recreating their souls also by an unfolding of the divine side of fact.

J. ALLANSON PICTON.

May 3, 1896.

12. *From* Mr. FELIX MOSCHELES.

"Why not open your studio to the Society some Sunday afternoon?" said that indefatigable champion of man's Sabbath rights, Mark Judge. That was about seven or eight years ago. I thought the suggestion excellent, and an early date was fixed for the new departure. Some musical friends—stars of the first magnitude—volunteered their services, and an attractive programme was arranged. A few words on the pictures and a little personal conducting sought to redeem the shortcomings of the studio and its contents. Since then the former has frequently been open to the Sunday and other societies of a kindred nature, my visitors being recruited from all classes of society.

Whether these gatherings have had the civilising influence we hear so much of on those of our uncultured friends whom it is our mission to transform from barbarians into Philistines I do not know; but I have no doubt of the excellent effect the contact with them has produced upon me. And that is one of the many reasons why I heartily welcome the work of the Sunday Society; it removes one of the

obnoxious barriers that separate the classes. So far all have enjoyed equal rights as regards going to church or chapel; now none shall be excluded from museum or gallery. Then, again, the Society leads us an important step forward. It assails a monopoly and introduces universal suffrage into the realms of Art. In a variety of ways the "Barbarian" is daily adding to his store of knowledge; he is learning to reason and to debate, to organise and to govern; his voice must already be listened to in matters political; now, too, his vote shall be taken in matters artistic.

How will he use his opportunities? At first sight the prospect might appear discouraging. It is at least open to question whether during the last century Art has risen to a higher level in those countries where the worker has had unrestricted access to its temples. But that applies to the past, when the toilers were in leading-strings; now they are wide-awake and will, I have no doubt, make their influence felt. New demands will create novel supplies. There must necessarily be a marked difference in the choice and treatment of subjects, when intended to meet the æsthetic requirements of the over-fed, or when meant to satisfy the unsophisticated desires of the under-fed. The latter will no less love the thing of beauty than the former, but they will want more; they will expect Art to speak up for them.

So far it is ever the picturesque aspect of poverty that has been exploited in order to make it acceptable to the drawing-room. Few and far between are the artists who have championed the cause of the poor and down-trodden.

"What, are you painting for the Royal Academy?" we are asked. "Yes," we say; "we *are* painting *for* the Royal Academy. That means: pictures that the man with the million will buy, and the million with the shillings will flock to see."

To these a rendering of the sandwich-man, as I have attempted it, could not be acceptable; nor the title, "Our Slaves: In the year of our Lord 1896!"

Skeleton cupboards must be kept closed. Those living sign-boards, as they wade through the mud, crushed and spiritless, like mutes at their own funerals, are out of place in fashionable gatherings. All things must be beautiful and soothing. "If you give us your sandwich-man," they say, "paint a sweet little girl by his side; let her be accompanied by her graceful and elegant mother, to form a contrast with his threadbare appearance. Then put a touch of true sentiment. Give the little girl a Bath-bun, and let her stop to share it with the hungry old man, her tender eyes beaming with the light of charity." Yes, that is the correct rendering. "The mother will beam on the sweet child, the sandwich-man will beam on the Bath-bun, and surely the public will beam on the picture."

In former days Art had a mission, besides that of producing the

Beautiful. The grand old masters glorified the ideals of their times; Christianity and its dogmas and symbols, patriotism and its corollary, bloodshed. What will inspire the heaven-born artist of the future? Will not his mandate come from the people? At any rate, we are justified in hoping that those Sunday afternoon Art Services will assist in the evolution of that religion which is to unite men. In the meantime we who love art will be content with less, and truly grateful if they help us to struggle out of the bondage of the beaming Bath-bun period.

FELIX MOSCHELES.

13. *From* Dr. MONCURE D. CONWAY, L.H.D.

More than thirty years ago, while carrying about a petition in London for the opening of South Kensington Museum on Sundays, I met with an unexpected rebuff from a grocer in my neighbourhood, well-known as a Freethinker. He resolutely refused his signature on the ground that he did not wish to relieve the people of any of the burdens imposed on them by the superstitions they permit to remain established. "The heavier the oppression," he argued, "the sooner they will become disgusted with the whole thing. Every time you soften a pinch here and there, you give a fresh lease to the source of all the evils—Christianity." Some years after, John Bright remarked to me that many leading men, who were not Sabbatarians, kept apart from the Sunday-opening movement from a feeling that it was animated by some hostility to Christianity, and I remembered my freethinking grocer, and expressed the belief that Christianity has lost a good deal of hold on the hearts of the people by its association with the remnants of gloomy and oppressive superstitions, chief of these being the lock-and-bolt Sabbath.

But I did not sympathise with the grocer's method, and now count it an important part of our triumph that it has been gained largely by the aid of the clergy, and under the presidency over our Sunday Society of an eminent English canon. Under the presidency of the late Dean Stanley the cause made grand strides, and I am tempted to relate a little anecdote. At a meeting over which the Dean presided, a considerable number of clergymen being present, Professor Tyndall made an earnest speech, in the course of which he said, "We only want *part* of Sunday for intellectual improvement!" The Professor at once became aware of his unwitting reflection on the unintellectual uses of the day and tried to hurry over it, but the Dean broke into a laugh, the clergy joined in, and Tyndall had to wait till the merriment subsided. A great deal of hard missionary work had to be done, through weary and discouraging years, before we could witness that scene of leading clergymen and men of science taking up a much reviled cause and helping it on to the high-road of

success. The triumph means a great deal besides the opening of museums and art galleries. The dark and cruel Sabbath had gradually drawn into itself all the relics of idolatry; it was the last visible idol able to demand human sacrifices, and whose authority was palpable, able to override political justice, religious liberty, and human happiness. The very groans under its yoke seemed to inspire its devotees as so many testimonies to its sovereignty over reason and right, and all merely human interests. That the surrender is so largely attributable to religious teachers is a notable indication of the advance of a real, a human, religion. Early in the last century Dean Swift remarked that, considering that the established religion was founded on the union of divinity with humanity, it was wonderful how little of either of them was in it. After some five generations since Swift's pregnant satire we witness this clear step towards that ancient ideal.

Our antagonists in their declarations that this measure would prove the "thin edge of the wedge" were no doubt quite right. If so entrenched an oppression as that of the puritanical Sabbath can be taught that it must undergo devolution into an institution "made for man," we need not despair of seeing its less guarded kindred undergo similar transformation. English religion is driven by tremendous forces of necessity on its hedonistic path; nothing can find security in an abstract or barren sanctity. Institutions must derive their authentic consecration from their actual human service, and no resource can long be withheld by potency of a sacred seal.

The new Sunday will not fail to pass into a fruitful development of its own. The pulpit especially is likely to be largely stimulated by the breaking up of its long monopoly. The preacher must come in competition with the great masters, the interpreters of truth and beauty, with lovely madonnas and saints, with wondrous records of humanity, and the realities of nature. The religious guides must study and expound these newly revealed scriptures. After all, poor "Tom Paine" may turn out to have been something of a prophet when, at the close of his much-denounced *Age of Reason*, he wrote: "Every part of science is a text as well for devotion as for philosophy, for gratitude as for human improvement. It will, perhaps, be said that if such a revolution in the system of religion takes place every preacher ought to be a philosopher. *Most certainly*; and every house of devotion a school of science."

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

14. *From Mr. HODGSON PRATT.*

HOW TO UTILISE THE VICTORY.—It is all important to make the most of the great opportunity for popular education in its best

sense, achieved through the courageous and untiring efforts of the men who have been at the head of the Sunday Society and Sunday League. The opening of our national museums and galleries, on the only day of the week when the bulk of the population can use them, raises the question, *how they should be used.*

I have long felt that a large proportion of those who have been able to visit these collections of art and science, derive but little advantage from the privilege. In saying this I do not refer to the small minority of persons having the advantage of high culture, or to students and teachers in the technical sense of those words. To these latter our museums render great and special services which cannot be over-stated. What I desire to call attention to is the fact that the splendid treasures of nature and art collected from every part of the globe, through great efforts and expenditure, do not render those widespread benefits which they might be made capable of rendering under proper conditions. They might aid the economic, artistic, and scientific progress of the nation to an incalculably greater extent than at present, if the right means were taken. They do not and cannot yield the fullest profit without some special agency on that behalf. The gates of the buildings are open, but the mind's eye to see and understand their contents is too often closed. A person ignorant of music might as well hope to derive enjoyment from looking at the printed score, as to obtain knowledge and delight from inspecting a case of minerals or anatomical preparations, if he knew nothing of either. It must not be forgotten that the South Kensington Museum has long been open on certain evenings of the week for the admission of the general public; and, whenever I have been there at such times, I have come away with a heavy heart. I saw men and women surrounded by marvels of beauty, and by objects eloquent of the past which were as a sealed book to them.

As some indication of what might be done to remedy this great defect, I will now describe an experiment which has been tried with great success.

About twenty-five years ago, the Council of "the Working Men's Club and Institute Union" commenced the organisation of Saturday afternoon visits to private and public museums, galleries, historic buildings, and public works, under the guidance of eminent specialists. The members of the clubs had the great enjoyment and mental stimulus of hearing such men as Professor Flower make "dry bones live" at the College of Surgeons, Hepworth Dixon call forth great events at the Tower of London, Dean Stanley vivify the glories of Westminster Abbey, and Huxley illustrate *Design in Nature* at the Museum of Practical Geology. Painters, engineers, architects, and scientists were always ready to give these inestimable services whenever we asked them.

Now, why should not some such aid be rendered, on fitting terms

and conditions, to the millions who will in future visit our national collections on Sunday afternoons? Not only would thought and inquiry be stimulated, but elevating enjoyment be thus provided for vast numbers. A certain proportion of these would follow up the interest awakened in them by resorting to private study and public classes. Others would, from this starting-point, become inventors and discoverers—to their own advantage and to that of the nation. In proportion as primary and secondary education advances, so will the study of our treasures of art and science be made to yield abundant fruit, through the services of human finger-posts.

I would therefore suggest, that the organisation of such peripatetic teaching be taken into consideration by the educational authorities and all interested in the true progress of our country. Those entrusted with the management of the museums might be placed in communication with a special committee nominated for the purpose, to report on the best means of giving effect to the above suggestions. This committee should consist of persons known for their services to education, representatives of science and art, as well as of working-class organisations. They would have to consider whether at certain times there should be delivered addresses by professors and other competent persons, as an introduction to the actual inspection of objects; and what popular hand-books and explanatory catalogues should be prepared for general circulation, in addition to those already extant; also whether admission to these oral explanations should be confined to persons applying for cards, so that only those should be present who desire it.

Perhaps these few words may serve as a basis for further consideration and for some practical action.

My thesis is simply this: that our great museums should be rendered as useful and delightful as possible to that vast number of our fellow citizens henceforth admitted to them on the day of rest and recreation. The culture which they would thus receive, by its very nature, harmonises with, and ministers to, that moral and religious culture which is essential to man's completeness and happiness.

HODGSON PRATT.

15. *From Mr. H. RUTHERFURD.*

The concession now made by the Government and the gradual extension of like privileges by municipal authorities point to greater liberality of thought and to some advance in education and refinement among the people. It is now more than forty years since a resolution was passed in the House of Commons in favour of giving facilities for visiting on Sunday afternoons the treasures of the nation. And yet subsequent resolutions with the same object in view were, until that

passed in March last, invariably defeated, although one such was a few years since carried in the House of Lords.

Not long after the date of the original resolution the men of London formed, for the opening of museums on Sundays, the "Sunday League." It was so well supported that other objects, tending towards greater freedom on Sundays, were gradually added to its programme. Later on, those members who thought that the original purpose of the League was worthy of undivided attention, formed a new organisation, and constituted the "Sunday Society." Of the operations of this society I am very cognisant, and while we may claim to have done something as a society, the members will readily admit that to the indefatigable zeal, self-sacrifice, and originating genius of Mr. Mark H. Judge, Hon. Secretary throughout, the success achieved must in all fairness be largely attributed.

Then other associations, more or less in touch with the above, were formed in the provinces, and some municipalities commenced to open on Sundays their local collections. Indeed, the opinion in favour of instructive recreation was always more largely held than was supposed, though many objected to commit themselves to overt acts. In view of this, it gives me especial pleasure to call attention to overt acts by those whose position might well have caused them to hesitate. I refer to clergy of the Church of England and to ministers and pastors of other denominations, for all have been represented among our supporters. It is surely to their credit that over and above a liberal spirit of toleration, they should have openly testified that admission to our public galleries could in no sense be hostile to religion, but rather that it opened an "avenue leading to its temple." In truth, are not those really hostile to religion who seek to establish it by unreasonable teachings and harsh observances? It is therefore much to be deplored that for generations opportunities of culture and of advances towards a better life have been so persistently denied; and this in a vast city where for several months in the year those institutions would have been a most welcome resort, a resort where husband and wife, parent and child, could have collectively viewed the wonders of the world, interchanged thoughts, and indirectly strengthened family life.

No doubt excellent people feel bound by their construction of the Fourth Commandment, but in regard to its connection with rational recreation, their view is surely a case of "reading in" what is not there! Such a construction is contrary to the opinion of educated Jews, who testify accordingly. The more general objection is that of Sunday labour; but this will be but slight, it must be infinitesimal in proportion to the numbers benefited, and in any event is worthy of its cause.

The action of the Government will have various good effects. It will at once remove a sense of injustice; it will enable the more

cautious clergy to declare themselves and thus throw them into closer sympathy with the masses; and it will assist in modifying the honest prejudices both of clergy and laity who, in command of Provincial Institutions, have not yet made them accessible to their constituents.

In removing a reproach to the nation a good deed has been done. It will bear fruit now, and it will bear more with advancing time.

II. RUTHERFURD.

16. *From Mr. FREDERICK LONG.*

SIRS,—The Sunday Opening of Museums, like most reforms, was advocated for many years before the question became one of practical politics. In the early seventies, however, to a larger extent than ever before, the Sunday question began to receive the serious attention of thoughtful and moderate men; many influences had contributed to this, not the least important being the attention then given to public education as the result of the passing of the Education Act of 1870.

When, in 1875, the Sunday Society was formed, it was determined to confine its objects to the opening of museums, art galleries, and similar places on Sundays. The programme was made thus clear and definite, in order that no school of thought might be excluded, as had been inevitable in the older organisation, which had the opening of museums on Sundays as only one of its proposals in connection with the use of Sunday.

Fortunate in securing, in Mr. Mark H. Judge, the services of an Honorary Secretary whose ability and energy and whose untiring assiduity can only be known to the other honorary officers and members of the Committee who have been intimately associated with him, the Sunday Society at the very commencement attracted to itself a considerable number of influential supporters, and within twelve months of its establishment such leaders of thought as Dean Stanley, Professor Huxley, Professor Tyndall, Professor Fawcett, the Rev. William Rogers, and Mr. J. A. Roebuck, were working in its ranks.

After the Society came into existence, it never failed to put in an appearance at the annual gatherings of the Social Science Association, and very valuable papers were read on its behalf at every Congress held subsequent to 1875. In the list of members of the Sunday Society will be found many leading representatives of the working classes, and for years the Society was in close union with the liberal section of the delegates attending the Trades Union Congress, the outcome of this being the adhesion of the Congress to the Sunday opening movement. In this connection, it may be well

to point out that in its demand for access to the national museums on Sundays, the Sunday Society has always maintained that this facility might, and ought to, be given under conditions which should insure to the attendants one day's rest in seven. It is a matter for regret, therefore, that the Society was not consulted in connection with the drafting of the resolution submitted to the House of Commons in March last; had this been done, I cannot help thinking the resolution would have been more definitely worded, so as to exclude the possibility of an arrangement under which attendants might be tempted for a trifling gain to work continuously for seven days a week.

Nevertheless, the intention of the resolution of Mr. Massey-Mainwaring was manifest, and the Society threw itself heartily into the work of bringing pressure to bear on the House of Commons to secure its favourable consideration. Not only did it send a carefully prepared petition to the House, which was presented by Sir John Lubbock, but it spared no expense in the matter, and copies of the petition were forwarded to every member of the House. It is an interesting fact that after the passing of the Motion, Members of Parliament wrote for extra copies of the Sunday Society's petition as the best reply to constituents who had written to them objecting to their vote in favour of the resolution.

In estimating the various influences which have contributed to the growth of opinion among the moderate and thoughtful section of the community in favour of a more reasonable use of Sunday, the first place I think must be given to the Sunday Society's work in influencing the more open-minded of religious thinkers. The action of Dr. Randall Davidson, when Bishop of Rochester, in bringing the Sunday Society's petition before the Convocation of Canterbury, and the searching and exhaustive enquiry which followed thereupon, resulting in the unanimous report of the Committee of Convocation that religion had nothing to fear from the opening of museums on Sundays, has done more than anything else in recent times to convince the most cautious that the extension of our liberties, advocated for so many years by the Sunday Society, might safely be granted, and thus made victory in the House of Commons possible.

FREDERICK LONG.

16. *From* Professor W. H. CORFIELD, M.A., M.D. (Oxon.).

SIRS,—Your request that I should contribute something for publication in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW on the present situation of the Sunday Question has reminded me of the fact that it is eighteen years ago since I first took an active part in the movement for opening museums on Sundays on my election as Chairman of the

Committee of the Sunday Society ; and perhaps it will help to a realisation of the great advance that has been made since 1878 if I refer to some of the utterances which we then had to meet, and which to-day would be considered out of date even in the Lord's Day Observance Society.

Reference to the back numbers of the *Sunday Review*, which was regularly published by the Sunday Society for fourteen years, clearly shows this. For instance, in February 1877, the Rev. John Gritton, the Secretary of the Lord's Day Observance Society, published a letter in opposition to the Sunday opening of museums, in which the following passage occurred : " Collections of statuary and paintings are quite as likely to inflame the passions as to purge the life. Why is it that, in lands where the people have been permeated with the influences of natural beauty and artistic beauty for generations, you find percentages of murders, illegitimate births, and suicides, in comparison with which our English percentages are small almost to vanishing point ? " Mr. Gritton has been succeeded by the Rev. Frederick Peake in the secretaryship of the Lord's Day Observance Society, and, though the new Secretary is a stickler for a Puritan theological Sunday, and is in doubt as to whether it is permissible to whistle on a Sunday or not, he has not, so far as I am aware, ventured to suggest that the collections of art and science contained in our national museums are in themselves evil in their influence. Mr. Peake and his Society appear to have so far advanced that they not only tolerate the museums on week days, but even advocate their opening in the evening in order that " working men may enjoy the *advantage* of visiting the national collections of science and art." With them the wrong now comes in when the collections are made accessible on Sunday.

The views of the Sabbatarians are of importance in considering the present situation, as it is their views we have to contend against in our efforts to obtain an amendment of the old Lord's Day Act of George III., which is now fortunately receiving attention at the hands of Lord Cross's Select Committee.

The Sunday Society consider that the Act should either be repealed or so far amended as to make it conform to modern ideas. There is no demand for making the Sunday like the other days of the week ; indeed, it was the fact that the Sunday is a day of leisure from ordinary work that led to the demand for open museums and galleries.

If any one really wants to understand the position now taken up by the Sabbatarian party in this country, he cannot do better than read the evidence given on their behalf before the Select Committee last year, as published in the Report of that Committee (No. 1715, page 97 of Blue Book). The following question put by Lord Thring, with Mr. Peake's answer, perhaps illustrates the position as well as

any single question and answer would do: "I ask you whether you think it is a rational scheme that a man who has worked hard during six days of the week, a man who is quite capable of intellectual enjoyment, whether you think he ought to spend, or that it is his duty to spend, all his Sundays in going to church and visiting the sick?" To this question Mr. Peake gave the following answer: "Yes; I should say it is his duty to remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy in that way."

Now when one bears in mind that this evidence is given in support of the maintenance of a law which has been used for the purpose of closing science and art exhibitions on Sundays, and for suppressing Sunday lectures on literature, science, and art, on the plea that the promoters are "keepers of disorderly houses," one hardly has patience, however honest and well-meaning the persecutors may be. But we may view the situation calmly, for now that the national museums and galleries are being visited by thousands every Sunday we may be sure that the days of the Act of George III. are numbered.

We of the Sunday Society are persuaded that the result of opening museums and picture galleries on Sunday will be such that they will never be closed again on that day, and as time passes on the wonder will be greater than it is to-day, that so rational a reform should have been so bitterly opposed.

No one has worked harder to bring about this result than Mr. Mark H. Judge, who has been honorary secretary of the Society since its formation, and it is now proposed to give him a public testimonial in appreciation of his work. A committee has been formed, consisting of those who have been Presidents of the Society, together with the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Treasurer—viz., Rev. Canon Barnett (Chairman); Duke of Westminster, K.G.; Earl of Rosebery, K.G.; Earl of Carlisle; Earl of Dunraven, K.T.; Sir John T. Brunner, Bart., M.P.; Sir James D. Linton (President of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours); Sir Henry Roscoe, F.R.S.; Sir Henry Thompson, F.R.C.S.; Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P.; Mr. Holman Hunt; Mr. H. Rutherford; and Mr. Frederick Long; and I have consented to act as honorary secretary and treasurer.

W. H. CORFIELD.

THE PRESENT SACRIFICE OF EDUCATION.

OF all the quickening impulses that tend to increase the true vitality of a nation, of all the factors that make up the sum of its progress, none can rank higher than the education of its members.

Nor is it sufficient for the nation's well-being that some of its citizens should head the world's Honours List in this or that department of knowledge. Desirable as this must always be, and highly as we rightly prize such distinction, there is a less conspicuous form of knowledge that is even of more importance to the nation who desires to hold its own in the ever-increasing struggle for life, and this factor of the highest importance is none other than the degree of education that has been reached, not by its exceptional men, its leaders, and its geniuses, but by its average citizens. It is easy for us to assimilate the learning of the specialists of other nations who may be superior to our own, but the nation's real superiority must depend, not upon the relative rank of its greatest thinkers when compared with those of other countries, but upon the superiority of the average individuals who make up its population.

Mr. Balfour is supposed by many to have discovered and given to the world, in his *Foundations of Belief*, the time-honoured platitude that all individuals accept most of their knowledge, or let us say beliefs, no matter what the subject of such belief may be, upon authority. This has always, and must ever be so; but on practically every matter that occupies the mind or life of mankind there are conflicting authorities.

Now, so far as these matters come within the range of practical or semi-practical life, each individual is called upon to decide between the opposing authorities.

How, then, is he expected to do this? Apparently not upon mere authority, for else why the floods of argument from both sides which deluge the country upon all such occasions?

It might be and is considered desirable by many that all such questions should be decided from the authoritative standpoint; but for good or for ill, whether we like it or no, the spirit of submission to authority has gone, and the man in the street is daily less and less inclined to settle the point he has to decide on authority alone.

Hence the ever-growing number of public meetings, the constantly increasing circulation of information by means of newspapers and periodicals of all kinds.

Mr. Herbert Spencer has truly said that no Government can be wiser than the average of its component constituents; nay, that no Government can go beyond the point indicated by the average wisdom of the citizens by whom it has been elected. It is therefore the first duty of a nation who wishes to advance, to see that this average wisdom is fostered and increased by every means in its power; that having given to its citizens the right to say "Yes," or "No," to this or that proposal, it should see that each citizen so empowered should have his chances of arriving at a false and consequently retrograde decision reduced to the irreducible minimum.

To reach this end it is not sufficient to place before him the *pros* and *cons*, invaluable as this may be. He must, further, be enabled to weigh the relative importance of such statements and counter-statements, and this, leaving out of the question the gifts of nature, can only be done by a constant increase in the standard of education.

Every one who has any knowledge on any special subject is well aware how frequently an argument resting on a fallacious premiss is viewed by another unequipped by the special knowledge required as a convincing and irrefutable statement, and where the decision to be taken upon such a subject only affects the individual thought, it is perhaps of little consequence; but where that decision will affect the practical life of every citizen, where every citizen has to arrive at a decision one way or another, the danger to whole classes of the community becomes at once very real and apparent.

Take for example the various socialistic theories and tendencies that are steadily growing up amongst us. If the Socialist gospel be a true one, who would seriously wish to hinder its acceptance? if it be false, of what vital importance to a nation that its promises should be shown to have no basis in fact?

Such theories can never be settled by the methods of the German Kaiser; they can be met in two ways only, either by practical experience, or by the upholding or refutation of the grounds upon which they are built, sounding not in the ears of those who are unable to see the force of such contentions, but sinking into the minds of men who are in a position to appreciate them. And as we have before said, such appreciation, such power to arrive at just decisions and wise judgments, though it is not the gift of education, can only be fostered by it.

Yet what do we find in England at the present day? Instead of its endeavours being to promote the all-round education of its people, we find the educational platform encumbered with the *debris* of

sectarian struggles ; instead of its Government straining every nerve to increase the wisdom of those who are its final judges, we find its head adopting with a cynical openness a policy of avowed crippling of the Education Department. Instead of those who profess to be the teachers of religious truth seeing that the truth can never be obscured by fuller knowledge, we find them unblushingly advocating a system of levelling down the opportunities of learning rather than of raising them, and the large proportion of the ratepayers aiding and abetting the policy of false economy, instead of recognising that with every increase in the average degree of education attained by themselves and their fellows, and by this alone, can their national wisdom and prosperity be increased.

The problem has resolved itself into a vicious circle ; the ratepayers, owing to their general ignorance, are unable to recognise the true economy of every expense which aids the growth of the collective wisdom of their nation, and this ignorance in its turn ensures the ignorance of the rising generation.

Then, again, we have the spectacle of the dignitaries of the Church of England, who, though certainly not individually adverse to education, are yet, owing to the paramount importance they attach to the promulgation of their creed, forced into an unholy alliance with those who care for nothing but their own pockets, and we find these dignitaries actually petitioning Lord Salisbury that the means of education may be restricted rather than allow the superior advantages offered by the Board schools to compete successfully with the Voluntary schools.

It cannot, at least, so it seems to the writer, be denied that under the existing compromise the really sincere Churchman has a distinct grievance.

He is compelled to contribute to the support of schools that by the superior opportunities they offer to parents, children, and teachers, are competing with his own schools, and competing so successfully that, apart from protective legislation, the result can only be the entire extinction of the latter in their present form. And further, at these rival schools the religious instruction, to which he naturally attaches such vital importance, is of a kind which, from his point of view, entails much error and, it may be, danger to its recipients.

Now, there can be no denying that this is an act of injustice to the sincere Churchman, who believes that in his Church he has a special instrument for ascertaining what he looks upon as revealed truth. Where the Churchman errs is in imagining that the condition of affairs can be really bettered by shifting this injustice off his own shoulders on to those of some other no whit less conscientious individual on the other side.

In the same way, neither Churchman nor Nonconformist ever

appears to recognise the injustice to the Jew, Agnostic, and Free-thinker, that the present arrangement entails, who are forced to pay towards the instruction of children in beliefs which they conscientiously hold to be erroneous and harmful.

It is really idle to talk of compromises as though they afforded any permanent settlement of the difficulty. By their very nature they can but be temporary measures. People or nations enter into compromises because neither feels strong enough to carry his own views, and the best of compromises is but an armed truce, to be ended as soon as either party feels himself in a position to get his own way. This we have seen in the action of the Diggleites, who, having obtained a majority, immediately set themselves to work to undermine the existing arrangements so far as they concern the religious instruction of the scholars. Though their attack has partially failed, there is no guarantee that it may not be renewed with more success at some future date.

Another evil in all compromises is that they invariably leave out of their consideration all but the strongest of the many opposing forces. Thus, the feelings and wishes of Jews, Agnostics, Free-thinkers, and others are quietly ignored by the stronger combatants when they are settling their own differences; yet these weaker portions of the community must be accredited with a degree of sincerity and conscientiousness no whit less real than those of their opponents, and the only scheme that can be permanent is one which inflicts no injustice on any of the law-abiding citizens of the State.

Now, the only possible solution of the problem that can be at once just to all and permanent is the omission altogether of religious instruction from the curriculum of the State secular schools whilst affording every opportunity for its absence from these being supplied in other ways.

If religious instruction be necessary at all, it is evident that it cannot be relegated to Sunday alone. If it is good for Sunday it is equally good for Monday and every other day in the week.

Some means must therefore be found to give those children whose parents desire it the opportunity of having daily instruction in the particular form of religious teaching they affect.

A simple plan would be to commence the work in the State secular schools an hour later than at present, so that the children might have time to first attend at their existing Sunday school.

Such schools and classes might, and indeed must, be under Government supervision, and a grant might be made to them, subject to a subscription limit in accordance with their results.

The essential point to be observed, however, is that the authority, call it School Board or by any other name, that controls the question of religious instruction, shall be entirely separate and distinct from that which governs the national secular instruction, and that the

members of the one board shall have no voice in the councils of the other. By this means, and by this only, can the advance of our national wisdom be safeguarded against the insidious attacks and the fatal mismanagement of men who now look upon the main end of education as nothing more than the inculcation or non-inculcation of certain doctrines. There can be no gainsaying the fact that in national education we are behind the more advanced of our continental competitors, nor can it be denied that in England the cause of true education has always been sacrificed to that of so called religious instruction ; indeed, nothing is clearer than that many of the educational movements in this country have been carried on by bodies whose avowed end has been primarily to impart to the young minds committed to their care certain doctrinal views, the holding of which, in spite of all their adherents may assert, do not make a man one whit better than his neighbour who denies them. At the present moment we are face to face with the educational problem in its acutest stage, and it is for every one who loves his country and desires to see her really honoured among nations, to strive in order that the education of her rising citizens is not sacrificed amid the din of conflicting sects.

The Bill at this hour before Parliament, though we do not wish to wholly condemn it, would certainly never have been presented had the disastrous religious question not been its object. With the spread of genuine education it has but a subsidiary interest. Its *raison d'être* is to be found in the desire to propagate certain views about the mystery we reverence as God—views which have been disputed and denied as conscientiously as they have been accepted and affirmed—and that these views may be forced upon our rising generations, it seems to their promoters a small matter that the whole progress of the nation should be set back ten or twenty years, for no one can read the Bill without seeing that its effect must be to cripple the means now at our disposal for fitting ourselves to meet the ever-growing demands of advancing civilisation.

As we have said, there is but one way of ensuring the constant progress of our educational system : it can alone be done by separating the religious from the secular side. Let each be carried on if the majority so wish it, but let this be done by separate arrangements, so that the secular side may no longer be throttled by the grip of hands contending for the supremacy of certain theological ideas.

As it is now, too many of the members of our educational authorities are amateur theologians first, and educationalists a long way after. It is these men who are barring the nation's road to greatness, and it is precisely these men who would drop out of our secular education the moment it was freed from its theological side.

With the national religious instruction they might occupy their

time, and amid the confusion of strife upon the theological plain, "where ignorant armies clash by night," the harm that their bickerings would cause to true religion would be at least limited to it, whilst their present immense power for evil in the far greater field of national secular education would be ended.

CLARENCE WATERER.

THE JĀTAKA, OR STORIES OF THE BUDDHA'S FORMER BIRTHS.¹

READERS who wish to appreciate at their full value this wonderful collection of folk-lore stories clothed in a religious garb must bear in mind the necessity of realising the immense antiquity of the stories themselves and the remoteness of the ages wherein the Indian national religion, whence they emanated, began its growth. As to the literary history of the present collection of 550 stories, though we have no exact information as to the time when it was published, we may be certain that it was that referred to by the Chinese traveller Fa-hian, who in 400 A.D. speaks of the five hundred births of the Buddha which he saw represented at Abhayagiri, in Ceylon, and it is also mentioned in the *Dīparūṃsa*, the Buddhist early history of Ceylon. The depicted representations seen by Fa-hian show that the stories whence the pictures were taken had been recognised as sacred for a long period, and this deduction is confirmed by the evidence analysed by Professor Rhys Davids, which ascribes the present Pali prose form of these stories to a translation made from the original Cingalese by Buddhaghosa about 430 A.D. Though he does not think that this work was really done by the great religious writer Buddhaghosa, he believes that it dates from a time very near to that in which he lived.

But though this work may have then first appeared in its present form, the arrangement of the stories shows that it practically belonged to a much more remote age; for the division of the work into books marked by the number of gāthas, or proverbial explanatory verses, in each story—so that the 150 stories in the first book each contain one gātha, the 100 stories in the second two, and so on—shows that the compilers of the work were in no sense of the word authors of the stories. They merely arranged, as editors, the work done by many generations of Buddhist monks who preceded them, and who spent the numerous hours available for study in a Buddhist monastery in converting into a form suited for moral instruction these old traditions and proverbial stories containing much satirical worldly wisdom and shrewd counsel. When the

¹ Edited by Professor Cowell. Vol. i., Translated by R. Chalmers, B.A.; vol. ii., by W. H. D. Rouse, M.A. Cambridge: University Press.

great variety of the stories is considered, and when it is remembered that before the final selections were made many more than the number retained were probably rejected, it is clear that a very long period must have elapsed between the time when the first idea of forming the collection was conceived and that when the collected stories became recognised among the Buddhists as scarcely less sacred than their inspired scriptures. This conclusion agrees with the Buddhist traditions, for the *Dīpavamsa*, as Professor Rhys Davids has pointed out in p. lviii. of the preface to his *Buddhist Birth Stories*, includes a part of the *Jātaka* among the ancient sacred books which the Council of Vaisali, held about 350 B.C., refused to recognise as inspired. The *Anguttara Nikaya*, one of the Buddhist books of which the inspiration is universally acknowledged, mentions a *Jātaka* collection as part of the Holy Scriptures. And there is among the recognised canonical books of the Buddhists a work called the *Charīya Pitaka*, containing thirty-five *Jātaka* stories, which the author intended to increase to one hundred, but died before the work was finished. Several stories of the present collection are also included in the undoubtedly sacred books which were recognised as inspired both before and after the Council of Vaisali, and the versions given in these quoted stories are in prose, whereas the stories in the *Charīya Pitaka* are in verse, and these verses, as well as the explanatory verses in the present collection of stories, are shown by the archaic form of the language to be much older than the prose stories. But prose forms of the stories originally told in verse must, from their appearance in the Buddhist canon, be very old, and that verse and prose were at a very early time both mixed together in a similar method to that followed in the present collection is shown by the Sanskrit form of the *Charīya* called the *Jātaka Mālā*, which gives thirty-five stories, selected by the author, both in prose and verse, and of these only seven have the same titles as those of the *Charīya Pitaka*.

But if the proverbial verses are the oldest form of these stories, their age must extend to a period long before the middle of the sixth century B.C., when the Buddha who founded the sect we call the Buddhists was born, and when the later form of Pali used in the prose writings of their earliest sacred books was the current form of speech. Also if the verses in which these stories were enshrined were old, the original stories which they preserved must be older still, and their great antiquity can be most clearly tested by examining them. This scrutiny proves, as I shall show presently, that many of them go back to the earliest Indian traditions, preceding by many thousands of years the foundation of the sect, moulded into the form it has since retained by the Buddha called Siddharta Gotama. But, before commenting on the evidence as to historical antiquity given by separate selected stories, to which many

others might be added if time and space permitted me to analyse the whole collection, I wish to insist upon the historical lessons to be learnt from the innate national Indian custom of conveying instruction in tales. No one who has, like me, lived long among the forest people, and learned to know them intimately, can have failed to notice the radical difference between races living side by side, as shown in their habitual conversation. Thus, among the Mundas and other Kolarian tribes long stories are scarcely ever heard. Their talk abounds in wit and satire, but they are totally destitute of any form of that love of prolonged mental excitement which made our Puritan forefathers delight in long sermons and which makes the Arabs sit spell-bound round the reciters of the lengthy stories of the Arabian Nights. It is among the silent Dravido Turanian Bhuyas and Gonds that the story-teller is a popular member of society, and Gonds, who are habitually talkers, are always given to repeat, in the sententious form peculiar to them, the local stories current in the district in which they live. These stories range from fairy stories, reproducing the same incidents as those with which we are familiar in our European fairy tales, to national historical legends. These story-telling races are all firm believers in witchcraft and sorcery, and they all use spells and incantations for good and evil purposes, for while the malevolent witches and wizards who are supposed to use their power for evil ends are hated by every one, and frequently murdered, it is only by benevolent magicians that their spells can be made powerless. Every district is divided into unions of ten or twelve villages, each village answering to one of our parishes, and each of these unions is controlled by an Ojha, or superior wizard, answering to our archdeacons, whose duty it is to see that the local wizards conduct themselves properly. The form of magic used is essentially the same as that of the Finns of Northern Europe, and no one who has compared the witchcraft of India with that of the European races among whom these ancient superstitions still survive can doubt that these people have among their ancestors Finns who emigrated into India from Europe and North Asia.

It was they who brought with them the Finn stories of the national descent from the egg laid by the storm-bird, the Finn god Ukko. She became the bird-mother Gandhārī, she who wets (dhara) the land (gan), and is the goddess Dharti, the wetter, worshipped by all the Turano Dravidian races. She also appears in the Gond epic, the "Song of Lingal," as the black Bindo bird who, as the cloud of the south-west monsoon brings up the annual rains which revive life in the country burnt up by the destroying heat of the scorching west winds of the rainless hot season. These northern Turanian Finns, when they emigrated into India, united themselves with the aboriginal Dravidian tribes who founded the forest village com-

munities in India, and who insisted that a careful training of the younger members of each village community was absolutely necessary to secure the cohesion and prosperity of the provincial groups of allied villages. Hence we are told in the "Song of Lingal" that, when this god of northern origin, the sun-born son of a flower, the offspring of the ripened seed, founded the national confederacy of the Kushika, the sons of the Tortoise land (kush), who were also sons of the bird (khu) on the plateaus of Central India, he appointed Pradhans, or priests, to teach the people not only the ritual of religious ceremonies and sacrifices, but also useful knowledge in all its forms, especially that of agriculture, which was one of the principal subjects taught by Lingal himself. Hence arose the educational form of the historical epic which began, like the earliest form of fairy stories, by recording in the north the progress of the year in the search for the lost princess, the sun-maiden of the spring and summer, imprisoned by the winter giants; and in the south the abduction of the Pleiades, whose queen was perpetually carried round the heavens with the rising and setting stars by the giant star Canopus, the steersman of the heavenly ship, the constellation Argo. With these were incorporated various other forms of astronomical weather stories, telling, like the Finn Sagas, of the progress of the sun and moon through the heavens. These stories, originally intended for the local use of the farmers, became, as the scattered groups coalesced into nations with widespread territory, the foundations of the national histories, giving, not like the primæval stories, only information as to natural phenomena, but accounts of the nation's life during the many thousand years of national growth.

The fundamental idea of the educational value of these stories led to the use of fables and parables, and the fables in which the actors are birds and beasts are undoubtedly an offspring of the northern belief in the descent of different tribes from totem animals which were supposed to possess the qualities for which each tribe sought to be distinguished. Thus, the mining races were descended, like the Indian Chiroos and Kharwars, from the farseeing hawk, the hawk-headed goddess Hat-hor of Egypt, mother of the sun-god Horus, the mother Cirke, or Circe (the hawk), of Western mythology; and the ploughing races, the Indian Gotama, from the mother cow and the ploughing bull. The qualities which distinguished the parent totems were infused into their descendants by the solemn eating of the animal totem at the annual birth festival of the tribe, the only occasion on which it could be lawfully slain. It was from the concatenations of ideas arising out of these germ roots that teaching by fables and parables arose.

But the impulse towards national instruction, not only in practical knowledge, but also in morality, indicated by these fable stories and the popular proverbs which abound in all Indian dialects, received

an entirely regenerating impulse when the national astronomers, who were also the priests, showed that time could be more certainly reckoned by the phases of the moon and the equinoctial and solstitial changes in the position of the sun than by the method introduced by the first Finn northern immigrants, who measured the course of the year by the changes in the life of plants born from the seeds sown in spring, which flowered in summer, ripened in autumn, and were stored in winter. The new solar astronomy inculcated a belief in the rule of the conquering sun of the north, the German Sigurd, the pillar (urd-r) of victory, who was born at the winter solstice, became the youthful leader of the sons of light at the vernal equinox, conquered the forces of darkness at the summer solstice, and died to make way for his son, the sun of the new year at the winter solstice. He indicated his daily and annual progress in his triumphal circuit of the heavens by the shadows thrown by the gnomon stone, the symbolic representative of the sun-god. It was the belief in the resurrection of the father in the son depicted in the dying and recurring sun of winter which gave rise to the idea of constantly repeated new births, on which these stories are founded, and the existence of this fundamental faith that the teachings of the Buddha were evolved from lessons learnt in the far remote past adds another and most cogent proof to the many others which affirm that Buddhist theology is a natural growth slowly propagated through many centuries and generations from the ancient tree and sun-worship of India. The first form which the idea of historical genealogy assumed in the national literature of India appears in the stories which tell how the constantly revived sun-god, the national king, appeared on each revival in a new aspect. A specimen of this form of history is shown in the Indian epic of the Rāmāyana, where Rāma, the son of Kushaloya, the house (aloya) or mother of the Kushites, appears first as the sun-god of the dark (rāma) night, the ploughing ox husband of Sitā, the furrow, and subsequently as the sun-god of day re-wedded to Sitā, who had become, after her abduction by Rāvana, the storm giant; the crescent moon.

The account of the birth of the Buddha in the Nidānakathā, which forms the preface to these stories in Buddhist literature, gives further irrefragable proof that this national method of telling history became completely incorporated into the theology of the sun-worshippers. It tells how he was born in the character of the tree sprite, which he constantly assumes in these stories as the son of the sāl tree, the parent tree of the Dravidian races of India, which was clasped by his mother who stood under it while he was born. The image whence this belief in the standing mother who grasped the tree arose is clearly one derived from the Indian banyan tree, the *Ficus Indica*, which, as we shall see, was the parent tree of the great Bhārata race and of Kashyapa (Kassupo), the Buddha preceding Siddharta Gotama. This tree is

propagated by roots growing down to the ground from its branches, each root forming a stem, which forms a new tree when the branch from which it is born is separated from the parent trunk. *Māyā*, the mother of the Buddha, was an abstract idea of maternity, and not an existing woman. Her name means Illusion, and it is a later form of the original *Māgā*, the witch mother of the races who derived all life from the plants which furnish the food by which it was supported. The new-born god, the son of the primæval *sūl* tree, which preceded the fig tree as the national mother tree, was received at his birth by Sakko, the wetting rain-god (*Sak*) of the heaven of Thirty-three (*Tavatimsa*) gods, the twenty-eight days of the lunar month and the five seasons by which the earlier Hindu year was measured. This year of the new-born Buddha began at the summer solstice when, as the god ushering in the Indian rainy season, in the middle of June, he entered his mother's womb, the tree trunk, whence he was born in the guise of an elephant cloud. His first avatar as a man-god was his second birth at the vernal equinox as Mahosadha, the Great Physician. The god Sakko, who received him, is the god now worshipped as *Sek Nāg*, the rain-snake, by the *Raj Gonds* in the form of a wooden snake; and this god is called *Shesh Nāg* by the *Takkas*, the great artisan race of the Punjab, whose ancestral capital is *Takkasila* (*Taxila*), the rock (*sila*) of the *Takkas*, so often mentioned in these stories as the place where the Buddha was once king. This god of rain, the snake-god *Shesh Nāg*, is said in the *Mahābhārata* to have been placed at the bottom of Mount Mandara,¹ the central mountain of the *Kushika* race and the world's tortoise of their cosmogony to support it on the ocean. It was from this mother ocean, ruled by the rain-snake, that *Vāsuki*, the new rain-god who replaced *Shesh Nāg*, churned out the rain necessary to preserve life on earth by making the mountain revolve. *Vāsuki* is also worshipped by the *Takkas* as *Bāsuk Nāg*, the creating sun-god of the forest race (*baso*), the *Basque* tribes, who, emigrating from Asia Minor, first introduced barley and wheat into India. He was the god who, in his annual course, went round the heavens with the centre mountain, meaning the turning one (*manthā*, *manda*), which, as the fire drill of heaven, took the stars round the pole every twenty-four hours.

The Buddha in his next avatar, called the *Vessantara* birth, or birth among the *Vessos* or *Vaishyas*, the rich race of yellow traders was, according to the *Vessantara Jātaka*, the father of Krishna, the Hindu god of the *Yādavas*. He was born from the *Tusita* heaven, the heaven of wealth (*tuso*), the highest of the four Buddhist heavens, between which and the heaven of the Thirty-three, that of the *Yama-valoka*, the twin (*yama*) gods intervenes. At his birth from this

¹ The sacred mountain of the Jains on the Burrakur, now called *Paris nath* the Lord (*nath*) of the traders (*paris*).

heaven he was received by the four archangels who rule the four quarters of the world in the Yama heaven. They were the supreme gods of the yellow gardening races who, like the Chinese, use a cross in a square as a sign for the earth which, they say, God made in the form of a cross. The Buddha in his Vessantara birth was the god Vessavano mentioned in stories 185 and 281 of this series. In his final avatar as the sun-god ruling the year before he became the individual called Siddharta Gotama, he was the god who began his yearly course as the sun-god of the sun-horse who made his way round the heavens among the stars, and was not dragged round by the revolving pole. He then rose in the north-east at the summer solstice, as I have fully shown in pp. 365-372 of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April 1896.

Another story, which most clearly reveals the earlier methods in which history was told by the historians of the races who worshipped the continually dying and reviving sun is that of the Greek myth of Peleus. He was the sun of the creating god of the revolving pole, the heavenly potter, depicted by the Egyptians as Ptah who turns the potter's wheel. His parentage is shown in his name, which means the son of the potter's clay (pelos), and his father Aktor, the driver, was the Greek form of the Egyptian Ptah, the opener. He ruled in an age of peace and commerce when the numbers of the people increased with the growth of wealth, and hence he was the king of the Myrmidons or ants, the swarming multitudes of toiling artisans, agriculturists, and merchants. He first established his rule by slaying his brother Phokus, the seal who was king of Ægina, which made the tortoise its totem. The story is thus shown to be one of the historical stories of the race who, like the Indian Kushika, the Hebrew Kushites, and the Kusha, the merchant kings of Egypt and Southern Arabia called themselves the sons of the tortoise. He was the revolving sun-god who succeeded the fish-mother-goddess, the seal or the dolphin, who was the earliest mother-goddess of the first navigating races who looked on the sea as the source where life originated and who, like the people of the Euphratean Delta, believed that the god Ia, clothed in fish skins and brought to the Persian Gulf in the mother ship Mā, taught their fathers all the arts of civilisation. This mother ship was, in Greek mythology, Apollo, the dolphin, who brought the first priests and prophets from Crete to Delphi, the temple and womb (Delphus) of the god of the national oracle.

As the newly-installed sun-god Peleus went to be cleansed of the guilt of his brother's murder to Eurytion, the centaur, the bearer of the heavenly bow, the rainbow-god, who announced the coming of the sun-god, bringing with him the fertilising showers of spring; or, in other words, the sun-god placed himself under the guidance of the rainbow-god who ruled the seasons of the year. But in the hunt of the Calydonian boar, the conquering sun of summer, who is killed

at the close of his career in winter, Peleus slew Eurytion by mischance and thus prepared for himself a new avatar.

As the sun-god of the civilised race, in whom a sense of sin and a necessity for expiation had been awakened, he went to Akastus, king of Iolkos in Thessaly, to be cleansed of his guilt, Akastus, the son of Pelias, belonged to the race of the sons of the potter's clay (pelos), and also to the guild of the physicians, for his name means the healer who used the knife (akē) for medicinal and surgical purposes, and he was the successor of an earlier representative of the god of healing, the father of the men of knowledge, for Akastus obtained his throne by driving out Jason the healer. This avatar of Pelias corresponds to that of the Buddha and the sun-god, the great physician, and it was after he had obtained from Akastus the wonder-working sword of speech that he formed an alliance with Cheiron the Centaur, the sun-horse, the god of the healing hand (cheir) the discoverer of medicinal drugs and febrifuges. He then deposed Akastus, married Thetis the moon-goddess of the sea-going maritime races, and became the father of Achilles, the young sun-god, the little snake (echis), who was to be the sun-god of the year, measured by the track of the sun through the stars. It was on the passing away of the age which recorded its history in myths, and the coming of the new era which adopted annalistic records of the events occurring in the reign of individual beings, that the earlier historical stories became popular tales out of which the meaning was, in many cases, almost eradicated by the suppression of the ancient names. Thus in vol. i. of this series we have, in story No. 7, a mutilated form of the national historical story of the birth of Bharata, the son of Dushmanta, he of the hard (dush) sayings, and Sakuntala the little bird (sakuna), the father of the great Bharata race, the sons of the Banyan fig-tree (bar), which is the name given to the Kushika race or the Mahābhārata, and which still survives in the caste of the Bhars, who are acknowledged by universal tradition to have once been rulers of India. Also story 6 of the Prince Mahimsāso the great ruler (sāso), the moon-prince and the sun-prince, is a variant form of the story of Rāma, and of the national historical story which told how in the reign of the Vaishya god Vessavano, mentioned in this story, time was reckoned first by the phases of the moon, the moon-prince, and afterwards by the sun, dragged round the heavens by the turning pole, the sun-prince, both of whom were enticed down to Vessavano's pool, whence they were recovered by the Buddha Mahimsāso. He, in the original form of the story, was Kassapo, the Buddha before Siddharta Gotama, whose parent tree was the Nigrodha tree, the Indian Banyan tree, and was the Kushyapa of the Mahābhārata, the father of the Bharata race. He was the traditional ruler of the age which constituted the lunar-solar year of thirteen months, the thirteen

wives of Kashyapa, which I have described in Essay IV., pp. 376–387 of vol. i. of *The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, a year measured by the track of the moon and sun through the stars. But this story, while its original framework has been altogether altered, retains in one of its allusions a bit of very ancient ethnological history, for it tells how the father when he dismissed his sons on pilgrimage kissed them on the head. This is a reproduction of the method of greeting practised by the heroes of the Mahābhārata, who are always said to smell the head. This custom still survives among the Malays, thereby showing that one of the earliest ruling races of India were the Malays, the people called Mallis in Indian history, whose capital was Multan or Mallitana, the place of the Mallis. They were the mountain (mal) people who ruled Mallarashtra now the Mahratha country in the west, and who in Buddhist history were the Mallis who were partners with the Licchavas, the sons of the dog or lion (lig) in the eastern kingdom of Videha. These united races are called the Vajjians—that is, the sons of the tiger (vyaghra vyaggho), the traditional mother of the Gonds, whose supreme god, Pharsi Pen, the trident god also worshipped by the Takkas, has two tiger wives, the two outer prongs of the trident. These tiger trident worshippers, both Takkas and Gonds, were the descendants of Bharata, the half-brother of Rāma, and son of Dasaratha, the ten chariots (ratha) or ten lunar months of gestation and of his wife Kai-kaia,¹ the mountain-mother of the Gonds, who call themselves Koi-tor the mountain (koh) people. The mother-land of both races is the western range of the Himalayas, where the Jumna or Yamana, the river of the Twins (Yama), the Buddhist Yama-devaloko rises, and whence Lingal brought down the Gond millet-growers from the north, who founded the Kushika empire. It was to this land that Bharata is said in the Rāmāyana to have gone to visit his mother, whose sons, the Kai-kaia brethren, are named among the warriors in the Mahābhārata, and are said to have fought both for the Kauravyas and Pāndavas. Kai-kaia is also said in the Mahābhārata to be the mother of Kichaka, the hill-bamboo, the commander-in-chief of Virāta, the ruler of the Bharata country, whose capital was on the Jumna, and it was a pole of the hill-bamboo which Vasu, the god Vāsuki, who succeeded, as we have seen, Sakko or Shesh Nag, set up as the sign of the divinity on the Sakti mountains, the Kymore range bounding the Gangetic valley to the south of Benares. It was at Benares, still in native speech called Kashi, or the city of the Kushika, that the capital of their kingdom was placed. It was at Benares that the king Janasandha, the hero of the story No. 257, ruled, and he is shown by the verse in which he tells of the teaching of Dasaratha,

¹ This is a form of the Bharata legend differing from that which made him the son of Dushmanta and Sakantala; the latter tells of a later avatar of Bharata.

his father, to be a counterpart of Rāma. Janasandha means the junction (sandhi) by birth, and the name is a variant form of that of Jārasandha, the king joined by old age (jārā). He was the supreme ruler of all India in the Mahābhārata, the son of the king of Magadha (Behar), and of his two wives, the two daughters of the king of Kashi (Benares). But his real father was the priest Gotama, called Chandra Kushika, the moon (chandra), of the Kushikas, who made the two queens pregnant by giving them a mango. Each bore half a son, and the two parts were united by an old woman called Jārā (old age). The father priest, the moon-god, appears in the Jātaka story as Gāmani-Chanda the full moon, with his fourteen problems, the fourteen days in which he waxes from the new to the full moon. This story of the birth of the sun-god, who ripens the mango, from the seed he has made fruitful, appears in the Jātakas in story 281, where the queen of the king of Kashi is directed by the god Sakko to eat a middle mango—that is, a mango grown in the middle range of the Himalayas in the Golden Cave of the sun-god. This mango, which is guarded by Vessavano, the god of the Buddha's second avatar, is found by the parrot, the bird of speech, a variant form of the sword of speech of Peleus, the bird sacred to the sun-worshipping race, who gained their learning by oral instruction. The parrot got the mango from Jotirasa, the hermit, the essence (raso) of light (joti), who guarded the sacred fire of the world in a leaf-thatched hut called Kancanapatti or gold-leaf, the leaf sacred to Vessavano, the god of wealth. The whole story shows that it has come down from the days when the tree was looked on as the mother of life and the life-giving fire. But besides the gleam of popular Indian mythology given in this story there is a further instalment of early Indian traditional history in the introduction to the story which connects it clearly with the Buddhist legend. The lady who in the introduction gets the mango juice as a medicine is Bimbā-devi the goddess (devi) of the disc (bimbo) of the sun or moon. She is also called Vasodharā possessing (dharā) renown, and Bhadda Kaṇcana, the golden saint. She was the moon-wife of the Buddha, the sun-god, and mother of his son Rāhulo, the little Rāhu, the Gond, and Dosadh sun-god Rāhu, still worshipped in India at the annual mango festival held by some tribes in January and February, by others in February and March, by others in December and January, but most commonly celebrated in March and April at the time of the ploughing festival of the Gonds. We thus find in this story with the introduction further proof of the direct descent of Buddhism from popular Indian theology. This is also further proved in story 276, which tells of the Kuru righteousness of King Dhanañjaya whose name means the fruits (dhanam) of victory and who was owner of the rain elephant Anjāna vasabho, the anointed bull. Then Kurus still survive in the Kaurs, now an agricultural

clan who still retain in Chutia Nagpore remnants of their ancient rule in the days when they were the paramount power in India, Kaur chiefs still hold many of the border provinces in the States composing Chutia Nagpore, and they are in possession of the chief fiefs in the belt of gold yielding country situated on the rivers Mand Maini and Eebe in the states of Oodeypore and Gangpore. They succeeded the Gonds as rulers and it was under their dominion that the mines of Central and Western India were worked. They are excellent cultivators and irrigators, thus showing the close connection between them and the Kurmis of the cultivated country, and they are the Kurmis of the local tradition which says that the country where these Kaur chiefs rule was once ruled by the Kurmis and the ruins of the forts of the Kurmi princes are still in existence. The Kurmis and the Rautia Kaurs both retain in their marriages the ancient tribal custom of a man marrying a mango-tree before he is united to his wife. The Kurmis are all strict unitarians believing in one God represented by his prophet Kabir, who they say was a weaver, but who is almost certainly a still surviving form of the great Kabir, meaning the Wise, who was the god of the Kabiri of Thrace and Phœnicia, the lands whence the barley-growing races came to India and also of Egypt and of all the earliest artisan races who formed themselves into the trade guilds whence castes arose. These trade guilds date from the age of Kushika rule and the name of the guild god and prophet Kabir survives in the title of Kavi Kush the wise Kush given in the Zendavesta to the Kushika kings.

Dhananjaya, the king of the Kuru story, is in the Mahābhārata the eldest of the Kuru princes, the hundred sons born from the egg laid by Queen Gandhārī. In the war between the Kurus and the Pāndara sun princes Dhananjaya commanded eleven divisions of Kuru troops against the seven of the victorious Pāndavas. The number eleven is one which is shown by the system of time measurement used in the Rigveda to mark the age of the Twin-gods, the Ashvins or heavenly horsemen, the twins Night and Day, the age when the Somā sacrifice to the rain-god, and the sun-horse was founded. At this sacrifice eleven victims were offered, one to each of the eleven lunar months of gestation of the horse and this number eleven, on which the thirty-three gods of Sakko's heaven is founded, appears in this Jātaka story in the eleven persons who observed the Kuru righteousness. In the five rules presented by the Kurus we find still further evidence of the evolution of Buddhist belief. These rules forbidding men (1) to slay the living; (2) to take what was not given; (3) to walk evilly in lust; (4) to tell lies, and (5) to drink strong drink, are the Buddhist forms of the earlier rules of the Jains, whose religion was first founded in Western India whence it travelled to the East, the birthland of Buddhism. The only

difference between Jain and Buddhist rules is the last rule. In this the Jains substitute a command forbidding the owning of private property for the Buddhist rule enjoining abstinence from intoxicating drink, and thus prove that the ascetic brotherhoods of the Indian reformers were the reproduction of the communal village system under which all lands were the common property of the village community. The elimination of this rule and the introduction of the total abstinence clause was the work of the Sakya invaders from the west, from whom the Buddha took the name of Sakya muni, the saint (muni) of the Sakyas. They were the Parthian horsemen of the desert, who traced their descent from the northern tribes who recognised the rights of private property and divided their lands among the clan families; and they, as their Turkoman congeners still do, used a year of thirteen lunar months, which, as I have pointed out above, was the year of Kashyapa, and also, as I have shown in Vol. ii. p. 68 of the *Ruling Races of Pre-Historic Times*, that of the thirteen Buddhist Theris. These Sakya horsemen were the lunar Rajputs, the Soma-bunsi, or sons of the Soma water cup, who made all the upper classes in India water-drinkers, as they still continue to be. Both these sets of rules are very much modified from the form of asceticism disclosed in the rules of Devadatta, who is represented as a renegade Buddhist. He had, we are told in Vol. i. of the *Jātaka* (p. 34, note 1), enjoined on all his disciples a life (1) in the forest, (2) of mendicancy, (3) wearing of rags, (4) living under trees and not in a house, and (5) of abstinence from fish or flesh, an ideal which agrees with that of the Brahmin gymnosophists, and is much more like that of the modern Indian ascetics than the Buddhist or Jain rules. These rules all give most convincing proof that the beliefs of the ascetics, and also those of the Jains and Buddhists, trace their origin from the Soma sacrifice of the Rigveda. One of the holy Soma caskets brought down from heaven was that of Tapas' (penance), and the first of the Jain and Buddhist rules forbidding the taking of life is one that directly emanates from the Soma ritual. We find three stages in the Soma sacrifice—first, that in which animal victims were offered to the eleven twin gods and mead drunk as the cup of life; secondly, that in which the real sacrifice of the Su, or essence of life, is not the offering of the blood of the slaughtered totem victim, which is afterwards eaten, and the drinking of intoxicating drink, but the cup of running water whence the barley-growing sons of the rivers were born, in which was mixed Kusha grass, the sacred grass of the Kushikas, young ears of corn and roasted corn. It was this sacramental meal on the national totem-plants which took the place of that on animal totems among the sons of the barley, who traced their descent from the sun-god who ripened their grain, and not from animal parentage. We find in the ritual of the sacrament of the Thibetan Buddhists, which, as

Dr. Waddell tells us, begins with the invocation of Haya-grīva, the horse-necked (grīva) god, the sun-horse, a rite compounded of those distinguishing these first two stages of the Soma sacrifice; for the priest administers to each worshipper from the sacred skull cup beer made of the murwa millet (*Eleusine corocana*), whence the Mundas still make their beer, and three pills of life, made of flour, sugar, and butter, showing that it is a sacrament of the Ikshvāku sons of the sugar-cane (iksha), who were the Sakya kings. This developed into the final form of the Soma sacrifice, in which the cup of the united corn-growing and cattle-worshipping races who worshipped the ox and bull sun and the moon mother, was made of milk, sour milk, barley, and running water, and the worship of the gods Indra and Varuna, to whom no animals were offered. In the ritual of this sacrifice the purifying bath in the parent river was still required of all who partook of the sacred cup, but the virtue of this bath was emphasised by the declaration that the Soma sacrificer sacrificed himself. In the final form prescribed in the ritualistic manuals the sacrificer entered the bath as an embryo child, clothed in an antelope skin, the sacred dress of the Hindu sun-worshippers, whose totem parent was the antelope which feeds on Kusha grass. He emerged from the bath as a new-born son of righteousness, who was in his new birth invested with the staff of udumbara wood (*Ficus glomerata*), the sacred tree of the Vaishya trading races, the Vessos of the Buddhists, the tree which is traced as the support of the Sadas, or consecrated house of the priests in the Soma sacrificial ground. It was this tree which preceded the Ashvattha-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), the sacred Bo-tree of the Buddha, born, as this rising sun of the summer solstice. The death to sin simulated in the baptismal bath, and the re-birth to a new and holy life, appears in the Nidāna kathā in the account of how Sumedha, the sacrifice (medha) of Su, the first Buddha, sacrificed himself by living a life devoted to the cultivation of his moral nature, and provided for the birth of new generations of lovers of righteousness in the promulgation of the ten Paramitas, or ten months of gestation of the soul of goodness. These enjoined on all who would attain the new birth the observance of—(1) Almsgiving, (2) Moral Practice, (3) Self-abnegation, (4) Wisdom, (5) Exertion, (6) Patience, (7) Truth, (8) Resolution, (9) Goodwill, (10) Equanimity. To these beliefs in the virtue of penance and moral culture which grew out of the Soma ritual must also be added that in consecration (diksha), which was the second of the Soma caskets, and hence consecration was a ceremony imposed on all Buddhist monks who taught religious doctrines which had grown out of the seed sown by countless generations of Indian teachers and rulers.

THE EVOLUTION OF COMPASSION.

THERE are certain pangs and sufferings that excite no pity, sharp though they be. What victim of toothache, with hand to jaw, was ever regarded with serious sympathy by his fellows; even by those who have themselves recently endured the inglorious martyrdom? Toothache belongs to the class of despised and derided pains. Let the discreet person suffer from its cousin-germain, acute neuralgia, and he will find himself in an entirely different position. The latter malady stands to the former as high tragedy to farce.

Again, to what depths of wretchedness may not the average human being become reduced by a determined cold in the head; yet, what heart has throbbed with genuine commiseration for that state of comfortless wretchedness which gruel but symbolises and camphor mocks?

Philosophy must explain the caprices of the human heart as it best can. Perhaps these milder outbreaks of ruthlessness are highly attenuated survivals from those dark times when man took open and unabashed pleasure in his neighbour's pain; when eager crowds collected to see a fellow creature suffer a dreadful death; when trivial offences were punished by the pillory, by scourging in the public highways; men and women delighting in the sight, nay entreating with tears in their eyes that more stripes might be given, and harder, to the fainting culprit.

Just as the hoof of the horse is the remnant of an original five toes; just as the pineal gland in man is now said to be the survival of a prehistoric eye on the top of the head, so, perhaps, this levity in regard to particular ailments (in others) may be the descendant of an aboriginal ferocity in man. It is a well-known theory that what we call humour arose from the same source: that the first human laugh that ever woke the astonished echoes of gloomy primeval forests was not an expression of mirth, but exultation over the misery of a tortured enemy.

There is, to this day, something terrible in laughter. The laugh of madness or of cruelty is a sound more awful than that of the bitterest lamentations.

By means of that strange phonograph that we call literature, we can listen even now to the laughter of the dead; to the hearty guffaws or cynical titterings of-generation after generation of bygone

men and women; and if we are curious in such matters, we can probe into the nature of the changes that have passed over the fashion of men's humour. For it has been said, not without the support of weighty cumulative evidence, that, as we penetrate further into the past, we find the sense of humour depending always more obviously and solely upon the enjoyment of the pain, misfortune, mortification or embarrassment of others. The sense of superiority was the sense of humour in our ancestors; or, in other words, vanity lay at the root of this, as of most other attributes of our bumptious species!

Putting ear to our phonograph, we catch the echoes of a strange and merry tumult: boisterous, cruel, often brutal, yet with here and there a tender cadence from some solitary voice; and presently this lonely note grows stronger and sweeter, as we travel slowly towards our own time, until at length, through all the merriment, we can hear the soft under-murmur of pity. Does the picture not seize the imagination—the long laughter of the ages which begins in cruelty and ends in love?

And this is a type of all human development. It carries with it the lesson that has to be learnt sooner or later by all mankind, not imperfectly, in grudging and niggard fragments, but broadly, comprehensively, without reserve. In it lies enshrined the great truth of the essential unity of all life, the mysterious relation of creature to creature, as certain and as inevitable as that of drop to drop in the ocean, or atom to atom in the air. Swift as thought, the water-level changes with the removal of a single drop; and not a breath can stir or a particle be absorbed, but the whole mass is simultaneously affected. And the same law of unity holds as certainly with human relations and with human thoughts.

Great philosophies have perceived the truth; great religions have taught it; but as yet it has never been seen and felt in all its bearings and generous inclusiveness; it has glistened—like a shattered diamond—as the one precious fragment and gem in a thousand different systems and creeds. Through the darkness of the human lot it has shone with the calm radiance of moonlight on the sea, for now and always where its mild light falls, there alone is comfort and hope and peace.

Now and again some reformer, like Fourier or St. Simon, strives in vain to embody the truth in laws and systems of social life. Human material is not to be moulded into harmony with an idea still foreign to its perceptions, though involved in its development. The savagery of our ancestors still rages in our blood, and breaks out in fiery cruelties to this day, so soon as we are brought into relation with those who have absolutely no defence against us. Of what worse can we accuse our earliest forerunners?

The annals of conquered lands, of subordinate classes; the fate of dumb creatures at the hand of man, be he Red Indian with his tomahawk, or cool-nerved Professor with his dissecting-knife;—all bear testimony to the same startling fact. Pitifully ridiculous, in the face of it, sound all the familiar and pompous laudations of man, with his glories, dignities, and high and mighty moralities. Pitiful indeed and laughable his gravely offered plea, that since he alone of created beings is a *moral* being, he is privileged to act *im-morally*, to grievously wrong those with whom he refuses to share the haughty title, and to whom he denies what he is pleased to call a soul!

A moral being (with a charter for immorality), the favourite of Heaven, the younger brother of the gods!—such is man in his own estimation.

Moral he is indeed *à faire peur*, while the eye of the policeman is upon him; and in so far as Christian sentiments can be turned to account for forcing his neighbours to act in accordance with his own prejudices, Christian sentiments are with him as blackberries. But place him in a position of power; support him in its exercise by public opinion; deliver over to his mercy a people, a class, a sex, or a race more defenceless than all these, and then see how the sublime, the moral, the God-appointed will acquit himself towards his bondagers!

But to say that this has been invariably the case in the past is by no means to say that it must be so for all the future. Man is still a most unfinished being, roughly blocked out of the primeval granite, a mere savage with everything to learn and much to forget; an imitative creature who has picked up a few tricks and is inordinately proud of the achievement. The ancestral chimpanzee at times appears to be singularly recent! A family portrait of the animal, in proper suit and watch-chain, if desired, would scarcely seem out of place on the walls of many desirable mansions!

There lies in the heart of the race—and every day this is becoming more apparent—an extraordinary mass of mere primitive instincts, of groping hereditary impulses which confuse and complicate the existence which we call civilised in a thousand subtle fashions; undoing, perhaps at a stroke, the whole resolve of a life; reducing to worthlessness, in the eyes of the victims of the obsession, that for which the more rational and spiritual nature has toiled and sacrificed for weary years. The aspiration, the ideal, abruptly breaks down; and some importunate instinct—aggressive, sensual, or parental—usurps the throne of the spirit. At the back of all the apparent civilisation of modern life lies always this chaos of greedy instincts: a dark gulf wherein one might imagine the strange primeval creatures of bygone geological ages striving together with grotesque and restless movements.

Few there are who have not at some time in their lives, lain at the mercy of these antediluvians ; and seeing that the sentiment and still more the sentimentality of society warmly encourage their dominion (provided that they enter the lives of men with duly accredited tickets of admission, and with euphemistic titles) it is not surprising that humanity makes such slow progress towards that more rational and more morally developed state for which it is nevertheless striving in the face of seemingly hopeless odds.

The taming and ruling, and, in some cases, the destruction of these primitive forces is the task that lies before the human race ; and all who make that task more difficult are in truth its bitterest enemies. Among the most dangerous of these "ravenous creatures of the prime" is this hideous instinct of cruelty which we have been trying to trace to its origin, and to recognise in some of its disguises. Here and there—as if to point the way that lies before us—an individual is born without it, proving that it is, after all, not essential but accidental to human nature.

The social impulse is obviously that by which alone permanence of association can be achieved among mankind. Cruelty, in all forms, is the direct foe and rival of that impulse. The moral needs no pointing.

It is this social impulse or instinct of sympathy which has acted as a counterpoise to the impulse of aggression, in the same way that the centripetal force has prevented the planets from swinging off into space at the impetus of the centrifugal. The whole drift of social life points to the development of the first at the expense of the second, if that life is not to degenerate or stagnate.

This is, in one sense, a commonplace ; yet it is the secret of all progress, the meaning of evolution—except when evolution is retrograde—and the hope of all that lives and suffers.

It is by no means wholly a commonplace, seeing that the spirit of tyranny still rages among us ; seeing that it is still defended in government, in religion, in opinion, and in the most intimate relations of life. The very citiadel of human tyranny is even now the home. Masquerading as love and devotion, the subtlest and most irresistible forms of oppression there work havoc with many a ruined life and shattered talent. Of selfish affection which claims, absorbs, exhausts, and handcuffs its object, the home affords plenty of examples, but of real, generous, self-forgetful sympathy it produces few indeed.

Human life gains in rank of being and range of territory in proportion as the primitive ferocity is quenched by the power of this latest born child of man. To him belongs the positive and creative, as distinguished from the negative and destructive, powers of life ; the centripetal social forces which centralise and construct in opposition to the centrifugal, which disperse and lead away to chaos and destruction. It is this truth, in whatever form and in whatever

aspect it may be presented, that alone can take from the heart of man the cruel burden of his egotism.

And the practical import of all this is, that while, on the one hand, we may congratulate ourselves that real progress has been made in the direction of civilisation, and in a degree which would have seemed to our ancestors utterly impossible, on the other hand we have to face the fact that the majority defends now, as it has defended from the beginning of history, all those cruelties which custom and association have familiarised to the imagination.

This fact is quaintly illustrated in a story called "The Lesson of Life,"¹ in which the author introduces a dialogue between a small shopkeeper of mediæval Paris and an acquaintance whom the latter meets among a lively crowd that has assembled to see a prisoner broken on the wheel.

Master Philpott, the older man, describes a similar execution which he had witnessed at Cologne when he was quite a youth; and at this narrative Master Paul is much shocked and surprised. What times, what manners! and so short a time ago! Tearing with red hot pincers! ugh, how barbarous!

"For God's sake, speak no further of it," he cries, "I would not have seen that sight for——"

"No!" cried Philpott; "then what takes you out to-day, if you're so squeamish?"

"Nay, we're not such heathens as to use such torments," said Paul. "The wheel is well enough—is necessary for the protection of honest folks, but to use pincers and such devil's inventions is unseemly among Christian men."

Out of every thousand inhabitants of civilised lands at this moment, how many could justly claim to hold views less local than those of Master Paul? How many would condemn the wheel of their own day as well as shudder at the bygone pincers? One in a thousand? nay, not one in ten thousand. For most of us "the wheel is well enough!"

Master Paul is the type of the average man of good instincts and honest purpose. He is that exasperating, worthy, changeless, ridiculous creature, whose stupendous specific gravity renders so heartrendingly slow the movements of mankind towards better times and nobler manners. And yet the truth that he has so doggedly opposed is no sooner an established and respectable fact than it jumps to the eyes of his arch-absurdity himself! A year or two has lent it familiarity to those blinking orbs. Alas! perhaps centuries of utterly needless misery have been the lot of millions before that reconciliation could be effected between Truth and invincible Stupidity. Strange *mésalliance*! And yet without it the wheel remains for ever "well enough."

¹ *Cakes and Ale.* By Douglas Jerrold.

Well for man if he could but see, and, in mercy, see quickly, that the whole paraphernalia of cruelty, physical and spiritual, which he tolerates and often delights in, is a collection of instruments of torture for *all* men as well as for their particular and immediate victims ; that the hardened heart and the blunted brain of him who can continue to decree these things, must continue also to doom himself and all dependent on him, to be broken on the ever-revolving wheel of sin and agony.

The present age has lately been stigmatised as degenerate by a writer who certainly has spared no pains to make good his accusation.¹ This accusation may be perfectly just, but the reasons advanced by Professor Nordau are often so contradictory, that if one is to accept his conclusion, it has to be accepted *in spite* of what the author says in its support.

The drift of the Professor's teaching certainly confirms the belief that among the invariable characteristics of degeneracy is to be found a morbid egotism and self-absorption, an utter failure to respect the rights or to consider the welfare of others ; an insane self-indulgence at no matter what expense of pain to others, and often (as in Neitzche's case, dealt with at great length by the Professor) a deliberate throwing off of all moral obligations, and an exhortation to "the unchaining of cruelty." Nordau quotes the following from Neitzche : "The intellectually free-man must stand beyond good or evil . . . he tests his impulses and deeds by their value for himself, not by that which they have for others, for the herd ; he does that which causes him pleasure, even when and especially when it torments and injures . . . others ; for him holds good the secret rule of life of the ancient assassins of Lebanon : . . . Nothing is true ; all is permissible. . . . For wickedness is man's best strength. . . . But I rejoice in great sins as my great consolation."

These ravings Professor Nordau gives as one of the extreme examples of degeneracy, and the whole tendency of his book goes to prove that egotism and cruelty in every form lead towards the same result : hysteria, enfeeblement, madness. He asserts that the "march of progress is characterised by the expansion of consciousness and the contraction of the unconscious" (a process surely involving the enlarging of the sympathies), "the strengthening of the will, and the weakening of impulsion, the increase of responsibility, and the repression of reckless egoism." Again, the Professor cites with approval, as a Counsel of Perfection, the benevolent doctrines of the Hindu and Buddhist faiths, and quotes the words of the *Dhamapada* : "Because he has pity on all living creatures, therefore he is a man called Arija (elect). Be kind to all that lives."

Yet in the face of all this, and of the whole tenor of his book,

¹ *Degeneration.* By Max Nordau.

Professor Nordau, with truly degenerate self-contradiction, cites as a sign of degeneracy the efforts of a growing minority in our day to rescue from unspeakable torments these dumb victims of man's selfishness and cruelty that are daily suffering in the laboratories of science !

If it be a sign of degeneracy to desire to bring these creatures within the pale of human justice, then it must surely follow that pitilessness is a symptom of health and progress, and that Neitzche was not so far from the truth after all when he cried out for the "unchaining of cruelty."

A single sentence in Professor Nordau's book, at variance in spirit with all the rest has been eagerly advertised and emphasised by the apologists of scientific cruelty. They have taken no note of the strange inconsistency of the sentence, but have simply recorded and repeated the sneer against their opponents, ignoring the bulk of the doctrine which logically tells so heavily against themselves, whatever may be the Professor's dictum on this particular question. If we must regard as a sign of degeneracy the impulse to protect from anguish a creature that lies at the mercy of man, what really essential principle of action and belief stands between us and the philosophy of Neitzche ? Customs, inherited feeling, accumulated habits, of course deter us, but what *principle* bids us refrain ? If there be a deeply rooted moral law which enjoins justice and mercy towards those who can suffer, and if to disregard this law be to sink towards madness or moral idiotcy (as Nordau elsewhere contends), then, in the name of sanity itself, how can he demand that an arbitrary exception shall be made to the law which he himself proclaims, in order to exclude from its protection the most defenceless of all earth's creatures ? Surely *that* way madness lies !

Marvellous to relate, in the very same book as that in which the Professor condescends to this much-quoted sneer, he points out that the tendency of advancing civilisation is precisely towards this very sentiment that he sneered at ; that the sympathies of man have slowly widened from the family to the group, from the group to the tribe, from the tribe to the nation, from the nation to all mankind ; and that finally they have led to the acknowledgment of rights in animals in virtue of the capacity of these creatures for suffering.

How does Professor Nordau or any other philosopher propose to construct a moral system or principle which would justify his condemnation of those who desire to defend the defenceless ?

Hear what another social physician, St. Simon, says about an era like the present, which he would call a critical in contradistinction from an organic epoch. In the organic "all efforts seem to converge towards the same end : in the second (the critical)" each is isolated. In the first, all the elements of the body social approach and combine ; in the second, dissolution and death appear every

day to approach nearer, *until some germ of sympathy shall come and recall all to life, unite more firmly than ever the members of the body, fatigued by the terrible crisis which it has passed through.*" (It is the italicised passage to which attention is especially drawn.)

If, through "some germ of sympathy," the perilous crisis is to be safely passed and the new organic era inaugurated, surely it is the worst of folly to seek to decry or discredit any new stirrings of sympathy in the human heart, if only because the inspirations of that sentiment, however they be manifested, help the race on its way to the next period of constructive development. Professor Nordau lays particular stress on logical sequence of ideas; he points out the wandering inconsequence of degeneracy, and then, strange to say, he asks us, by the implication of his whole work, to accept a theory of morality which contains dogmas mutually destructive! Surely this is the very acme of degenerate doctrine!

In the mortal fatigue to which Professor Nordau traces the hysteria that he sees everywhere, St. Simon sees rather the "terrible crisis of a critical epoch." "What," the latter asks, "is the goal of man in relation to his fellows? What is his goal in relation to the universe? All organic epochs have been solutions, at least provisional, of these problems: but soon progress, made through the help of these solutions, that is to say, under the shelter of those social institutions, which have been realised according to them, render those very institutions insufficient, and demand new ones; critical epochs, moments of debate, of waiting, of transition come then to fill the interval by doubt, by indifference in regard to these great problems, by the egotism consequent upon this doubt, this indifference. Every time that these great social problems have been solved, there has been an organic epoch; every time that they have remained without a solution, there has been a critical epoch."

If this be true doctrine, we must believe that a cynical indifference to the nature and duties of our relationships to all around us lies at the root of all these phenomena that Professor Nordau groups together under the head of degeneracy. Moral indifference breeds physical and nervous fatigue: and the converse is not seldom also true. St. Simon says that the moral indifference breeds the condition that Nordau calls degenerate; the latter traces that condition to nervous fatigue. It is not a little interesting to see these two widely different minds thus meeting, from precisely opposite directions, at precisely the same point. The one makes the first cause physical, the other spiritual.

Bitter, indeed, is the ordeal through which society has to pass in these times of upheaval. The waves of suffering seem to surge through the very air, carrying doubt and unrest to many a heart that fifty years ago would have passed through life with scarcely a question, or a moment of profound unhappiness. What wonder, if in

such times of stress, many should grow half-distraught, and that those states of mind should arise to which Professor Nordau gives such crushingly scientific names? Perhaps the storm and stress have not left the Professor's own nerves quite untouched, since he has been led, in many cases, by the power of a fixed idea, to confound the decay of the faculties with the inspiration of genius: a trifling error that has been repeated with regularity at every new output of human power.¹ But this degenerate habit of seeing in all things indiscriminately the same persistent image, the gaunt spectre of hysteria, only serves to confirm the Professor's own contention, that we live in a hysterical age.

Would it be less accurate to say that we live in an age of fatigue and doubt but of growing aspiration; an age that perhaps trembles on the brink of a new organic epoch more momentous than the world has ever seen?

For through all the tumult of the times—in the midst of an almost incredible outbreak of cruelty that is flaming up like the evil tongues of fire in the den of some follower of the Black Art, and blazing more and more fiercely every day, under the dominion of a science gone crazy with a hideous monomania;—amidst all the bitter struggle of existence and all its corruptions, there is yet everywhere stirring an increasingly keen desire to find a true answer to the deeper problems of existence; an aspiration after a sound relationship towards life and the living; and, above all, a profounder sympathy than has yet been heard of, out of the dreams of poet and seer.

A still small voice it is as yet, like that first break of tenderness in the ruthless laughter of our ancestors; yet a note that is certainly destined to swell into organ-like grandeurs of sound before once more the race shall move forward to the next resting stage of its ever-mysterious pilgrimage.

And when that sound has deepened and gathered in volume by the feeding of a thousand tributaries, till its waves are sweeping into every bay and creek and humblest inlet that no compassionate tide had ever yet visited, surely we shall not be so hopelessly far as we now seem from that long Promised Land, of which genius has dreamed age after age, for which the race has ached with an incurable home-sickness.

MONA CAIRD.

¹ See his strictures on Wagner, Rosetti, and almost all the poets of modern times and all countries.

THE EDUCATION CRISIS.

THE present system of our public elementary education is due mainly to the energies of two men, at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century—Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell. Before their time the education of the children of the working poor in this country was in a nebulous and chaotic condition. Any one could start a private adventure school with qualifications of a very shady character, from those of Mr. Bumble to those of a one-legged army man; hence the schoolmaster was a constant butt for the satirical humour of the poet, the dramatist, and the novelist. Oliver Goldsmith thus describes the village schoolmaster of his time in his *Deserted Village*, “And e’en though vanquished he could argue still!” But a very different state of affairs exists at the present time, owing mainly to the influence of our Board schools. The schoolmaster threatens the position of the parson; intelligence is rapidly undermining superstition, so much so that the bishops combine together to weaken and degrade the excellent teaching of our Board schools to the lower level of their sectarian schools; they cannot brook the competition of the Board schools and therefore the latter must disappear, for the parsons fear them. The history of the two societies founded by Lancaster and Bell—“The British and Foreign School Society,” and “The National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the *Principles of the Established Church*,”—comprise a large portion of the history of the whole educational movement up to Mr. Forster’s Act of 1870. It would be ungenerous not to acknowledge the services which the Church of England has rendered to the cause of elementary education, but it is equally pertinent to note that the struggle which the National Society waged with the British Society was not so much a competition in the interests of education as a struggle for its control. The welfare of the child was constantly lost sight of in the importance to the clerical party of retaining the direction of education within its grasp, I am sorry to have to say so—for purely *proselytising* purposes. In 1807, the House of Commons passed a Bill enabling the rate-payers to set up a school in each parish. The House of Lords threw it out on the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The clergy affirmed their hostility to any national education which was not

completely under their own direction. In the House of Lords, August 11, 1807, the Archbishop of Canterbury said :

"The provisions of the Bill left little or no control to the minister in his parish. This would go to subvert the first principle of education in this country, which had hitherto been, and he trusted would continue to be, under the control and auspices of the Establishment, and their Lordships would feel how dangerous it might be to innovate in such matters."

Thus public control was and has been frustrated. The ideal of the National Society for "promoting the Education of the Poor in the *Principles of the Established Church*," may be stated in the words of the first annual report (August 5, 1812) :

"That the national religion should be the foundation of national education, and should be the *first and chief* thing taught to the poor, according to the excellent *Liturgy and Catechism* provided by our Church for that purpose."

All through the century many bills were introduced and schemes and compromises suggested, but from 1807 to 1870 the opponents of national education under public control were successful, and no Education Bill ever reached the statute book. The progress actually made was the result of administrative acts, effected in spite of large adverse majorities in the House of Lords. In the Commons political Churchmen, being strong enough to prevent anything being done, were able to dictate terms, and there was no progress except on the lines that any and every sacrifice must be made to the clergy rather than leave the people without education. Thus up to 1870 the clerical party had been triumphant. The positive results of the seventy years of the century were: (1) In 1833 an annual Government grant of £20,000 towards erection of voluntary schools, with the result that the Church of England schools alone received one million and a half of public money in forty years. (2) In 1839, increase of this grant to £30,000, appointment of Committee of Council on Education, and beginning of inspection—the inspectors being afterwards appointed with the concurrence of the heads of the denominations whose schools they were to inspect; (3) Between 1839 and 1847 denominational training colleges were established; (4) In 1846 grants were made in augmentation of teachers' salaries, and the system of apprenticing pupil teachers introduced; (5) In 1847, introduction by Committee of Council of certain "management clauses" for insertion in the trust deeds of schools as a condition of building grants, their object being to secure to the lay subscribers a due share in the management and the superintendence of the expenditure of the grant. These clauses, which even the Dean of St. Paul's in his retrospect admits to have been "not unreasonable," met with the bitterest opposition from the Church, because they interfered to some extent with the autocracy of the clergy, and introduced some element of public control into the

schools. (6) In 1853 the first capitation grant was given for children who made a fixed number of attendances. (7) In 1856 the office of Vice-President of the Committee of Council was established. (8) In 1861 the Duke of Newcastle's Commission reported that *the control of religious instruction* was the chief concern of the managers of schools, but that the parents were principally interested in *secular instruction*, and that out of about 2½ million children, only about 1½ million were in public schools of any sort, and that only half of these were in schools under any sort of inspection. Moreover, of the children in inspected schools (about 900,000) not more than a quarter were receiving a good education. (9) In 1862 Mr. Robert Lowe, M.P., Vice-President of the Education Department, introduced the "Revised Code," and established the system of paying grants on the result of examination—"Payments by results."

Among the negative results of significant importance were: (1) 1807. The rejection by the House of Lords of a Bill to provide parochial schools. (2) 1820. A Bill for a similar object, introduced by Lord Brougham, and withdrawn chiefly because of the religious difficulty. (3) 1839. Proposal of the Committee of Council to establish a State Normal School for the Training of Teachers on a basis of religious comprehension. Wrecked by the hostility of the Established Church. (4) 1850. Introduction by Mr. Fox of a Bill for rate-supported schools under public management. Defeated by the Church party. (5) 1864. Proposal of Committee of Council for adoption of a conscience clause in districts where there was no possibility of a choice of schools. Refused by National Society. Finally came Mr. Forster's Act of 1870, which, by enabling Board schools to be established by School Boards, secured the provision of sufficient school accommodation everywhere. In 1876 attendance at school was made compulsory, whilst in 1891 the Free Education Act was passed, and now, in 1896, we are threatened with a complete revolution and break-up of our national system of primary education by the Bill just introduced by Sir John Gorst.¹

The School Board system has been an honest and hitherto successful attempt—far too successful for the clerical party—to advance the education of the masses of the people of this country. To avoid as far as possible the religious difficulty, it had been wisely arranged by the "Cowper-Temple" clause of the Act of 1870 that "no religious catechism, or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination, shall be taught in the school." The greatest common measure of all religious beliefs was assumed to have been amicably fixed upon to which all could conscientiously agree, except, of course, Roman Catholics and pronounced secularists. For the

¹ For the facts of the foregoing, I am chiefly indebted to two pamphlets, *The Education Question: Facts and Figures*; and *The Education Crisis: A Defence of Popular Management in Public Education*.

last twenty-five years peace has reigned in our Board schools; bigotry has not succeeded in creating sectarian strife, except within the last few years under the influence of the extreme sacerdotal party, led by the Coxheads, Diggles, and Rileys; but, now that the clerical party, to their utter astonishment, has succeeded in obtaining a majority of 152, and can also count on the solid support of the Irish Catholic vote of over eighty more, and are thus independent even of the Liberal-Unionist vote, the compromise of 1870 must, of course, be ignored and cast to the winds! The Catholics and Anglicans believe that their chance has come at last, and if they lose this one, any other chance may never return. Under the championship of Lord Salisbury they threaten to capture the Board schools, and to introduce their religious poison by thrusting their distinctive dogmas in these schools, thus threatening (as the new Education Bill undoubtedly does) to destroy the wise provision of the Cowper-Temple clause; while, on the other hand, it is proposed, as a gracious concession, by some of these haughty, arrogant clerics as a quasi-logical set-off to allow Nonconformists the privilege of teaching their distinctive religious tenets to the children of their own (Nonconformists') persuasion, chiefly in the country Church schools, where the parson and squire still dominate. This is embodied in the 27th clause of the new Education Bill. It will, in my opinion, be found to be utterly impracticable and inoperative, and I believe the Government has already come to this conclusion, and will ignore the clause.

A great deal has lately been said about the sacred right of parents to see that the education of their children was in their own faith. This was admitted almost universally, except by the secular party alone, who go much further, and claim the right for the children to be allowed to form their own opinions as soon as their reason has become mature, and that no one—not even the parents themselves, much less a priest or cleric—has a right to prejudice and twist their young minds in any direction whatever, and that the individual or groups of individuals, but not the community at large, should be called upon to pay for such religious teaching. But, I venture to ask, who gave the clergy a brief for the parents? Supposing the parents have an indefeasible right to say when and in what manner their children shall be religiously educated, surely no priest, nor Levite, nor other cleric has a right to presume to come behind their backs and interfere, particularly when we bear in mind that our little ones are now compelled by the law of the land to go to some public school, and likely enough there may be no other school, if it be in some country district, but a sectarian school under the direction and control, self-imposed, of the parson. Here the children would either have to accept a religious education “according to the excellent *Liturgy and Catechism* provided by our Church for that purpose,” or no religious education at all. And yet clergymen

and a few bigoted laymen complain that the operation of the Act of 1870 presses unfairly on Churchmen. They complain of an "intolerable strain." The parents have never been consulted as to the religious education of their children in the schools, and have not delegated such religious instruction to the control and direction of the parsons. The majority of the toilers practically say, "A plague on all your churches and chapels. We will continue to stay away, and have nothing to do with them." Let us see how the 27th clause of the new Education Bill would work out in practice. In the first place let us bear in mind that it has been computed that there are over 250 different religious sects in this country. Is *each* of these sects to claim the right to teach his own religious views in the schoolroom, and if not, why not? Or is the right to be confined to the more powerful sects only, such as the Anglicans, the Catholics, the Wesleyans? Where would come in the right and justice to the smaller sects such as the Baptists, the Unitarians, the Swedenborgians, the Quakers, and the Shakers; and why should not the Secularists even be allowed to ventilate their views? How many different class-rooms would be required? And if this hitherto suppressed eloquence and fanaticism were suddenly let loose in the school at the same time, what an edifying spectacle the poor head-teacher would be forced to behold in silent contemplation! It would surely be all up with the discipline that he had so laboriously and painfully built up by careful study, by self-restraint, and by long experience. He would see and hear, may be, the Catholic excommunicating the Anglican; the Anglican ostracising the Nonconformists as heretics and Schismatics; and the Agnostic or Atheist putting the extinguisher on all the others by maintaining by forcible logic that all the religious teaching of the other gentlemen comprised merely different forms and degrees of superstition! If curtains only separated the classes, and the voices of the holy men of God could thus be heard in each class-room so set apart, to what a condition, I ask, would the school be reduced? Surely the poor head-teacher would imagine he was listening to the roaring of some fat bulls of Bashan, or that the paralytic possessed of devils, whose name was legion, had invaded the harmony of his school, or that he heard from the Tower of Babel a confused medley of fanaticism and superstition. Yet, by the 27th clause of the new Education Bill, something of this kind may happen. No wonder it is reported that the Government has withdrawn this clause. I am afraid that no "reasonable arrangements (could) be made for allowing such religious instruction to be given," and I further suspect that "any question which may arise under this section as to what is reasonable or practicable (could not) be determined by the Education Department."

Moreover, the Board schools are to be placed on a par financially

with these sectarian schools, although the former are under full local public control and administration, the Board being elected by public votes, and the latter—the so-called Voluntary schools—are, up to date, under no public local control whatever, but are practically and essentially nothing more nor less than private schools, as far as the parents and the general public are concerned. These are no longer strictly *Voluntary* schools, as the new Education Bill persists in describing them, but are rather denominational, or more correctly, mere *sectarian* schools only; the term Voluntary is now a misnomer, for the voluntary subscriptions have nearly disappeared, having become smaller and smaller and beautifully less—considering the number of scholars on the register—till at the present time they only constitute about one-sixth of the total amount required for maintenance. The subscriptions have, in fact, continued to be in inverse ratio to the contributions of the State, that is, as the grants from the State have risen, so private subscriptions have fallen, till now, by the provisions of the new Bill, the State will be expected to pay all, and the subscriptions will in consequence, by the abolition of the 17s. 6d. limit, disappear altogether. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster has already had the hardihood to demand full maintenance for Catholic schools, which are at present entirely under private priestly management, without a single penny of subscriptions being required to be raised! Of course, it is understood that all public Elementary schools are subject to the supervision and officialism of the Education Department of “my lords,” who do not, however, officially recognise any religious teaching in these schools, and for which, of course, no public grants are paid, or are likely to be paid, nor are examinations in religious instruction held by Government sanction—no Government inspector takes any official recognition of them—but the Clerical Diocesan Inspectors appointed by the State Church thrust their presence in the schools and thus frustrate the wise and tolerant provisions of the State. The sectarian schools are locally under *private clerical management*, and are worked and exploited in the interest of the Catholic and Anglican sects for purely *proselytising* purposes—for the benefit of their big trade unions. Often, very often, the management is practically under the control of one man—the priest or parson—the other managers being, as a rule, mere ciphers. These irresponsible managers unblushingly declare it to be their set purpose either to depress the Board schools down to their own wretched level *or*, or rather *and*, to demand an equality of pay, in the form of grants from the State. The new Bill goes farther and bribes them and “other poor School Boards” in the country districts to the extent of half a million of public money in the form of a 4s. grant per scholar, thus leaving the mass of the Board schools without a penny of this extra grant. The Chancellor

of the Exchequer, in introducing the Budget for 1896, proposed to use £433,000 to meet the increased expenditure with regard to Education which would fall within the present year on account of the proposals in the new Education Bill. In fact, the whole policy and machinery of the new Bill is to extinguish the Board schools altogether; yet these irresponsible managers apparently intend to continue a firm grip on their private management and to retain the sole control of the appointment and dismissal of the teachers, who (the teachers) have no right of appeal against unjust dismissal. The result of this proposed grant of 4s. will be another handsome endowment for the dominant Anglican and Catholic denominations. Sir W. V. Harcourt, on these points, rightly observes: "The first ground of attack on the Board schools is that they are too efficient, and therefore that it is difficult for the so-called Voluntary (more correctly denominational or sectarian) schools to compete with them." The allegation is true. This is the language which was held by the Bishop of London, and which was entirely approved by Lord Salisbury, who said that some check must be devised for the Board schools. "Unfair competition!" he exclaims. "Did you ever know of a case of competition where the competing candidate did not think the competition unfair?" The other ground of attack is that Board schools are irreligious—"Godless." This is as untrue as the former. In the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury:

"I am persuaded that in a very great number of Board schools there is very good religious teaching. Indeed those terrors of a polymorphous religion in which a child is being taught in one standard by a Baptist, and in the next by a Congregationalist, and in the next by a Roman Catholic, do not exist, for these are falsehoods that are being disseminated by denominationalists everywhere."

And yet this is the very system which the 27th clause of the new Education Bill proposes to introduce. And we all know here in Manchester that the religious scheme of instruction in vogue in the Manchester Board schools received the approval and sanction, some years ago, of the Bishop of Salford—now Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster—and of the late Bishop Frazer.

In vain do such arrogant clerics as the Coxheads, the Diggles, and the Rileys, now backed up by Cardinal Vaughan, Lord Salisbury & Co., spread their nets; we are not deceived. They may succeed for the time being—during the life of the present Parliament; if they do, at no distant future Toryism will meet with a rebuff from which it will be long in recovering. Hear, again, what the veteran Sir W. V. Harcourt says:

"If that is what is intended, I will promise him (Lord Salisbury) that we will fight him, and fight to the death . . . Ah! gentlemen" (he continues), "if they choose to re-open the question now, they may depend upon it we will re-open the question."

The agitation of the present day has nothing to do with the real essential point of dispute—Education. It is merely an undignified wrangle between the unholy alliance of the Catholics and Anglicans on the one hand, and the Nonconformists on the other, as to which shall secure a dominant position in the control of the public elementary school system, and to seize upon the children of the toilers and to manipulate and entangle them in their theological meshes so as finally to secure them as their future customers. All the denominations are fiercely competing with each other to secure the patronage of the workers, as tradesmen seeking custom for their respective theological shops, and I therefore look upon the saturnalia during Whit week in Manchester—I refer to the processions of little Sunday school children and of old ladies of both sexes—as both degrading and undignified; one denomination parading their wares and saying in effect, see how many customers come to our shop! and the Catholics bringing up the rear on the following Friday, to the inconvenience of public business, to show how many attend their stores! The national conscience, particularly that of the toilers, should intervene and put a stop to this bare-faced traffic in mental and moral slavery. The little ones need protection. The schoolroom, of all public institutions, and the little helpless children in particular, of all sections of society, should be free from such religious squabbles. What do little children at their tender age know or care about such religious turmoil, and why should they be dragged in their innocence within the very vortex of sectarian strife? The schoolroom is thus turned into a national theological cockpit.

At their annual synods and conferences the clerical party are in the habit of complaining of the apathy of working-men in not attending any place of worship, and a considerable amount of time is devoted to reading of papers and to discussions as to the best methods of prevailing on the workers to attend their services; but, alas! unfortunately their labour has been hitherto all to no purpose; “their abstentions were still *appalling*.” And yet the clergy, on the other hand, pretend to hold a brief for the parents, and say that they (the parents) are anxious for their children to acquire that for which they themselves are utterly indifferent! Thus the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, for instance, is bold enough to write in the *Manchester Guardian* of October 1, 1895, as follows:

“ In the fourth place, it (the Bible) may be reverently used as the word of God, containing His revealed will, and especially giving an account of His Son Jesus Christ, who is ‘my Lord and my God.’ Now I contend that this fourth sense is the sense in which *at least five-sixths of the working classes of this country wish the Bible to be taught to their children.*”

Of course theologians of the type of the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes have always been distinguished for their logic, their consistency, and their veracity. On the contrary, let the Bishop of Manchester

answer the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes. At the annual meeting of the "Manchester and Salford Auxiliary of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society" he is reported to have said :

"He quite admitted that there were large numbers of the working classes in our large towns who did not attend any place of worship, and that large numbers lived outside the Church of England or any Church He knew that the abstentions were still *appalling*, but at the same time he believed Mr. Ingram was right when he said *that they had not lost the great towns because they never had them*. He believed that Mr. Ingram was right also in saying that so great had been the improvement in recent years that *Secularism was played out*."

And yet the Bishop is reported to have said :

"Mirabeau said that 'if religion is not a law it must not be made a crime,' and so if the Government did not demand religious instruction in all elementary schools they had no right to fine Voluntary schools because *that sort of religious instruction was given which was desired by the parents of the children*. It was right that the claims of other people's consciences should be considered, and the Bill contained a clause giving such consideration." [The famous 27th clause].

I contend that the proper principle with regard to the religious difficulty in schools is that the parsons themselves should teach the latest editions of religion in their own respective churches and chapels to children (should there be any), who of their own free will, purely voluntarily, and not by any coercive measures as mere clerical slaves, may be willing to attend and listen to them. I promise them that under these conditions they will have but a very poor and meagre attendance. It should be made strictly prohibitive for any clergyman to teach little children *as true* what they themselves *no longer believe as facts*, as the result of scientific and literary research embodied in the so-called "higher criticism," &c. It is useless trotting out the conscience clause, or the 27th clause of the new Education Bill, which will be quite as ineffective and impracticable; neither gives any relief; both are mere shams. Secular instruction only should be given in the schoolroom where the pupils may represent, in a cosmopolitan city such as Manchester is, Jews, Turks, Hindoos, Chinese, Infidels, Heretics, Catholics, Anglicans, Nonconformists, Secularists, Atheists, &c.

See the grand effect of secular education, or rather that which nearest approaches it, during the last quarter of a century in this country under the "godless" education of our Board schools. Sir John Brunner, M.P., is reported to have said :

"We were now spending twelve millions a year *less* on criminals and paupers than we should have been spending but for the operation of the Education Acts." [Thus if we view Education from perhaps the lowest motive of mere selfish economy, we see to what great advantage it appears in saving the nation the enormous sum of £12,000,000 during the last

quarter of a century, that is of about half-a-million annually, representing the very amount which the new Education Bill proposes to *advance* to the sectarian and poor Board schools in order to *retard* the excellent instruction in our Board schools.] "Were we now, under these circumstances, to accept the invitation of the Prime Minister to cut down our present expenditure in the Board schools? On the contrary, his firm belief was that the English nation was animated by the splendid ambition of making itself the best educated people in the world. But Education must not be hampered by proselytism. Proselytism was always *a wrong and a cruel thing*, but when conducted at the cost of the public" [and when the helpless little children are compelled by law to enter these schools] "it was also *a mean thing*."

Yes, Sir John Brunner! Proselytism is the key to the whole situation. Education is not in it. The parsons, however, will tell you: "Nay, these twelve million pounds have been saved, not by the operation of the Education Acts, but this grand moral improvement is due to religious education!" Well, let us see. Mr. Councillor J. W. Southern has, I think, ably and satisfactorily knocked the bottom out of that fiction; he has pricked this theological bubble by proving his case from a critical examination of criminal statistics supplied by Government returns, which no one is able to contradict, in a letter which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, December 24, 1895. I will venture to offer one or two quotations from it:

"It appears then that when the people of Manchester had religious education only, as given in denominational schools, and before they had been subjected to the vicious influence of Board schools, there were 32 of these educated criminals to 100,000 inhabitants. After 21 years of 'godless' education the proportion had fallen to about 8 per 100,000. Of course it might be suggested that my four categories do not include all the classes of crime which men whose wits had been sharpened by education—the clever devils, as the Duke of Wellington called them—would be likely to commit. I think they do; but, to exclude any error from this source, let us examine from the same volumes the 'total number of indictable offences of every description.' If we do this we get a comparison which is not merely 'notable' but *astounding*. In 1871 this total number was 4597, which, in the population already given, shows about 13 cases per 1000 inhabitants. In 1892 the total number had fallen to 1521, which, to the largely increased population, shows about 3 cases per 1000 inhabitants. Surely these figures cannot by any process of distortion, whatever chaplains, gaol governors, and chief constables may say, be regarded as 'plain proofs' that educated or any other form of crime has 'greatly increased, notably in Manchester.' In order to exclude any justification of the Dean's (Dean Hole) on this account, let us examine the figures in relation to all forms of crime or offence, *indictable or otherwise*. In 1871 the figures were, indictable offences, 4597; offences determined summarily, 24,299; total 28,896, or 80.2 per 1000 inhabitants. In 1892 the indictable offences were 1521; offences summarily determined 25,584, or 63 per 1000 inhabitants. Now these figures incontestably show that since the Education Act has been in operation vice has diminished in the aggregate, and the only diversification of its component parts has been an absolute deduction all round and in every part. The Dean was particularly unfortunate in choosing Manchester as the shocking example of the criminal consequences of 'godless' education."

I said just now, "Education is not in it." The whole controversy is merely a religious squabble. In fact, I have already pointed out that the clergy, as voiced by the Bishop of London, are actually doing their level best to depreciate education by trying to depress the high standard of the Board schools down to the lower level of their sectarian schools. Instead of levelling up, they are doing their utmost to level down, and yet the levelling down provisions in the new Education Bill are the essential ones to the Tory-cum-clerical party. Well do I remember seeing a splendid cartoon in *Punch* in 1870. It was one of those flashes of genius for which *Punch* has been so celebrated. I have already mentioned this in a letter on "The Education Problem," which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, January 1, 1896, but I think it is worth referring to once more. The cartoon represented a game of foot-ball between two teams—the unholy alliance of the Catholics and the Anglicans on the one side, and the leaders of the Nonconformists on the other. These *dignified* clergy and ministers were represented in the *undignified* attitudes of pommelling each other; one burly bishop had a Nonconformist in "Chancery"; all over the wide field the scrimmage was going on. The foot-ball—labelled "Education"—was, however, lying alone and untouched, and the captain—the late Mr. W. E. Forster—was standing beside it, with amazement depicted on his countenance, and having one arm uplifted to heaven and the other pointing to the ball, he was exclaiming frantically, "Gentlemen! here is the ball." But no heed did they take of it; they were too busily engaged in individualistic competition and strife, and in the noble art of self-defence, for the purpose of maintaining the efficiency of their own theological trade-unions against all rivals; and little do they care even now for the ball—"Education." Yet this is in truth the real essential boon to this country as the result of the Act of 1870 for the last quarter of a century—the root of our present and future national prosperity, a truly national education. The Catholics and Anglicans, I repeat, are only too eager to damage the efficiency of the Board schools by trying to starve the finances and by proposing to introduce their theological poison into these schools. In fact, their chief concern is to sacrifice the cause of education to sectarian interests. Let our future policy be contained in the following couplet:

"Up with the schoolmaster, and down with the parson,
Up with intelligence and down superstition."

I hope all Liberal-political and social organisations all over the country will use their best endeavours to defeat this unholy conspiracy. There is no more important cause before the country at the present time than a national and thoroughly effective system of education for our little ones. From them, of course, will come our future men and women, and to them in the future will be intrusted the destinies

of the British Empire. They therefore should receive the very best possible *secular* training to enable them to fight a good fight in the struggle of life in which they will inevitably have to contend against fearful odds, against accumulated wealth, against fierce competition, against gross superstition, against cruel injustice, and many other social wrongs.

There must be a firm resolution not to tolerate anything which would retard the education of the people. We must be content with nothing less than the standard which has already been reached. The great object must be to secure the best possible education for the people, the religious differences, whatever they were, being trumped up compared with the great question of elevating the character of the people. In regard to the school boards, they have done two very great things. They have taken a wonderful step in the direction of secondary education, and they have set the concert pitch of education by raising its standard. The sectarian schools should be the first to acknowledge the latter, for it was undeniable.

If only a *purely secular education* were given in the schools, and if the religious side were strictly excluded and relegated to the churches and chapels, as it should be, how beautifully and simply the whole difficulty would disappear! The education problem would be at once solved. It appears to me to be the only logical issue out of the difficulty, the only way of clearing the line that is at present blocked so much by clerical obstruction, and ultimately it will, it must, come to this; for the sectarian strife and competition will become so keen and intensified that such an "intolerable strain" will ensue as to burst the sacerdotal bubble, and thus give honest men and women room to breathe more freely.¹ It (secular education) is the only plan which would create no religious disability, and there is no doubt that if any Government were strong enough to draw out and put into effect a complete system of *compulsory secular education*, and allow no religious instruction in our public schools, it would be a direct and substantial gain for purely secular instruction. Apart from the time gained, which in itself would be an important matter, especially as it is almost invariably the best part of the day that is set apart for religious instruction, such a system would allow a concentration and effective utilisation of our teaching forces, that is impossible under a dual system of Board and Sectarian schools existing side by side. But to a religious person the defects of the system become apparent the moment he asks himself: Can parents and religious bodies be relied upon to provide the religious instruction? He would reply thus: There is not the smallest doubt that, but for the evangelising agency of our primary schools there would

¹ Some Nonconformists, such as the Rev. J. Hirst Hallowell, threaten to make the new Education Bill (if it should become law) unworkable, by opening up a crusade against the education rates by refusing to pay them, as previously they did with regard to Church rates.

be hundreds and thousands of children who would never be taught to lisp the name of our Heavenly Father, &c., &c. The question then arises, who are the responsible agents for this evangelising work? And why should any one anticipate that the parsons and ministers of our churches and chapels would thus publicly neglect their duty? Secularists at any rate can rest content and leave these matters to those whom it may concern. It is certainly no business of theirs. It is not a part of their programme. Unfortunately at the present time, though it has not always been so in the past, the Nonconformists as a body, with a few notable exceptions, such as the Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker and, nearer home (Manchester), Mr. Collier and Mr. J. Saxon Mills, have given up their principles, and no longer insist on a secular education pure and simple in our public elementary schools; but, hungry and thirsty for the flesh-pots of the State, like their natural rivals, the Anglicans and Catholics, they are practically now committed to the mammon principle (or rather *want* of principle) of "concurrent endowments"; and yet they ought to know, in their own self-defence, that the Anglicans and Catholics must always get, and will now get in this new Education Bill, the lion's share, and by means of the detestable system of proselytism, so subsidised and backed up by coercive Acts of Parliament, they must ultimately swamp and tend to swallow up all other sects. It would be much more to their advantage, if they could only see it, to accept no such all-round endowments at all. Besides, what a wrong is done to the little children and their parents (putting aside the crafty and inoperative conscience clause and the equally impracticable 27th clause of the new Education Bill), when our little ones are by Act of Parliament compelled to attend school, and there to submit to mental slavery under the arbitrary tyranny of theological dogma and oppression, or be pointed at and ostracised by their playmates. Why do not Nonconformists make up their minds to accept Dr. Parker's advice, and refuse any further subsidies, and so go in straight for a purely *secular education*? For the time must come, in my opinion, when the forces of secular education have permeated and enlightened the minds of our people, that the English nation, in the strength of its convictions, will follow the example of Germany, and bundle all the parsons out of the public schools bag and baggage, will insist on a purely secular education in these schools, and will relegate the religious instruction to the churches and chapels and Sunday schools, or to the Greek Kalends. It is said that if this plan of a *purely secular education* were universally adopted, the majority, or a large portion, of the working poor would grow up as heathen, and their religious education would be neglected; they would become a "Godless" people. I again ask, whose fault would that be?—if fault there be. Who are specially trained to impart this inestimable boon of religious

education? Are theologians too idle, or too much exhausted by their exertions on *one day of the week*, to complete *their own special work* during the other six days of the week? As long as they can get others to do this work for them, by making mere catspaws of the elementary teachers, and can, by the arm of the law, force the children into their sectarian schools, and can prevail on a reactionary and servile Government to pay the piper, why should they not be quite content to look on smilingly with folded arms, and then to claim all the credit!

"It is constantly argued that the Church has been the fount of national education, and that without its efforts the nation would have been uneducated. This is a complete perversion of history. The Church has never initiated or promoted any advance in national education. It has been the consistent opponent of all progress; but when progress became inevitable, it has, with great success, contrived to be the channel through which the stream provided by other agencies has flowed. National education may be compared to a river fed by innumerable streams; Government money, private benevolence, enthusiasm of educationalists of all creeds, the needs of the people and other influences giving it strength and volume. The part played by the Church has been to throw a dam of sectarianism, inefficiency and sheer obstruction across the river, to turn the stream through sectarian channels and grind the mills of the Churches. That the water has passed through their hands to their great private advantage, and in its last stage issues through their mill-gates, does not prove that they are the fount, but only the channel."¹

Again, what an injustice is done to the teachers! Their individuality and personal liberties meet with scant consideration. They are looked upon by ecclesiastics as pure automata, living machines, possessed of no will of their own, and are made use of as mere catspaws. There is no conscience clause for them. They must swallow all the parson's dogmas and formularies, or become hypocrites, and so lose their personal respect and the last vestige of independent manhood, or be prepared to give up their situations and may be to have to face poverty and its attendant miseries. A fine outlook for the teacher! to be subordinated to the interests of the parsons' trade unions. It is, however, a cheering sign of the times that the mind of the teacher is becoming more independent in the Board schools, particularly in that he has planted down his foot firmly, and refuses to subscribe to any religious tests or formularies of any kind whatever. The Catholics and Anglicans boast that none but Christians can teach or are allowed to teach in their schools. Canon Nunn has stated in public correspondence in the *Manchester Guardian* that only Churchmen can teach in Church schools. To be logical, ought not these clerics to go a step further and publicly announce that none but Catholics and Anglicans shall be their tradesmen, no others need apply? In what logical absurdities does

¹ *The Education Crisis. A Defence of Popular Management in Public Education*, page 53.

this land us ! Would any sensible layman think of asking what were the religious opinions of his brewer, his baker, or his candlestick-maker before establishing business connections ? And yet teachers, of course, have chosen the honourable occupation of teaching—second to none—as their line of life in order to earn their daily bread like other toilers. I maintain that teachers in our public schools should be treated as members of the civil service, without being required to subscribe to any religious tests that are imposed on them at the present moment in the Training Colleges by arrogant ecclesiastics. This can only be effectively put a stop to by making the teaching purely secular. Again, the teacher is underpaid and overworked, in comparison with the general run of parsons, in the parsons' schools particularly, though they are quietly and unostentatiously doing a far greater practical good for the community by offering it a substantial benefit instead of offering sham promises of future *bliss or blisters*, the realisation of which they know no more about than my poor Tommy (cat) that is now looking at me and playing with my papers. The governess is in many cases particularly underpaid. It is a shame and a scandal that educated women, after so many years of training and devotion to their work, should actually be receiving in many instances (see public advertisements) *less* than an ordinary cook in a gentleman's family ; but so it is. Then again, the teacher, more especially in country districts, is compelled often, either as a condition of his appointment, or subsequently under pain of dismissal, without extra remuneration, to do all kinds of work outside the natural sphere of his ordinary duties, such as those of organist, choir-master, parish clerk, overseer, bell-ringer, Sunday-school superintendent, &c. No wonder his nerves are unstrung, and that at times he becomes irritable and excitable in presence of his pupils and of his "spiritual pastors and masters."

In conclusion I may mention that two excellent pamphlets have lately been published bearing on the Education Question.¹ It would be advisable to any one interested in the present education crisis to read these more than once, together with the text of the new Education Bill introduced by Sir John Gorst, and to closely and keenly follow the animated debates in the House of Commons. Both these pamphlets supply the public with accurate statistics and a vast amount of most reliable information in connection with the education problem. In the present article my object has been to present the education problem more from a secular standpoint, from my point of view as a Secularist, who has been an elementary teacher, and has passed through the stages of pupil-teacher in a public elementary school in the East-end of London, and of student in the Cheltenham Training College for two years, 1861 and 1862, and has been engaged in teaching for the

¹ *The Education Question: Facts and Figures.* (42 Parliament Street, London, S.W.): and *The Education Crisis. A Defence of Popular Management in Public Education*, 113 pages. The National Education Emergency Committee, Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, London, W.C.

last forty years. Some of the latest detailed Governmental returns for the year ending August 1895 may at this time excite more than ordinary interest. They are preceded by a statement of the total expenditure for the twelve months from January to December. Inclusive of administration and organisation expenses, this amounts to £6,907,885, being an increase of £326,709 for the year. Of this total £2,889,744, an increase of £236,087, went in *grants* to the Board schools; the Church schools received £2,785,522, or £53,086 more than in 1894; the British £419,472, an increase of £9345; the Roman Catholic £340,968, or £19,546 more; and the Wesleyan schools, £193,968, a *decrease* for the year of £5091. In addition to these grants, £939,668 went to Board schools; £917,431 to Church, £116,530 to British, £115,150 to Roman Catholic, and £62,687 to Wesleyan schools; making a total of £2,151,469 for *fee* grants for the year. The average attendances were 4,325,030, made up of 1,879,218 in Board schools, 1,850,545 in Church. (Thus the Board schools have surpassed the Church in average attendance); 235,151 in British, 230,292 in Roman Catholic, and 129,724 in Wesleyan schools; and the rate of annual grant per scholar in average attendance was 19s. 5d. in Board schools, 18s. 5½d. in Church, 18s. 8½d. in British, 18s. 3d. in Wesleyan, and 18s. 1½d. in Roman Catholic schools. There were 4,006,975 free scholars in the 16,493 free schools, and of these 2,148,205 were in Board schools, 1,450,262 in Church, 148,071 in British, 231,560 in Roman Catholic, and 28,874 in Wesleyan schools. The aggregate income from all sources for the year of schools of all classes was £9,658,748; of this £4,848,828 was the annual turnover of the Board schools, £3,629,967 of the Church, £506,166 of the British, £427,667 of the Roman Catholic; and £246,120 of the Wesleyan schools. Thus, in *every particular* Board schools came out of the test better than the so-called Voluntary schools. The attendance is more regular, the curriculum is wider, the teaching is better, and the general merit of the schools is superior, in the judgment of H.M. Inspectors, to that of the Voluntary schools.

E. G. TAYLOR.

THE NEW ISLAM AND ITS PROPHET.

As of old there rang through the world the cry of one declaring, "There is but one God, and Mahomet is His prophet," so to-day in our ears sounds the rallying cry of the new Islam, "There is but one Empire, and Cecil Rhodes is its prophet." This may sound exaggerated to some, but it sums up in a phrase the sentiments of many who believe in the immense future of the English-speaking race. It is, however, fatal to link together, as of equal importance with an idea world-embracing and eternally true, an individual who, of necessity, is limited and only partially true at best. This was proved unmistakably to be the case with the prophet of Islam, and history is, unfortunately, only too likely to repeat itself in regard to Mr. Cecil Rhodes. This confounding of the man and the idea is an error which all true Imperialists must deplore, and one which they should strive to their uttermost to prevent. No doubt many of us are very loath to turn against one who has done so much to forward the object which we all have at heart; but the more deeply we are attached to our ultimate goal the more necessary is it for us to recognise that the idea is greater than any man, and that if the man prove untrue to his ideals he must sternly face the consequences.

The parallel between the prophet of Arabia and the prophet of the Cape is somewhat curious and furnishes us with a warning and an example. Both proclaimed and are the representatives of great ideas, fraught with many blessings to mankind. Both were so devoted to what they believed to be their religion that they convinced themselves that any means for spreading it was justified and would work out in the end for good. I say both their religions advisedly, for the idea of the English-speaking unity is Mr. Rhodes' religion, the one religion in which he really believes and for which he works. Mahomet believed that he was best serving his Maker by despatching his fanatic followers to overrun the world; Cecil Rhodes believes that he is fulfilling his mission by painting as much of the world's surface red as lies within his power. In character the two have many points of similarity, and in many ways their careers have been a curious parallel. Both in early life seem to have been blameless; both worked for many years silently and unknown before they declared their message; both won the esteem of many who did not admit their pre-

tensions, and in both cases those who knew them best trusted them most.

But if Mr. Rhodes possesses many of the strong characteristics of the Arabian prophet, he also shares with him several of his besetting sins. The chief of these is a too whole-hearted acceptance of the Jesuitical doctrine that any method is right in a good cause.

In both cases this baneful heresy was a gradual growth destroying much which was good in the men, and doing much injury to the ideas for which they stand. As in the latter part of Mahomet's life we recognise a deterioration and the acceptance of a somewhat lower standard of ethics, so we can see in the career of Mr. Rhodes the same degeneration. Mahomet appealed to the sword as a means to attain his end. He thought to take a short cut to the conversion of the whole world to the religion he proclaimed and lived for. Cecil Rhodes appealed not to the sword, it is true, but to what is its modern equivalent—gold. He, too, thought that this would be a short cut to the attainment of an end in which he believes as firmly as ever did the prophet of Allah.

Mr. Freeman, writing on the effect of this course of action on Mahomet, says: "With his first appeal to the sword there appears to have come upon him a general unscrupulousness as to the means whereby his ends were to be compassed. It cannot be denied that from that moment we discern a certain taint upon his whole conduct." If we substitute "gold" for "the sword" have we not summed up in two sentences the tendency which has become more and more marked in Cecil Rhodes of late years? It is this which has led him to attempt to force the Transvaal Republic into the United States of South Africa by means which even his most devoted admirers find it hard to condone.

Many of Mr. Rhodes' opponents believe that he is an impostor, and is simply scheming for his own personal aggrandisement. So also did the enemies of Mahomet. This is a charge to which any man who sees further than his fellows is liable, especially when that man stoops to methods which are not in accordance with his great ideals. But any one who believes this does not understand the man. He is devoted to a great idea, an idea, which, as I said, is to him a religion. What is this religion, this faith, this idea which gives us the keynote to Mr. Rhodes' character and actions? It has been summarised for us by one of his chief supporters in this country, and it may be well to quote it here:

"Patriotism is to him a religion as much as ever it was to the old heroes whose devotion to their seven-hilled city gave them the impelling energy which extended the dominion of Rome from the Caledonian hills to the Libyan desert. Nor is it only as a Roman that Mr. Rhodes believes in his country. There is in his supreme passion more than a trace of the devotion of the Hebrews for the

Land of Promise. His Israel is the English-speaking folk wherever they are found on land and sea, and in them he sees the providential race, the called of God, the predestined rulers of the world. His religion grows out of his shrewdness, and his conception of the universe is based on his scientific diagnosis of the contents of this strange crucible which we call the world. Darwin is probably more of a prophet to his liking than Isaiah or Habakkuk. He accepts the law of the survival of the fittest. He starts from that as the most authentic revelation of the will of the Great Invisible. It colours all his thinking; it dominates his policies. If it be the will of God that the fittest should survive, then surely the first duty of man is to help in securing the survival of the fittest, the elimination of the unfit. But who are the fittest to survive? The answer is written in capitals all over the open page of the planet. The fittest, as proved by the scientific test of survival, are the English-speaking folk. All over the world they have proved and are daily proving their superior capacity in the struggle for existence. But it would be to do Mr. Rhodes an injustice to represent him as the mere worshipper of an accomplished fact, the subservient devotee of material achievement. He asks himself not merely what race is manifestly proving itself best fitted to survive. He also asks which race is it which represents that which is best worth preserving for the improvement of mankind. And here again Mr. Rhodes arrives at the same conclusion. For clearly as the ultimate destiny of our planet is manifested by the progressive conquest of the globe by English speakers, it is not less clearly revealed, not on Mosaic tablets of stone, but in the living pages of contemporary history, that of all the nations the English-speakers possess the secret of the salvation of the world. First and foremost Mr. Rhodes sees in them the principle of industrialism as opposed to militarism. Conscription, universal military service, is as alien to their instinct as it seems natural to the nations of the continent. The English speaker also stands as the foremost of those who believe in freedom. Representative government, if not the original discovery, has been the most conspicuous glory of our race. But it is not a liberty that means licence, for together with its devotion to freedom the English speaking man ever preserved a deep inbred reverence for Law and Justice and Order. Mr. Rhodes sees in the race which represents peace, liberty, and justice, the providential instrument for the betterment of the world. It is the old Hebrew idea. Mr. Rhodes has no more doubt of the Divine mission of the English folk than had Joshua of the divine call of ancient Israel. No argument will ever convince him that the Ruler of this universe intended the choicest portions of his work to be infested for ever by Portuguese or pigmies."

Mr. Rhodes may prefer the Hebrew parallel, but in the light of

recent events I am inclined to think that the Mahometan analogy is the more correct. It is not difficult to imagine Cecil Rhodes indicting a letter much in the strain of Mahomet's brief reply to the false prophet Moseilama. The modern version would probably run somewhat as follows: "From Cecil Rhodes, the prophet of the English-speaking world to Kruger, the Liar: The earth is the English-speaking man's; he giveth it for an inheritance to such of his servants as he pleases; and the happy issue shall attend those that fear him."

But we who belong to what may be called the younger school of Imperialists believe as deeply and as passionately in the divine mission of the English-speaking race. It is because we believe that the race stands for peace, liberty, and justice that we feel compelled to protest when anything is done in the name of England which tends to lower our high standard and discredit our good name. We believe that the English-speaking race is now a great instrument, and in the future will probably be the greatest, in the amelioration of the condition of the whole human race. We believe, as Mazzini wrote some thirty-seven years ago, that: "In labouring for our country on the right principle we labour for humanity. Our country is the fulcrum of the lever we have to wield for the common good. If we abandon that fulcrum we run the risk of rendering ourselves useless, not only to humanity, but to our country itself. Before men can associate with the nations of which humanity is composed, they must have a national existence. It is only through our country that we can have a recognised collective existence. Our country is our home, the house that God has given us, placing therein a numerous family that loves us, and whom we love, a family with whom we sympathise more readily, and whom we understand more quickly, than we do others; and which, from its being centred round a given spot, and from the homogeneous nature of its elements, is adapted to a special branch of activity. Our country is our common workshop, whence the products of our activity are sent forth for the benefit of the whole world; wherein the tools and implements of labour we can most usefully employ are gathered together. Nor may we reject them without disobeying the plan of the Almighty, and diminishing our own strength. . . . Wheresoever you may be, in the centre of whatsoever people circumstances may have placed you, be ever ready to combat for the liberty of that people should it be necessary; but be ready to combat in such wise that the blood you shed may reflect glory, not on yourselves alone, but on your country. Say not *I*, but *we*. Let each man among you strive to incarnate his country in himself. Let each man among you regard himself as a guarantee, responsible for his fellow-countrymen, and learn so to govern his actions as to cause his country to be loved and respected through him. . . . The country is not a mere zone of territory. The

true country is the idea to which it gives birth: it is the thought of love, the sense of communion which unites in one all the sons of that territory."

There are many who object that we should confine our attention only to this small island of ours, and have nothing whatever to do with our possessions lying beyond the seas. Most of these objectors, strangely enough, are to be found in the ranks of the Socialists, who usually argue from the standpoint of the welfare of humanity. They entirely fail to perceive that if, instead of refusing to see the good because of its attendant abuses, they would try and minimise the evils, what a powerful weapon they would have for benefiting the whole of the human race. They seem altogether to ignore the fact that the larger your fulcrum the more power you are likely to have. They practically refuse to do anything until the machinery is absolutely perfect, without flaw or blemish. Instead of helping to repair the machinery and remove the imperfections, they stand idly by, easing their consciences by proclaiming that they will have nothing to do with such antiquated methods, and by abusing any one who will. This may be all very well in theory, but in practice, as they themselves are the first to discover when they endeavour to do any practical work, it is absolutely impossible. One is obliged to work with more or less imperfect tools. This does not preclude us from pointing out their faults and trying to remedy them, and of protesting when we see anything which is likely to depreciate the value of our instrument rather than increase it.

Those who maintain that we have no business beyond the limits of the United Kingdom must cease, as Professor Seeley said years ago, "altogether to say that England is an island off the north-west coast of Europe; that it has an area of 120,000 square miles, and a population of thirty odd millions. They must cease to think that emigrants, when they go to the colonies, leave England, or are lost to England. They must cease to think that the history of England is the history of the Parliament that sits at Westminster, and that the affairs which are not discussed there cannot belong to English history. When we have accustomed ourselves to contemplate the whole Empire together, and call it all England, we shall see that here, too, is a United States. Here, too, is a great homogeneous people, one in blood, language, religion, and laws, but dispersed over a boundless space."

Mr. Rhodes has been the foremost exponent of these ideas, and has done much to carry them into effect. But his utter reliance upon the power of money, and a certain unscrupulousness, and a deficiency in ethical development, has done much to undo his work of the last ten or fifteen years. Elaborate and plausible apologies may be made for his recent action in the Transvaal, and for his massing of troops on its frontier—for there is no manner of doubt

but that he took an active part both in the movement in Johannesburg and in Charterland—but the fact remains that morally it is indefensible. It is equally so from the point of view of policy.

It is of greater importance to the Empire that it should continue to represent the great ideals of justice, peace, and liberty than that all the gold mines and diamond mines of Africa should belong to us. Nor would we be compensated for any loss of what may be called our moral prestige, were we to gain the Transvaal a hundred times over. Those who do not believe in the mission of our race can condone such a divergence from the straight way, but to those who believe in the Empire as a symbol of righteousness, or as a means to righteousness, it is impossible. That it is our prophet, our Mahomet, the man who has made the idea of English-speaking unity loom large on the horizon of the world, who has committed this error, does not lessen the responsibility which lies upon us to protest against such things being done in the name of our race.

Mr. Rhodes' conduct is equally to be condemned from the more practical view of policy. Our whole position at the Cape depends upon the cordial co-operation of the two white races. For a dozen years Mr. Rhodes has worked for the unification of these two races, without which our authority at the Cape is as nothing. Suddenly by one stroke he undoes the work of years. After carefully and laboriously building up the edifice of a United South Africa he wantonly undermines the very foundation on which it is erected. He has plunged the whole of the southern portion of the Continent into a state of feverish unrest, from which we may consider ourselves fortunate if we emerge without a race-war of English against Dutch. Mr. Rhodes has made a much more serious situation than could have been created by any amount of German intrigue. In fact it was the existence of those intrigues which saved the situation. Had it not been for the revelation of German designs—designs which I have good reasons to believe were only very vaguely known to Mr. Rhodes—our situation at the Cape would have become intolerable.

To counterbalance these serious evils what advantages did Mr. Rhodes expect to gain? The only possible thing which he could have obtained was to compel the Boer Republic to join the United States of South Africa a few years sooner than would have been the case in the ordinary course of events. There would have been some excuse for Mr. Rhodes had this been the one and only opportunity which there was of obtaining this desirable result. But it was not. Time was on his side. It was in the nature of things that the Transvaal would ultimately form part of the Union. This Mr. Rhodes himself recognised. In an interview, published in the *Westminster Gazette* last year, he said: "The situation speaks for itself. You have a farming and intensely conservative minority in possession of all power. And you have an industrial energetic

community recruited from the mining camps of America and Australia, full of energy, accustomed to liberty, already immensely outnumbering the ruling minority. It is impossible that such a state of things can be stable or permanent. It is an inverted pyramid. Sometime or other it will topple over, do what you may. My policy is to keep things moving along quietly. With careful management we may keep the opposing elements from coming into sharp collision. If the conflict must come sooner or later, let us have it later rather than sooner. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose by securing space for the natural local forces to grow. Time is on our side."

And this is the man who forced on the ill-starred rebellion of the Uitlanders against the Dutch oligarchy. Instead of the careful management which he recommended to keep the two elements from conflicting, all his management was expressly directed to bring about such a conflict.

The chief argument which is always urged in favour of giving your supremely able man a free hand is that he is on the spot, and therefore is in a position to judge more accurately the real conditions and the local feeling. But Mr. Rhodes seems to have ignored or been blind to the effect which his intrigues were likely to have on South African feeling. And again, thinking as Mr. Rhodes does in continents or in empires, we might at least have expected that he would have taken into consideration the effect which his plunge was likely to have on the Empire at large, and its relations with foreign nations. From a less able man we should not have expected this, but from as clever a man as Mr. Rhodes has proved himself to be we had a right to expect it. As it was, he gambled with money which was not his own; he ran risks which, it is true, were great for himself, but which were nothing to those which the Empire had to undergo. All the ingenious parallels which have been devised—and there have been many—to shield Mr. Rhodes from the consequences of his actions presuppose that Mr. Cecil Rhodes equals the British Empire. Whatever remote justification there may have been at one time for this supposition has been completely refuted by Mr. Rhodes himself. So far from this being the case, Mr. Rhodes has fallen into the common error of a man who is not at the centre of affairs, of regarding a local question as of an importance altogether out of proportion to the whole.

That Mr. Rhodes honestly thought he was furthering the cause he has at heart all who know the man will admit. To contend, as some London journals do, that the whole affair was a conspiracy to send up Charters is unfair and unjust. But, while fully recognising this, it does not make the problem with which we are confronted any the less serious. It is useless refusing to face the facts, however disagreeable they may be. Much may be forgiven Mr. Rhodes,

and much excused; but there is one vital question which he will have to answer. On his answer his career as an Imperial statesman will largely, if not altogether, depend. Does he still regard the means which he considered justifiable in the recent South African crisis as legitimate methods to gain his ends, or does he recognise that he has erred, and that in the future he will abandon those methods which, however excusable they may be in a State which is struggling for its very existence, should not be permissible for an Empire like our own?

If Mr. Rhodes does not answer plainly and frankly that he does not consider these methods legitimate and justifiable, our course is clear. The more devoted we are to the English-speaking idea, the more impossible it will be for us to support Cecil Rhodes.

But as Allah is greater than Mahomet, so is the English-speaking race than Cecil Rhodes. The danger is—and it is a serious one—that as the failings of the Arabian prophet have discredited the religion which he proclaimed, so the errors of Cecil Rhodes may injure the ideal for which we are all working. I would earnestly warn those who believe that they must save Mr. Rhodes at any cost from the consequences of his mistakes, that they will probably do unknown harm to the cause which they have at heart. Unless they make it plain that they repudiate the methods which have already been proved Mr. Rhodes regarded as legitimate, they will postpone by many years the day when we shall see an alliance of English-speaking communities the wide world over.

W. S.

DECIMAL COINAGE FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

ALMOST every civilised country outside Greater Britain, and a large portion of Greater Britain herself—notably Canada—have the convenience of a decimal system of coinage in one form or another.

If the British people would generally adopt such a system, they would simplify all their monetary operations, and would save millions every year in labour alone: whereas the cost and temporary inconvenience of the change would be trifling, in fact almost *nil*, in view of the advantage to be gained.

When Sir William Harcourt, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was asked in the House of Commons whether he would do anything to facilitate such a system, he replied by asking another question—viz., whether it was proposed to alter the value of the shilling or the penny. Now, in our present gold and silver currency we have all the elements of a decimal system, and it is only the bronze coinage that requires slightly to be changed.

Retain the pound and the florin, which is a tenth of a pound, as well as the shilling, the sixpence, and, for a time, the threepenny piece, all of which are aliquot parts of a florin; but make the smallest coin in the realm the $\frac{1}{1000}$ part (instead of the farthing, which is the $\frac{1}{40}$ part) of the pound, and the change is complete in principle, a few details only requiring adjustment. The smallest coin will then be $\frac{1}{80}$ instead of $\frac{1}{48}$ of a shilling, and the $\frac{1}{10}$ instead of $\frac{1}{8}$ of a florin. The shillings that are now current should continue so, but all future shillings should be issued under the name of half florins, and the smaller silver coins should in future be issued under slightly changed names. Let the $\frac{1}{1000}$ of a pound, the coin to be issued in lieu of the farthing, be called a “mill,” and let ten of these make a “victoria,” a new coin to be called after our illustrious Queen. You will then have a complete decimal system throughout, for ten mills will make a victoria, ten victorias a florin, and ten florins a pound. Some fifteen years ago a question was asked of bankers by the Master of the Mint whether they would prefer the issue of half-crowns or florins, and the answer given by more than one leading house was that they did not care which, so long as florins and half-crowns were not both issued, for, in adding

up a great number, their cashiers were liable to mistake the one for the other. It would, therefore, be no inconvenience that half-crowns should drop out of circulation.

For a time, however, the half-crown can continue current, representing, as it does, a florin and a quarter, or one-eighth of a pound; and the threepenny piece, while current, will represent a victoria and a quarter, or one-eighth of a florin.

Under the proposed system £11 5s. 6d. would be represented by £11.275—i.e., £11 and 275 mills (or, in other words, 11 pounds, 2 florins, 7 victorias, and 5 mills). The sum remains absolutely unchanged in value, although much simplified in form, and in all dealings with it we are spared the troublesome calculation of turning the pence into shillings and the shillings into pounds, or *vice versa*, as in our present system. With simplicity comes a greater tendency to accuracy. We have taken these figures at random, and have given a very simple case as an illustration, but, of course, our remarks apply with greater force when the sums to be added, or otherwise dealt with, are greater.

In *addition* the advantages of the decimal system are easily seen, but in *multiplication* and *division* they are even more apparent, especially when it is desired to multiply or divide by ten or any multiple of ten, division by ten being effected by simply moving the decimal point a place to the left, and multiplication by moving it to the right—e.g., to divide £11.275 by 10 write £1.1275, and to multiply it by 10 write £112.75. There will be some little trouble, though very little, in transforming present accounts into the new currency, but when once changed they will be carried on according to the new and simpler system without reference to the old. As a sixpence is now equivalent to twenty-four farthings and in the proposed currency will be equivalent to twenty-five mills, every complete sixpence can be exactly represented; and only in dealing with fractions of this sum, in accounts large or small, will it be difficult to transmute and represent the old coinage by its exact equivalent in the new; the difference, however, can never be more than a mere trifle.

No doubt for some years to come articles will continue to be priced in pence and farthings, just as guineas are retained in theory, although there is no such coin as a guinea and no accounts are kept in guineas. If, for instance, 1000 lb. of wool are sold at 5½d. per lb., the sum to be paid will amount to £21 17s. 6d. and will be represented in the new currency by £21.875, the exact equivalent; but if the deal is much smaller and it is only for 1 lb. of wool at 5½d., the price will be a little less than 22 mills; the exact equivalent is impossible; but never in the largest or the smallest transactions can the equivalent be as much as half a farthing out.

We now claim to have shown how easily *accounts* kept on the present system of £ s. d. can be transmuted into those of a decimal system of £ and M., or £. *Fl.* V. and M. If the Government and other public bodies and bankers were to adopt the new system, as soon as the new coinage was started, there is little doubt but that private individuals would shortly follow their example on finding how much labour was saved and accuracy insured, and the practice would become universal. It now remains for us to point out how the bronze *coins* themselves can be changed so as to cause in their change as little inconvenience as possible.

But before doing so it will be interesting to trace very briefly the history of our coinage and the various steps by which silver pounds and pennies have come to be represented by pounds in gold and pennies in bronze.

Charlemagne established the system of coinage which was adopted throughout the Western States of Europe. He made the pound weight of silver the standard, and divided it into 240 pieces called pennies, which were the only coins issued from the western mints for some centuries afterwards. In course of time, however, their value became changed and gold coins were introduced. At first the exclusive right of coining gold seems to have been retained by the Emperor of Constantinople, probably under the treaty of A.D. 803 between Nicephorus and Charlemagne, by which the limits of the two empires were amicably fixed and the rights of the respective emperors defined. Gold coins appear to have been current in the Western States, but they were issued by the Emperor of Constantinople: and it was not till the fall of that city, and with it the Byzantine Empire, in A.D. 1204, that the other princes of Europe ventured to issue them from their mints.

In England, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, although gold and silver were coined in unlimited amounts, all the good silver disappeared from circulation as soon as it was issued, and the whole question of the coinage and the relation between gold and silver was referred to Sir Isaac Newton, at first Warden and afterwards Master of the Mint. He pointed out that the guinea, although it had been originally intended to represent 20s. only, was, by a Treasury warrant then in force, passing current as 21s. 6d., but that its real value, according to the market value of the metals, was only 20s. 8d.; and he recommended, as a tentative measure, that it should be reduced to 21s. At this value the theoretical guinea has remained ever since. It was still, however, over-rated by 4d., and silver still continued to disappear from circulation. The explanation of this problem, which has puzzled financiers for so many ages, is really extremely simple. When a guinea in gold, worth in the bullion market only 20s. 8d., was allowed to circulate together with a guinea's worth of silver worth in the bullion market 21s., and a man was allowed to

pay his debts in which of them he pleased, he naturally chose to pay his debts with the golden guinea, worth only 20s. 8d. The guinea's worth of silver, worth the full 21s., he preferred to keep in his pocket, or to export at its full value, or to sell to the dealer, who would melt it down into bullion. By being coined it was actually lowered in value and put on a par with a guinea worth only 20s. 8d. It became, therefore, an established custom amongst merchants that all obligations should be settled in gold. A century later, viz., at the great re-coinage in 1816, what had been an established custom was enacted by law. Gold was adopted as the sole standard of currency; and silver and bronze have been coined only in limited amounts, silver being made legal tender up to 40s. and bronze up to 12d. The reason, then, of 240 pennies equalling a pound has wholly passed away, while the inconvenience of such a proportion survives, and is for us now to abolish. We all remember with what ability and ease Mr. Goschen a few years ago called in the foreign bronze coins that were flooding the country. The automatic machines reaped a splendid harvest for themselves, while they were of the greatest assistance to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in collecting the foreigners, by dealing out sweetmeats, cigarettes, "your correct weight," and other luxuries, when numberless foreign coins, instead of English pennies, were dropped into the slots. No doubt something of the sort will come to the rescue when it is required to call in English pennies themselves.

No one can travel abroad without being struck with the convenience of the decimal system, and no one can travel in Austria and Hungary without being struck with the simplicity and ease with which an effectual effort is there being made to change the old system of currency, based on silver and inconvertible notes, into a system, introduced in 1892, based on gold and notes payable in gold. To change, however, bronze coins only would be a much more simple process. Let there be issued bronze coins of the value of $\frac{1}{80}$ of a shilling, or $\frac{1}{160}$ of a florin, or $\frac{1}{1600}$ of a pound, called "mills"; coins of the value of two of these; others of the value of five; and others of the value of ten, which last will be called "victorias." Let farthings, halfpennies, and pennies be called in and exchanged for the new coinage, at the rate of sixpence, or twenty-four farthings, for twenty-five mills. Only in very small transactions would the change be felt. For all practical purposes, such as the purchase of a farthing's worth of goods, the poor man would find that the new coin, the mill, had the purchasing power of the farthing, and that he had an extra coin—viz., twenty-five, instead of twenty-four, in a sixpence. This inducement would soon make the new coin supersede the old one in the eyes of the only people who use such coins, and would therefore feel the difference; and, as we have already shown, as soon as the deal amounted to sixpence no change

would take place, except in name. The halfpenny would in the same way be superseded by the two-mill piece, and the penny by either two of these or by the five-mill piece, according to agreement between the contracting parties. No doubt very cheap things would often be bought for four mills and sold for five, and a very handsome profit of 25 per cent. be made on the transaction.

But, it may be asked, if you alter the value of the penny and make only ten of the coins representing it equivalent to a shilling, how will you deal with the penny omnibus fares, the penny postage, and other similar public charges? To such questions we reply that there is no particular charm in the penny, but it is merely the nearest coin to the tenth of a shilling; that an actual tenth, the five-mill piece, would be an equally reasonable and a better charge for an omnibus fare or an inland letter; and that by the slight increase in the rate the revenue of the omnibus companies and the Post-Office would be enormously increased; or that penny tickets or stamps could still be sold at the price of six for twenty-five mills (sixpence), and only when sold singly, or in batches of less than six, would the price be five mills each.

The omnibus companies and the Post-Office prefer to sell their tickets and stamps in batches, and the slight reduction in the price would be an inducement to the public to buy them in that way. By the sale of single stamps the increase to the Government revenue would go a long way towards the expenses of the re-coinage.

These are considerations and adjustments, however, that could be as easily worked out as any private transactions: the omnibus companies or the Government agreeing on the one hand and the public on the other. It should be mentioned that in Australia and New Zealand the proposed change would scarcely be felt, for bronze coins are not nearly so much used in those parts as they are in England. An ordinary glass of beer at a restaurant in the colonies is sixpence, instead of twopence, and a glass of milk threepence, instead of a penny, which coins—the sixpence and the threepence—it is proposed in the new currency to retain.

We have at this moment before us a florin with the words inscribed on its face, "One florin, one-tenth of a pound." This practice should be continued, and the victorias should have on them the words, "One victoria, one-tenth of a florin," and the mills should have the words, "One mill, one-tenth of a victoria," that the public may learn at a glance the new currency.

It will be observed that throughout our scheme no suggestion has been made to tamper with our gold standard of currency, or even with our silver coinage, but simply with the bronze. The bronze is at the present time not of intrinsic value, but emblematic only; and an Act of Parliament can as easily make 1000 mills, as it now makes 960 farthings, equivalent to a pound; or, what is the

same thing, it can make 25 mills instead of 24 farthings, equivalent to sixpence.

Our remarks have been devoted to the ways and means for adjusting the old coinage to the new and smoothing over any difficulties that lie in the way. When the new system is once adopted no such difficulties will arise, but all of our monetary transactions, both in coins and accounts, will be considerably simplified. The inestimable advantages of a decimal system are admitted on all sides.

To sum up—

1. Value and prices would find their own level and adapt themselves to the new quite as easily as they do to the present system of currency.

2. All existing contracts could be carried out, and all existing accounts, however large, could be transferred without any alteration in their value beyond the fraction of a farthing, and in future be carried on on the new system with greater ease and simplicity than at present, no calculations being required, as at present, to turn the pence into shillings and the shillings into pounds, or *vice versa*.

3. Only the bronze coins need be changed, and the new coins would readily commend themselves to those members of the community who would chiefly require to make use of them.

HOWARD W. BROUGHTON.

NEW PLEAS FOR OLD REMEDIES.

A WORD TO SOCIAL REFORMERS.

ONE cannot fail to be struck at the present day by the greater seriousness with which society is learning to take itself and its duties ; by the growth of a more intelligent interest in its own condition, of a keener sensitiveness, as some abuses are removed, to others that remain ; by the increase of its belief that help is not to be sought from without in any "saviour of society," but in the resources of society itself ; by signs of a willingness to re-examine principles and methods which only a few years ago had been discarded as obsolete. But most significant of all these changes is the rise of a strongly held, though as yet barely formulated belief—directly traceable, by the way, to the evolutionary hypothesis—that society is moving irresistibly along a definite path towards a definite if dimly apprehended goal. The belief in the existence of a stream of tendency so strong that opposition must be futile and co-operation almost unnecessary could not fail to have a most depressing effect on the energies of parties and individuals, were there not appended as a sort of cheerful corollary the conviction that in the resulting social transformation many of the evils which now disfigure our civilisation must inevitably disappear.

Such a conviction, it is often said, tends to work its own fulfilment, but it must not be forgotten that the efficacy of a conviction varies with its correspondence to fact. If, as some maintain, most of the so-called abuses of which society is just now so acutely conscious are rooted in the very nature of things, they can never be simply *thought away* ; if on the other hand their strength lies merely in prescription, in the unwarranted assumption that they are irremovable because hitherto they have not been removed, then undoubtedly the change which the public mind seems to be undergoing on this point may be expected to have large and far-reaching results. In the one case a real progress may be looked for, in the other only a further illustration of the melancholy witticism *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

In the present paper an attempt will be made to show that the difficulties in the way of a thorough social reform are not insuperable, that the general hope just noted of a better state of things

has substantial justification, and that even now we are not without data for casting the horoscope of the more perfect social system that is coming to the birth. Such predictions are often sneered at as academic or doctrinaire; the sting of the reproach, however, does not lie in the imputation of having a doctrine, but in the innuendo that our doctrine, like too many others, is perhaps based on a merely superficial study of the facts and therefore unworkable in practice. The remembrance of this, though useful as a counsel of thoroughness in seeking the grounds of our opinion and of diffidence in setting it forth, is surely no reason for abjuring it until it shall have been discredited by experience.

I.

That there is an art as well as a science of society can only be allowed with large qualifications. Every art has its own conventions, determined mainly by the nature of the material; but in no art are the conventions so stern, the material so untractable, the range of possible achievement so restricted as in the art, if art there be, of social arrangement. Society being admittedly a natural growth—as we are reminded by the use of such terms as “the social organism,” “social evolution,” and the like—there can only be an art of society in the sense in which we speak of an art of horse-breeding, of gardening, of forestry; that is to say, an art of modifying and improving by selection, of guiding by judiciously fostering its more hopeful energies, a living and growing organism. Moreover, when it is remembered that the artist in this particular case—that is to say, the statesman or publicist to whose influence these reforms are gratefully ascribed—is himself a product of the forces he is believed to have moulded, it almost seems as if even within these narrow limits his art is an illusion; as if the natural history of society is proceeding through its successive stages without let or help from the conscious efforts of any man or set of men whatsoever. Not to insist on this latter point, a timely remembrance of the necessary “rules of the game” would spare our social reformers the disheartening spectacle of the failure of many a well-intentioned scheme.

Further, a prime essential to any useful discussion of the social problem is that there should be some measure of agreement as to the end in view; to the absence of this may be ascribed those disputes and misunderstandings which have so often darkened counsel and hindered progress. For—and this cannot be too emphatically stated—there is more than one Utopia. We have, for instance, the old Tory ideal of a gracious monarch, aided by a proud but public-spirited aristocracy, presiding over the destinies of a loyal and contented people; again, we have the ideal of the individualist Liberal of the old school, of the modern Progressist Radical, of the

thorough-going Collectivist, of the Anarchist. And there are differences going even deeper ; all the foregoing, not excluding the Tory, would probably subscribe, if not to the words, at least to the principle summed up in the formula, " the greatest happiness of the greatest number ; " and they would no doubt admit that for gauging such happiness, and through it the success of their policy, the test of material prosperity would be fairly trustworthy. Yet, divided as by an impassable gulf from all of these, we have Newman, in a striking passage, asserting that if such material prosperity were to be purchased at the cost of the hold upon any people of the Catholic faith, he for one would count this boasted triumph of progress a disaster.

Now, if we bear in mind the inexorable limitations of our supposed art of social arrangement, it will be easily seen that the question is not what ideal has most attraction for us, but which, given the conditions, is possible. As well might we hope by careful breeding of newts or lizards to reproduce the extinct " dragons of the prime " as by any means now within our power to resuscitate some dead and gone social system of " the good old days ; " as confidently expect by a series of judicious marriages to evolve a race of winged men as to realise some of the visionary projects of our day. Whatever else is doubtful about the society of the future, one thing at least is certain, it will develop along its present lines, if strangely unlike it will be no less strangely like the social system under which we live. Progress will consist not in recasting the form of the structure, but in the continuous elimination of abuses. To use a homely metaphor, society will not change its features but will wash its face.

What are the prospects of the achievement in the near future of such an ideal ? Of a social system, that is to say, of the Anglo-Saxon type, from which drunkenness, immorality, preventable disease, abject poverty, sweating, and in fact the whole dreary catalogue of abuses that infest our civilisation shall have been banished, without impairing in the process the manly self-reliant energetic character of the rest of the citizens ?

II.

Our social system is criticised by two antagonistic schools, one of which blames it as inhumanly harsh, the other as foolishly lenient in its treatment of the less fortunate classes. The arguments of each, plausible and seemingly irresistible until the other side is heard, are too familiar to need recapitulation. But, what has hardly as yet been satisfactorily explained, is the vitality of these opposite views. Surely, one is tempted to cry, both cannot be right ; the monotonous sea-saw of public opinion between the alternative policies of " coddle " and " *laissez-faire* " cannot go on for ever. The usual answer, that our existing society being a compromise

naturally fails to please either extreme, does not yield much comfort. A compromise between rival interests one can understand; but between competing policies embodying inconsistent and irreconcilable principles, denouncing each other respectively as "inhuman" and "insensate," there can be no real accommodation. Is there then no "better way"? No means whereby a place and function can be given to each in one society without invoking that most hateful and futile result, a compromise of principle? I believe there is.

The question of the unemployed and of the insufficiently or irregularly employed is the *crux* of the industrial, and therefore of the whole social problem. Not only is the presence of this class in our midst of itself a grave evil, it is also a permanent drag on the progress of the body of working men. Whatever be the merits of the two pet schemes of the Labour party, "the living wage" and "the eight hours day," their realisation is hopeless until this preliminary obstacle shall have been at least partly got out of the way. For, except in the case of a few well-organised, because highly skilled, trades, the existence of a large mass of unemployed workmen must tend to glut the labour market, and thus depress wages. Even if, as is sometimes urged, this consideration has little weight in moderating the demands of the unions, it is a dominant factor in the calculations of employers. The success or failure of most of the recent strikes has turned chiefly upon the possibility of efficiently supplying the place of the strikers with non-union "black-legs," recruited of course from the ranks of the unemployed. And further, supposing, *per impossibile*, that with the question of the unemployed still open the unions were able to dictate their own terms, the resulting settlement would bring neither permanent industrial peace nor social contentment. The prosperity of a well fed, highly paid, leisured class of workmen would, by contrast, render the plight of their starving unemployed brothers all the more pitiable. True, some advocates of the eight hours day maintain that it would be the means of absorbing many of the unemployed in the ranks of regular industry, but apart from the inconsistency of this plea with the other reason adduced, that a man in a day of eight hours would do as much work as he now does in ten, there are excellent reasons for doubting whether more than a small fraction of the unemployed* would benefit by the change.

Thus, alike for sympathetic and severely practical reasons, the reformer who, not content with a policy of tinker, aims at nothing less than the transformation of our present industrial chaos into a true society, fair and well ordered from base to pinnacle (that is to say if any pinnacle be left), must begin with the unemployed. An indirect indication of its importance is afforded by the fact that, in their attitude towards this question, the antagonism of the two

schools of thought aforementioned has always been most marked. Here, if anywhere, have the beneficent energies of each of the two parties been neutralised most disastrously by the opposition of the other; here, if anywhere, a reconciliation which, while it involves no sacrifice nor compromise of principle, shall leave each to do its part in the great work of social amelioration is, beyond everything, to be desired. Where are we to seek it?

I answer, in a more careful analysis of the different elements lumped together under the convenient, but rather misleading, generalisation of unemployed. Few suppose this to be one homogeneous class, and yet the problem is often discussed on the tacit assumption that this is the case. It is easy, however, to show that it is really made up of two very distinct, though unfortunately not always readily distinguishable, divisions—the unworthy (or unwilling to work) and the unable (or genuine unemployed); between these there exists a third class, the unfit, which shades off at either extremity by imperceptible stages into one or other of the former. Obviously each of these classes requires a special mode of treatment, and in the ignoring of this simple fact we have the secret of that antagonism of policies already deplored. Each would apply to the whole what could only justly and safely be applied to the part. Thus, at one time the unable suffer for the misdoings of the unworthy, at another the unworthy are able to divert to their own use help which was sorely needed and well deserved by the unable. As we proceed it will be shown that, while the severest measures of what I will call the Draconian school are salutary and even necessary in the case of the unworthy, there is room for all the humanity of the Humanitarian in dealing with the unable. Thus, as already promised, it will be possible, without any compromise of principle, to find a place and function for each of these policies in our scheme of reform.

III.

The importance of accurately distinguishing the unworthy from the unable cannot be too strongly insisted upon. It has already been seen that the attainment of their ideal by the artisan class as a whole is an impossibility so long as the difficulty of the unemployed is still unsolved. For kindred reasons, until some satisfactory and discriminating method of dealing with the unworthy classes shall have been discovered the problem of the unable, of the genuine unemployed, will continue to baffle us.

It is often said that such a distinction is not easy to draw, especially in times of severe distress, when the number of the unemployed is swollen beyond its normal proportions, and congested in the large centres of population. There is a certain force in this

objection which I have implicitly admitted by including in the classification a third division, that of the unfit, standing midway between the unworthy and the unable. Still, the difficulty of discrimination between the two latter has been much exaggerated; there can surely be no excuse for confusing the criminal, the habitual drunkard, the incorrigible loafer with the merely unable.

These three subdivisions practically exhaust the unworthy class, and each of them is easily recognisable. The criminal class is already "known to the police;" the records of previous convictions are readily accessible, and, with the help of the "Bertillon System," cases of mistaken identity need never occur. Is it impossible to devise some such simple process of labour lists and registration as will ensure that the habitual drunkard and the incorrigible loafer shall also become "known to the police?"

But, it may be asked, supposing this done, how much better off shall we be? Very little, certainly, if our reform is to end with classification. To keep an eye on such a multitude would tax the powers of a dozen Scotland Yards. Merely to know their numbers would be about as helpful as to an Algerian farmer the knowledge of exactly how many million locusts were contained in the swarm that was devouring his fields. Classification, though a necessary, is only a preliminary step. But in this case, I fear, it is the second step that costs; for the second step, the logical consequence of the foregoing, is nothing less than the isolation and gradual extinction of the whole class of the unworthy, criminal, idler, and drunkard alike.

This is, of course, no new proposal; few, if any, of the measures advocated in the present paper have the merit of novelty. But, though it has been urged, and ably urged, several times, it has received scant attention from some, and been undeservedly decried, and even ridiculed, by others. The objections to the plan resolve themselves into three: (1) it is impracticable; (2) it is expensive; (3) it is despotically cruel. I will deal shortly with each:

(1) That it is impracticable is mere assertion. I have no data for even approximately guessing at their numbers; but even supposing—and it is an extravagant estimate—they amounted to half-a-million for the whole of Great Britain, would the compulsory isolation of so large a body be a task beyond the power of a resolute Government, backed by the conviction of the rest of the population? Not if we are to judge from the ease with which the Germans interned upwards of a hundred thousand French prisoners during their last war. Moreover, in the case under consideration, the interning would be a gradual process; the prisons, workhouses, labour colonies, &c., to which the different classes of the unworthy were to be drafted would be filled, not suddenly, as by a *coup de main*, but gradually, by the almost automatic operation of a pre-arranged

system ; detention would, as now in the case of criminals, only follow conviction by a proper tribunal. The main differences would be, (a) that the number of offences against society involving such a penalty would be extended ; and (b) the inmates of the various penal and industrial establishments would remain there, not for a limited period, but for the rest of their natural lives. There is therefore no sufficient reason for doubting that, given an energetic Government and an overwhelming preponderance of public opinion in its favour, the scheme is possible.

(2) Another and more plausible objection is that the plan would prove too expensive even for a rich nation. No Government or Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is urged, would dare to propose taxes adequate to so huge an outlay. No people in their senses would submit to such an increment of the public burdens. The argument is based on the assumption that every addition to the Budget involves a growth of the expenditure of the nation. That this result does not always follow can easily be shown. To take an imaginary instance. Suppose one of the Australian colonies were to vote a hundred thousand pounds annually for the extermination of the rabbits that prey so disastrously upon agricultural produce, would not the saving effected, if the operations proved successful, more than counterbalance the loss by the expenditure of this large sum ? And if it were found that the most effectual way of extinguishing these agricultural pests was to drive them into large warrens where they could be dealt with at leisure, we should have a partial analogy with the plan here advocated for ridding the country of the far more pernicious, the infinitely more expensive social pests which have so long infested it. For, under present conditions, the unworthy are consumers without being producers ; they batten upon resources which they have not helped to create ; like the " austere man " of the parable, they are ever " reaping what they did not sow." Whether the expense of their " keep " appears as an item in the Budget or not, matters little ; in either case it is a charge upon the wealth and industry of the people. We cannot help ourselves ; so long as the unworthy live in our midst, and live, as *ex hypothesi* they do, without working, they are, whether we like it or not, pensioners upon the nation's purse. Probably they would cost the country less, even if maintained in idleness, than they actually do under our haphazard want of system. And if by judicious discipline they were compelled to work, the establishments to which they were relegated might become almost self-supporting and, in order not to compete unfairly with free labour, self-sufficing.

(3) There remains the objection that the scheme is despotically cruel. Severity so unrelenting even towards the worst criminals is, we are told, contrary to the whole spirit of the age ; and *a fortiori*,

to invent a new crime and to punish for it so ruthlessly men who, whatever their faults, have not hitherto been regarded as having forfeited their civil rights, is a retrograde step into barbarity.

Were the question only one of expense, it might perhaps be doubted whether such high-handed proceedings could be justified. But the ultimate money saving to the nation is the very least of the benefits claimed for this policy of the compulsory isolation of the unworthy. The existence in the body of our population of this squalid element is more than an economic, it is a grave moral, danger. It is a source of moral contagion in the present; it is prolific of moral evil for remote posterity. To extirpate a thing so baleful no remedy would be too drastic, no sacrifice too great.

At the same time there rests upon the advocate of this proposal the burden of proving that it would, if adopted, achieve the desired result. My reasons for believing this I now proceed to give. There can be little doubt that the unworthy are, to a large extent, a hereditary class; their ranks are recruited partly, it is true, from the wrecks and failures of society generally, but when due allowance has been made for this, it is still found that the bulk of the unworthy are the children of unworthy parents. It does not matter to the argument whether, in the strict sense of the word, they inherit depraved instincts and tendencies, or are corrupted by the tainted moral atmosphere which they must breathe from their earliest years; it is enough to show that, as nearly always they grow up to resemble their parents in these respects, we have every reason to fear that their children will in turn resemble them. The only effectual way of dealing with an evil so monstrous is to forbid the unworthy to propagate their kind. The case for the policy here advocated is that this prohibition can best be enforced by a compulsory separation of the sexes in penal and industrial establishments. By this means, and by this means only, can hereditary crime, drunkenness, and vagrancy be stamped out in the course of a few generations. It is we, and not our critics, who have the right to invoke the sacred name of pity; pity for the unworthy themselves, who deserve it none the less for being unconscious how pitiable their plight really is; pity for the honest unemployed who have to suffer for their misdeeds; above all, pity for the unborn generations whom our "masterly inactivity" would condemn to lives of misery and degradation.

One other objection will be raised. What is to become of the children whose parents are thus secluded? As a rule, both parents would not be taken away; it is possible also that part of the father's earnings in the labour colony might be available for the support of his family. But if this proved a visionary hope it would be the State's plain interest as well as duty to see that these children were

trained—possibly by means of a comprehensive system of industrial schools similar to those already in existence—to honest ways and useful trades.'

Great as are the difficulties and complications the scheme involves, they are not to be weighed against the hopeless impotence of our present policy.

The case of the intermediate class of the unfit I do not now propose to consider. They are already, to some extent, cared for in hospitals and asylums, and in other excellent ways. As compared with the unworthy and unable they are numerically insignificant, and have, in fact, only been mentioned in the present connection for the sake of completeness of classification.

IV.

With the elimination of the unworthy from their ranks many of the reasons for the "unsympathetic" treatment of the unemployed disappear. Many, but not quite all; one argument for letting them severely alone still remains, invested with an air of scientific cogency by the help of that modern phrase of all-work, "the survival of the fittest." It is an inevitable consequence, we are told, of this and cognate principles that the weak must go to the wall; the necessity is deplorable, but then the universe is a congeries of deplorable necessities. Any attempt to lessen the stress of the struggle by softening the penalties of failure must lower the standard of energy and efficiency in the rest of the working class and eventually, if unchecked, involve the community in general ruin. The argument might be thrown into a quasi-syllogistic form somewhat after this fashion :

(1) The prosperity of the State depends upon the constant exercise at high pressure of the energies of its individual members, high and low, rich and poor.

(2) The constant exercise of such energy is best secured by the rewards and penalties accompanying a system of unrestricted competition.

(3) Therefore the rich are to be encouraged to work at high pressure by the hope of becoming millionaires; and the poor are to be urged to practise the same industrial virtue by a wholesome dread of "getting the sack."

I have made the syllogism double-barrelled not for the sake of a cheap antithesis between the arguments used to convince rich and poor respectively, but because the case of the millionaires throws a useful light on the present problem. Mr. Kidd in his recent book, quoting the authority of Professor Milnes Marshall, has given reasons for believing that the activity of the capitalist class might be bought at a cheaper rate than now obtains; that the rewards of

'business enterprise are unnecessarily high and out of proportion to the services rendered. By a parity of reasoning, it might be suspected, the penalties of inefficiency at present exacted of the poor could also be shown to be unnecessarily severe and disproportionate to the guilt. This has in fact been done by Dr. Karl Pearson in a recent critique of Mr. Kidd in the *Fortnightly Review*. Dr. Pearson reminds us that it is in savage and unprogressive societies that the penalties of failure are most severe; concomitant with the advance of industrial development is seen the growth of a more humane conception of the claims of the weak, which is found to be not incompatible with the putting forth of their utmost energies by the capable and strong. I shall now endeavour to prove that the humaner view is not only morally right but economically expedient.

Simply stated, the problem of the unemployed is as follows. In good times, when trade and agriculture are flourishing, when new mills are being erected, new mines sunk on every hand, there is a large and constant demand for labour. The supply of good workmen being limited, employers are glad to engage others who are not quite so efficient: in *very* good times work can be found for all except the hopelessly incompetent. In response to the demands of an expanding trade a large population has been called into being and massed in certain districts. During the period of expansion this growth in the number of the working class is viewed rather with complacency than anxiety. It is far otherwise when there ensues a period of shrinkage; we soon hear the familiar croak that the country is overpopulated; the reckless improvidence, the early marriages of the working classes are denounced or deplored. There is, in fact, during the era of depression not work enough to go round; the capitalist who formerly had employment for 500 hands has now difficulty in finding work for 400; a hundred must be dismissed, obviously not the 100 best workmen but the 100 worst. The same thing happens in nearly every industry, and the country finds itself face to face with the "Unemployed Question" in an acute form.

Economists tell us that there is in agriculture "a margin of profitable cultivation," in mining operations "a margin of profitable enterprise" varying with the fluctuations of trade. That is to say, certain lands or mines, which in good times admit of being worked at a slight profit, cease to be remunerative when prices fall below a certain point, and therefore go out of use. Similarly, there is a *margin of profitable employment*; labour of a certain quality will pay the employer when times are good, but, when trade is depressed, this relatively inefficient labour is no longer profitable, and is therefore dispensed with. But, while mines may be disused, or farms go out of cultivation without giving us much concern, (unless we happen to be their owners), we cannot so easily wash our hands of

all responsibility for the large number of working men thus suffered to go out of employment; farms and mines are dumb, needing little maintenance, perhaps glad of a rest, but men have voices, and—votes! They ask for food; they clamour for work; what answer shall society give?

Once emigration seemed to offer a way out of the difficulty, but this, at best a temporary, is now an inadequate remedy; the waste spaces of the world suitable for European settlers are being rapidly filled up; America and the Colonies have each its own unemployed question, in some cases more pressing than ours at home. Whatever settlement be adopted, it is clear that it must be provided by our own resources, and made within our own borders.

Of course, it is easy to imagine a shrinkage of trade so serious and continuous that society would be unable to cope with the difficulty. If, for instance, the demand for Lancashire calicoes were to diminish by one-half, how would it be possible to maintain for ever the army of enforced idlers thus thrown upon our hands? The charitable and wise measures adopted during the Cotton Famine could not be continued indefinitely. It is difficult to see any other outlet than the slow and painful extinction by starvation of the surplus population. Fortunately instances of such complete ruin are rare in the annals of industry; still more rarely do they come without a warning. But, excluding from our consideration a collapse of such magnitude, what shall be our policy in dealing with those who, owing to minor and more or less periodical fluctuations of trade, are chronically on the margin of employment?

From the foregoing analysis one thing at least becomes clear; the existence of the unemployed is not, economically speaking, an unmixed evil. The same men who in times of depression are a burden to the State are also, when trade improves, necessary to its prosperity. A prudent mine-owner, who has to close his mine when prices are low, will at least take care that the place be kept "in working order," that he may be ready to take advantage of the first return of good trade. Is it too much to expect that similar care be taken of that other potential instrument of production—the unemployed labourer?

It will, perhaps, be answered that, as it is, employers have no difficulty in engaging additional hands at every revival of trade, and therefore any further care or expenditure for them is unnecessary. But this answer, though sufficient from the employer's point of view, will hardly acquit society. Even if the men do not deteriorate—a highly improbable supposition—during their enforced idleness and their long and unsuccessful "tramps after a job," the system stands, nevertheless, condemned by its cost, cost not in money, but in suffering to the victims, in apprehension and self-reproach to the rest of the community.

The first step to a better state of things is, here as always, to look the facts squarely in the face. It must be recognised that years of depression recur normally and periodically in our industrial history, and provision must be made to meet them before they come. The average number of unemployed, their minimum, their maximum, may without difficulty be ascertained. By the assistance of the trades-unions, of representative workmen and of employers, it may further be discovered how far it is in the power of the men, by help of savings banks, benefit clubs, and the like, themselves to provide for a rainy day. The workmen's possibilities of thrift thus estimated might be made the standard of their duty, enforced by the public opinion of their respective trades. This would be seen to be to the interest of the men, for on it would depend the sympathy of the outside world. On the other hand, society, knowing exactly what the men themselves could do, would no longer demand impossibilities in the way of thrift, and make their failure to achieve this an excuse for its own apathy.

Thus, a knowledge of what might be reasonably expected of the men themselves would be the basis of a comprehensive scheme for ameliorating their condition during such times as they were out of work. In devising such a scheme two opposite dangers must be avoided :

- (1) It must not give a man help on such easy terms as to deprive him of inducements to return on the first opportunity to the ranks of regular industry.

- (2) The help must be so administered as not to degrade or pauperise the recipient.

The conditions can only be satisfied in one way, by a carefully organised system of relief-works. I am aware that much has been said against this expedient. It is liable—as was seen in France under the Second Empire—to gross abuse ; it may, unless carefully administered, prove an intolerable addition to our municipal or imperial burdens ; it may be used, if not jealously watched, as the thin end of the wedge of State Socialism ; it may, as prison labour was found to do, compete unfairly with private industry ; it may demoralise the working classes as effectually as the old Poor Law.

But, after all has been said, these evils, though incident to are by no means inseparable from the scheme. To take one of the more serious objections, the expense ; if, as already suggested, tables of statistics are drawn up setting forth the maximum number of unemployed in each trade, the cost of providing work and wages for these admits of approximate calculation from the very first.

Again, if the spirit of the two conditions aforementioned be adhered to, employment on relief-work, so far from demoralising those engaged, will help them to keep their self-respect and their

habits of industry from being sapped by a long period of idleness or merely casual labour.

Questions as to the kind of work provided, the nature and amount and method of remuneration, whether payment shall be in kind or in money, whether by the piece or by time—these and other points should be settled not hurriedly in the stress of an industrial crisis, but long before. Details must be left to experts; here I will only add two further suggestions, and one of these is by no means new:

(1) Certain kinds of public work, *e.g.* municipal improvements, may with advantage be held over when trade is good, and thus give work to the unemployed in less prosperous times. Moreover, materials being then cheap, as well as labour plentiful, the result of such forethought would be an appreciable saving to the public purse.

(2) As far as possible suitable relief-works should be affiliated to particular trades or groups of trades, to each of which—or to a committee of masters and men included in that trade—should be entrusted the supervision of its own unemployed. By this expedient it would be ensured that an unemployed workman would not lose touch with his own trade. Another, and even more important, result of such affiliation will be dealt with in the next section.

V.

The effect of thus grouping the unemployed in relief-works affiliated to their respective trades will be to accentuate a tendency already discernible in the more highly skilled trades—as, for instance, “the Amalgamated Society of Engineers”—to regulate the supply of labour in closer correspondence with the demand. When this process shall have been applied more completely, and extended to the comparatively unskilled branches of industry—the success of the Dockers’ Union shows that such extension is possible—the whole labour problem may be regarded as solved, and the gaunt, disquieting spectre of a starving proletariat effectually laid. For, by noting the average proportion of employed to unemployed among its members each trade will be able to gauge its own work-providing capacity, and take such precautions as will prevent its being overstocked.

That salvation lies in the regimentation of labour will seem a strange doctrine to many. We are told, with a rather wearisome iteration, that society is progressing from a system of *status* to one of *contract*, with its necessary implication of the freest and keenest competition between individuals. Mr. Kidd puts this view very forcibly when he tells us that the greater “equality of opportunity” resulting from the abolition of every vestige of privilege and the spread of education must, by throwing open the rewards of success

to a larger field (Napoleon's "*la carrière ouverte aux talents*") inevitably heighten the stress of the struggle. That this is a reasonable forecast of the probable effect of one of the main movements of the century—and one which is as yet far from having spent its force—is not denied. But what is overlooked is its essentially temporary and almost accidental character.

In an interesting passage Mr. Kidd reminds us that we must seek in the past history of the race, rather than in the possibly superficial phenomena of the present, the great permanent plastic forces which mould society. Let us apply his canon to the case under consideration. Looking back over the earlier stages of human society we find that, with rare exceptions, they offer a spectacle not of industrial struggle either *intra* or *inter*-state, but the very opposite. Within the national boundaries there exists an individual hierarchy, the reign of *status*; the efforts of individuals are so nicely balanced that the State is practically self-sufficing and independent of the industrial products of other countries. When we think of the caste system of ancient Egypt, of Peru under the Incas, of contemporary India, of the unformulated, but hardly less efficient, system that holds in China, of the network of crafts and guilds that was spread over the industrial life of mediæval Europe, we are driven to ask whether these are accidental and unrelated phenomena, or if they are not rather referable to deep-seated instincts of human nature, which, unless held in check by more powerful influences, may be expected again to assert themselves? When we come to inquire into the causes of the break-up of the European system of labour-regulation—which most concerns us here—a return to a more stable, though not necessarily unprogressive, equilibrium seems more than probable. Though many minor influences co-operated, the main causes of the overthrow of the old system are reducible to three: (1) the discovery of America, and long after of Australia; (2) the improvements effected in means of locomotion, and the consequently increased facilities of intercourse between different countries and different parts of the same country; (3) the marvellous growth of commerce and manufactures due to the invention of steam-driven labour-saving machinery.

The horizon of the race seemed illimitably widened. What matter how population grew so long as there were new countries to colonise, new sources of wealth to be tapped? The old guilds, which had fostered and protected labour, were now felt to be useless restrictions on its growth. The young giant snapped the shackles that bound him, as Samson did the withes of the Philistines. But we are now learning that the horizon, though wider than of old, is, as its name implies, a boundary. The world will soon be filled up; the limits of possible expansion—making reasonable allowance for the possibilities of mechanical invention—have practically

been reached. May it not be suspected that on a larger scale the instincts which led the societies of the past to group themselves in corporations and guilds, to regulate the supply of labour in each industry according to the probable demand, will again assert themselves?

Two other influences making in the same direction may be noted. The first of these, the growing specialisation in every department of human activity, has often been commented on; a man falling out of the ranks of his own employment becomes a *déclassé*; the doors of other trades are shut to him. Thus it becomes increasingly important—unless the number of such *déclassés* is to be swelled—that his place in his own trade should be, as far as possible, secure.

The other influence I would mention is that deeper sense of the solidarity of their interests which is coming to be a characteristic trait of the working classes. The artisan's ideal is now not so much to "get on," to rise, that is to say, *above* his fellow-workmen, as to rise along with them. A new industrial *esprit de corps* has come into being, which seems destined to profoundly modify the society of the future.

Moreover, if free trade conquers—and its triumph is possibly nearer than we think—the artificial rivalries between nations resulting from the maintenance of exotic industries will give place to a system of universal co-operation; the world will become one great workshop, each place making and exporting what it is best fitted by Nature to produce, and finding its account in the prosperity, not in the crushing out of the industries of other countries.

Thus, on a national, and ultimately on a world-wide scale, with such differences as a ripper experience and more exact social science, and, of course, the greater complexity of the problem may suggest or require, an industrial system not unlike that of a mediæval burg will come into being.

We English may congratulate ourselves that the readjustment of labour here foreshadowed has been so long in coming. The delay has given time for the Anglo-Saxon race and "idea" to spread over two continents. The social miseries of England might almost be described as "growing pains." They were the price we had to pay for our industrial and territorial expansion; they were the stimulus to emigration, and perhaps to invention and commercial enterprise. But growth has its limits; the English race has got possession of the fairest portions of the globe; it is time to justify our title by erecting on our world-wide estate the impregnable fortress of a fair and well-ordered society. The English have been reproached—unjustly, I think—with an indifference to and infertility in ideas. So far as the accusation has any truth, our race has a sufficient answer. While men are struggling for existence, for supremacy, for ensuring the material basis of their prosperity, they have not

much leisure for "the higher life." But if—as it is the object of this paper to show—a time is coming when the struggle will be mitigated, when it will be no longer needful—

"Vitae causa vivendi perdere causas"—

then, it may be hoped, those energies which are now too exclusively absorbed in securing to our national life its full outward expansion will at length give it a higher and more perfect expression.

R. H. LAW.

HOW WE MARRY.

THAT marriage is an unqualified success very few, even of the happiest people, will venture to assert; that it is an utter failure, the majority are not prepared to admit. It must be owned, however, that sex relations at the present time are very far from satisfactory to most of us; and it is scarcely likely in these progressive days that this state of affairs will be allowed to continue for any length of time without some attempt being made to remedy the existing evils. A great obstacle to much improvement in this direction is the extreme reticence on the subject of so many really earnest and conscientious people. There seems to be a feeling that to discuss marriage as we should discuss any other matter of universal interest is a kind of sacrilege. They will marry with the most worldly motives, and counsel their dearest relatives to do so in a calculating, thoroughly business-like manner, quite heedless whether or not the union is one that their Divine Creator could approve; but the moment the marriage relation comes up for public consideration, then it is a sacrament—to discuss it, sacrilegious. They cannot, or will not, understand that marriage is a human institution, and, as such, in need of improvement and readjustment from time to time; nor do they realise the inconsistency of their attitude towards it. Marriages are made in heaven say these good people; but how they can manage to persuade themselves that all the unions on which the Church bestows its blessing are “what God has joined together” is entirely beyond the comprehension of poor simple folk who want to know the why and wherefore of things. Others object to every description of publication or address on the relations of the sexes not intended exclusively for the use of the medical profession on the ground of indelicacy. It is not indelicate to train up daughters to catch eligible husbands, or to leave young ignorant sons to gain knowledge and experience in stables and gutters. But give them a sound practical knowledge of their own physiology? Advise with them as to the proper use and control, and wise direction of natural functions? Talk to young people on *such subjects*? Shocking! Most improper! And these persons are horror-stricken at the depravity that could make such suggestions. So they go on bringing up their daughters to dress fashionably and prepare for the matrimonial market, and their sons to make money and be careful

only to sow their wild oats in a strictly conventional manner. And then they wonder that some people want to know "how to be happy though married," and others repudiate marriage altogether!

When people open their eyes to what is going on around them, and look facts in the face, they will see that some change in the sentiments, customs, and laws pertaining to sex relations must sooner or later be made; that only by intelligent, open-minded public discussion can any really beneficial alteration be brought about; and that no investigation of any theory can result in a worse state of things than exists in our midst to-day. It is of little use speculating on what institutions may or may not be in vogue some centuries hence; what we who live now want is to find out what is wrong with our present relations to each other, and to set about making a change for the better. We cannot hope to bring about faultless relations between men and women all at once—if ever; nor must we expect to be able to frame a mode of life for ages to come. And, as we are not all idealists, and cannot have one law for them and another for ordinary persons, our wisest course will be to take people and things as they are, and see what improvements are workable now, or will be in the near future. The surest way of remedying an evil is to find and remove the cause; let us, therefore, try to recognise and understand the various reasons why so many unions of men and women end in misery for one or both of them.

We find the community consists of human beings and the "fair sex," each of which two sections looks upon the other as game, not from the same point of view exactly, but still, as game, and each is in its own way both the hunter and the hunted. The human beings share among themselves the interests of humanity, when they are not engaged in money-making, and in these pursuits they look for neither co-operation nor companionship from the fair sex; to it they go for pleasure, comfort, and an inferior sort of comradeship when in need of relaxation or amusement. Their less innocent pursuit of it is so often dilated upon in breach of promise and divorce cases that it need not be exemplified here, particularly as those who are loudest in their denunciations against contributors to a discussion on marriage have no hesitation whatever in reading and gossiping over the prurient details of these scandals. That women constitute half the human race, and therefore should be equally concerned and engaged in all human interests, neither men nor women fully realise. The fair sex, for the most part, has not so far concerned itself much about its human rights; it is more than anything else a *sex* entitled to the chivalry, protection, and support of the human beings for whom it dabbles in accomplishments and bedecks itself in an infinite variety of modes, in admiration of which nowadays one not infrequently hears from fair ones the words "perfectly fetching," in tones of

rapture ! Thus equipped the fair sex proceeds to the chase, the quarry being the home-providing creatures misnamed husbands. Thus men and women live divided and totally dissimilar lives, each preying on the other ; developing widely different and opposing aims, modes of life and thought ; and thus they prepare for the union which is to make them " one flesh," " for the mutual help, society, and comfort the one ought to have of the other." Neither recognises that nature designed them to help and complement each other ; that marriage should be the truest and noblest form of friendship, the union of two beings who, perhaps opposite in temperament and kinds of mental capacity, yet are in perfect sympathy with each other's aims and aspirations ; whose love " begins in the head and goes down to the heart," and each of whom brings out the finest qualities of the other. A union of this kind will survive the storms of adversity and resist outside temptation, nor can old age impair or change it. But is it easy or always possible to make such a union under the existing order of things ? We see that the divergence in the modes of life of men and women make it very difficult for them to fully sympathise with each other or for a real comradeship to exist between them. Their ignorance of natural laws, and consequent inability to distinguish between a transitory passion and a deep-seated, lasting attachment founded on mutual compatibility, is another obstacle to right selection ; and the absurd restrictions placed upon friendship between a man and a woman must be added to the chief causes of many most regrettable marriages.

It must be obvious to us all that—whatever may be right or wrong in a remote future—we cannot, under present economic conditions, entertain a free love *versus* married *modus vivendi* ; and that economic justice for all, and ideal sex relations, can only develop slowly and gradually by means of evolution and education. The problem for us, then, is : How to marry rationally, and how not to tire of each other when married.

To enable us to marry rationally a considerable change of sentiment towards each other will have to come about in both sexes ; their modes of life and thought must be brought more into line, and a free and unrestricted friendly co-operation in all departments of life established between them. Not till they can meet on higher grounds than those of pleasure and profit will true comradeship be possible between men and women ; nor as long as they continue to look askance at platonic friendship, and tittle-tattle about it as if sentimental or discreditable relations were the only ones possible between two people of different sexes.

It may well be asked if platonic friendships are possible to this generation. Perhaps not to those whose conception of chivalry is to make *some* women the objects of all sorts of politenesses and mannerisms from men, and to have them protected by them from the wiles

of other men, while the chivalrous protectors hunt other more defenceless women to ruin. Not to men who are not ashamed to boast to each other of certain disgraceful "experiences;" nor to women who have no more refinement and delicacy in them than to prate about their "conquests." But surely the vainest and silliest persons are not quite incapable of learning better than this; that people *are* learning better is evidenced in the increasing popularity of ethical reformers and their works, and in the ever-growing number of women workers who are being welcomed by men in the arena of social politics. Meanwhile, what all parents can do for the wiser marrying of the rising generation is to teach, or have both sons and daughters taught, physiology, and the wise direction of natural instincts, remembering that more wrong-doing, disease, and suffering have resulted, and still result, from ignorance and so-called innocence than could ever come of knowledge of these subjects; and to promote unity of aims, and mutual respect and confidence between young people of the two sexes. As things are now, many a couple go lovingly to the altar, with roseate visions of the happiness before them; but, when too late, they begin to realise that they do not understand each other, and that sympathy and community of tastes are sadly wanting between them; their mutual attraction has been mostly physical, and it is on the wane; could they become acquainted with the laws of attraction and repulsion between the sexes, they might at least arrest the further decline of their attachment; but this is a matter they do not even know how to study. To these persons the information given by that earnest lover of purity and rational living, Dr. Dio. Lewis—now, alas, dead!—in his work *Chastity* might mean ethical salvation for themselves and others.

If a change in our customs and sentiments is necessary, how much more so is it that laws which bind husbands or wives for life to lunatics, dipsomaniacs, and criminals should be altered? No one should need in these days to be reminded that to allow these unfortunate people to become parents is nothing short of criminal to the race. And what of the homes degraded and devastated by drunken husbands or wives? Can they be anything but a national and moral danger and disgrace? There can be no love, sympathy, or companionship between a sane person and a habitual and confirmed drunkard, and they should not be legally compelled to live together. Nor is it reasonable, just, or to the interest of the community, that couples whom the law recognises cannot live together should have what is practically a sentence of compulsory celibacy passed upon them by judicial separation. Persons who are naturally depraved cannot be kept in order by unnatural restrictions, and, under them, are a source of demoralisation to others. It ought not to be a matter "passing the wit of man" to devise a system of divorce by which

the way of the transgressor shall be hard, but not so restricted as to increase his temptations, or victimise others.

We hear a great deal of nonsense talked about wives being the chattels of their husbands—and this was so in the past to some extent; but the marriage laws of to-day cannot be said to favour husbands more than wives, and where a wife is now a chattel, it is because of her own incapacity to be anything else, and is not the fault of the present laws. The wording of the marriage ceremony is certainly degrading to women, and out of date, and this is their real grievance; but if they will open their eyes to the large extent to which the clergy and ministers of religion are dependent on the female portion of the community for support, they will see that they have only to unite, demand, and insist upon having an alteration, to get it; and they will be much better employed in agitating for such a change than in setting foolish examples of free unions, which are certain to be followed by anything but idealistic couples, and to result in great wrong and suffering.

The era of human chattels has gone by; let us hope that the bane of our family and social life—the inordinate love of dress and tittle-tattle—will soon follow it. The age of an enlightened, dignified womanhood has dawned; and the number of earnest men who realise that a manly man is infinitely purer and nobler than a fine animal is increasing every year. We have, therefore, some reason to hope that a time of free, unrestricted co-operation in social, domestic, and political matters between the sexes is neither impossible nor very far distant, and that it may result in a community of rightly mated people living rational, healthy lives.

LAURA B. CAMERON.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

SCIENCE.

WHEN we consider the vast importance of our navy, whether as a means of ensuring our political independence or as a factor in our commercial prosperity, it is remarkable how small a place it occupies in our literature. Were it not for the articles in technical periodicals the future historian would have much difficulty in tracing the various stages of development of the battleship of to-day. In his *Mechanism of Men-of-War*,¹ Mr. R. C. Oldknow places on record the present state of affairs as regards the mechanical appliances with which a modern man-of-war is literally filled. In such a ship as the *Vulcan*, for instance, built in 1888, there are no less than 128 distinct engines, with 284 cylinders, and more modern battleships contain a still greater number of motors. Mr. Oldknow, however, not only appears to be perfectly familiar with the intricate mechanism of a man-of-war, but he has also the gift of explaining it clearly without the use of too many technical terms. Numerous illustrations add to the value of the work; but these being derived from various sources, are not all of the same degree of excellence. Mr. Oldknow takes a decidedly sanguine view of the present state of affairs as regards the mechanical appliances of our navy, and appears to regard them as very nearly approaching perfection. In common with most engineers, he appears to consider that because we obtain a high mechanical equivalent for the steam used we have therefore reached the highest point of efficiency. But is not steam itself a wasteful and clumsy intermediary, especially in a ship, where space is of so high a value? The time is probably not far distant when steam will be superseded and a very much larger proportion of the energy lying dormant in the coal will be extracted. Already more energy can be obtained from fuel by converting it into gas and burning that gas in a gas engine than by using steam as a motive power.

Should we succeed in producing electricity by the direct combustion of fuel, a complete revolution would take place in the mechanism of our fleet. Ever since the introduction of steam as a motive power for ships our navy has been in a state of transition. No sooner is an ironclad completed than new inventions and

¹ *The Mechanism of Men-of-Mar.* By R. C. Oldknow. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1896.

improvements are brought to bear upon its successors to such an extent that in a few years a man-of-war becomes practically obsolete. Following the example of France, our Admiralty have now adopted tubular boilers of the Belleville type, and the "Battle of the Boilers" is being fought between naval engineers. Mr. Oldknow seems to favour tubular boilers, which have, no doubt, many advantages over the old type of marine boilers, and have been successfully used in ocean liners for some years. The question of forced draught is also one that has recently been much discussed. Mr. Oldknow does not attribute so much importance to it as do some of his former colleagues, and we think there is much to be said for the view that induced draught can do all that can be expected of forced draught without the disadvantage of closed stokeholes.

The increase which has taken place in the speed of modern war-ships is most remarkable, especially in the case of torpedo-boat destroyers. It is not easy, however, to ascertain the speed at which a man-of-war can be propelled under ordinary circumstances. Trial trips are undoubtedly misleading, and do not give a correct indication of what a ship is really capable of doing. For instance, the United States man-of-war, the *Columbia*, showed a speed of 22·8 knots on her trial trip; but when ordered by the United States authorities to make the best of her way home after the Kiel festivities last year she could only attain a speed of 18·4 knots for the whole distance. On the other hand, we may mention that ocean liners, such as the *Campania* and *Lucania*, can average 21·3 knots an hour on a 2000 mile voyage.

Upon stores of various kinds and the numerous auxiliary machines which contribute so much to the efficiency of a modern fighting ship Mr. Oldknow has much to say. With regard to his remarks on the inferior capacity of many foreign engineers to manipulate the machinery, we once met with a curious corroboration. We were asked by a prominent naval official of one of the South American republics to inspect an ironclad which had recently arrived from England, and the English crew of which, with the exception of one engineer, had been replaced by natives of the country. After going over the vessel the order was given to rotate the turret; but the turret did not move, and it was found on inquiry that only the one engineer understood the machinery, and he had unfortunately been worshipping Bacchus to such an extent that he was quite incapable of manipulating even the simplest machine. Practically, the safety of every modern man-of-war lies in the hands of her engineers. The great progress in metallurgy which has been made in late years has rendered it possible to solve problems which but a short time ago appeared extremely difficult. We need but mention nickel steel, aluminium, manganese bronze, and phosphor bronze. The proportion of phosphorus in the latter is not, as the author states, a trade

secret, but can be ascertained by analysis with the greatest accuracy. Neither is the smokelessness of anthracite a mystery to the chemist ; it is due to the very high proportion of carbon and consequent deficiency in volatile hydrogen compounds, which latter in their decomposition by heat produce smoke.

Mr. J. W. Tutt's name is so well known to entomologists that his book on *British Moths*¹ will meet with a general welcome. Although the work is chiefly intended for young collectors and students, yet the scientific classification and nomenclature are quite up to date. The numerous coloured illustrations afford a ready means of identification, and the colouring is in most cases correct. We notice, however, that the markings on *Acherontia atropos* are not quite in accordance with specimens before us, and the proboscis of *Macroglossa stellatarum*, the humming-bird hawk-moth, is only depicted one-half its real length. The woodcuts give fairly accurate representations of some of the larvæ, a point too often neglected in entomological works. The rarer species of moths are so sought after by collectors that in many localities they have become extinct, and may soon disappear altogether. Mr. Tutt deploras this wholesale collecting ; but unfortunately, by mentioning the localities where these rare species are still to be found, he in reality assists in their extermination. The entomological chat interspersed throughout the book will make it interesting reading to entomologists, and had it been provided with an index it would have been useful as a work of reference.

The usual fault found with biographers is that, while they paint the virtues of their hero in glowing colours, they too often minimise, or even completely ignore, his failings. This reproach cannot, however, be made against Mr. J. Marcou, who, in his *Life of Louis Agassiz*,² certainly does not forget to mention the weak points in the character of that eminent naturalist. In fact, we are rather inclined to think that he exaggerates the faults, although he does not omit the good points in the character of his late friend. It is repeatedly impressed upon us what a bad man of business Agassiz was ; but is it necessary that a scientific man should be regarded from this point of view ? It is true that his enthusiasm for science sometimes led him to exceed the means at his disposal ; but should we not be grateful for a characteristic which has enriched science with such a work as *Les Poissons Fossiles* ? At the time this important publication was commenced it was doubtful whether the scanty means at the disposal of the author would enable him to complete it ; but, with that hopeful energy which never forsook him, he was ultimately able not only to issue this, but several other important works as well. We think, also, that Mr. Marcou might have touched more

¹ *British Moths*. By J. W. Tutt. London : G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 1896.

² *Life, Letters, and Works of Louis Agassiz*. By J. Marcou. London : Macmillan & Co. 1896.

lightly upon the disagreements which, in the course of a long and active life, Agassiz had with several persons, especially with one of his assistants. Considering the very great number of persons of various nationalities with whom he came into contact, and the prominent positions which he occupied, it is remarkable how few enemies Agassiz made. The merits of Agassiz as a scientific man are so well known, and so many biographies of him have already appeared, that Mr. Marcou's task has not been a light one; he has, nevertheless, been able to throw much light upon the earlier part of his friend's career in Switzerland, and his work contains many hitherto unpublished letters from Agassiz. Two portraits of Agassiz add to the interest of the book.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

SINCE the publication by Mr. John Chapman in 1853 of Miss Harriet Martineau's condensed translation of the *Positive Philosophy*, interest in the work of Auguste Comte has rather declined than increased. If the works of Darwin and Herbert Spencer have not in a sense superseded that of the great French thinker, they have so occupied the public mind as to lead to Comte being in a great measure forgotten. The new edition of *The Positive Philosophy*,¹ in Bohn's Philosophical Library, should awaken an interest in it in a generation to whom its author is little more than a name. Though there are few Positivists in England, there is a great deal in our recent literature that reflects the mind of Comte, and though also there has been a revival of metaphysics, the influence of positivism is undeniably great. These volumes present Miss Martineau's condensed version in a neat and compact form, and are a credit to the enterprising publishers. Mr. Frederic Harrison contributes a brief sketch of the life of Comte, which is too little known, but there is room still for a fuller relation of a striking and in part a romantic story of the career of one of the most interesting personalities of the century. Comte's industry and the unvarying persistence with which he devoted himself to the accomplishment of a gigantic task, compels our admiration; while his infatuation for Madame De Vaux and his passionate devotion to her memory are amongst the strangest things in the history of philosophers. Leaving aside Comte's personal eccentricities and the inconsistency of his earlier and later works, the *Positive Philosophy* must always be reckoned amongst the

¹ *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*. Freely Translated and Condensed by Harriet Martineau. With an Introduction by Frederic Harrison. In Three Vols. London: George Bell & Sons. 1896.

great productions of the human mind ; and though we doubt if it will ever meet with that universal acceptance which its author anticipated for it, it can never be wholly ignored. To master these volumes is in itself an education, even though the reader remains unconverted to the opinions of their author.

The second volume of Professor Kittel's *History of the Hebrews*¹ is much more interesting than the first, for though legend still plays a large part in the period dealt with, there is a substratum of history in the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament. Professor Kittel treats these books with a free critical hand and industriously endeavours to disentangle the confused threads which run through them. From this confusion our author attempts to construct a connected story which at least will serve, and his respect for the Hebrews does not put any restraint upon the frankness of his opinions. The first part of the volume deals with the Pre-monarchic Age and the First Representatives of the monarchy. This includes the time of the Judges, Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon. The sources for this, of course, are the books Judges, Samuel, and a portion of Kings. The sketch of this period and of the important personalities, whose names are so familiar, is concise and vivid and, on the whole, is no doubt accurate. The minor differences between Professor Kittel and other critics seem of slight importance to the ordinary reader and affect his conclusions very little. The second part of this volume describes the period from Rehoboam to the Captivity, or Judah's end. This is the most exciting period in the history of the Israelites, and their varying fortunes are vividly if briefly described. The intervention of the prophets is clearly explained and the fall of the Northern Kingdom is followed by the end of Judah in the conquest of Jerusalem and the Babylonian Captivity. "The Hebrew nation has thus reached its end. It has not become extinct, but it has been uprooted. Its shoots are planted in two foreign regions, in Babylonia and Egypt, where they grow luxuriantly and take on new forms. What springs from them, even when it is once more replanted in the old soil, is no longer the old tree. Hebraism has become Judaism." The present volume is well translated by Messrs. Hope W. Hogg and E. B. Speirs.

We have before us a beautiful edition of a translation by Mr. Algar Thorold—the celebrated dialogue of the Seraphic Virgin, Catherine of Siena,² "the dyer's daughter, whose will, purified and sublimated by prayer, imposed itself on Popes and Princes." This

¹ *A History of the Hebrews.* By R. Kittel. Vol. II. Translated by Hope W. Hogg, B.D., and E. B. Speirs, B.D. Theological Translation Library. London: Williams & Norgate. 1896.

² *The Dialogue of the Seraphic Virgin, Catherine of Siena.* Translated from the original Italian, with an Introduction on the Study of Mysticism by Algar Thorold. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1896.

dialogue is described as dictated by her, while in a state of ecstasy, to her secretaries, and completed in the year of our Lord 1870. The form of the dialogue is familiar to all readers of mediæval religious literature, and the mystical spirit in which it is composed is a feature of the period. That many of the thoughts are very beautiful no one can deny, though to a reader not impregnated with the spirit of Catholicism, the composition seems prolix and wearisome. As a specimen, and a good one, of the mystical morality we may quote the following lines, which are also a good example of the style both of the original and the translation: "Wherefore know, that the things of the world and all its delights and pleasures they have seized and possessed, without Me, but with disordinate love of self, and these things are like the scorpion which I showed thee in the beginning, after the figure of the tree, telling thee that it carries gold in front and venom behind, and that the venom was not without the gold, nor the gold without the venom, but that the gold was seen first, and that no one preserved himself from the venom except those who were illuminated by the light of faith."

The translator contributes, by way of introduction, an essay on the study of mysticism, which is more interesting than convincing—though there is a kind of truth in his statement that "more can be learnt of the intricacies of our interior life, of the inter-connection and mutual dependence of 'psychic states' from St. Theresa or St. Catherine than from Zola or Wundt." The observation of the inner workings of a human mind, even where abnormal, may throw light upon psychological problems which we cannot get by the observation of external manifestations. The mystics are a curious psychological study to those who read them critically rather than sympathetically. Mr. Thorold aims at showing that mysticism is not an obsolete phenomenon, but that Huysmans, Paul Verlaine, and Stéphanie Mallarmé are under its influence. Mysticism is partly a matter of training and partly of temperament, but to it we owe much that is imperishably beautiful. St. Catherine's mysticism had for its basis the Catholic creed, but any creed or no creed is compatible with the mystic temper.

There was something of the mystic about Dr. Henry Callaway, First Bishop of Kaffraria, whose life history and work is related by Marian S. Benham.¹ This notable ecclesiastic was the son of an exciseman, and was born at Lymington in 1817. After completing his education under Dr. Lightfoot at Crediton Grammar School, he went to Heavitree as assistant teacher in a small school of which William Dymond, a Quaker, was head-master. Though Callaway was ambitious of entering the Church, he yielded for some time to

¹ *Henry Callaway, M.D., D.D., First Bishop of Kaffraria: His Life, History, and Work. A Memoir by Marian S. Benham. Edited by the Rev. Canon Benham. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.*

Quaker influences, and in 1837 formally joined the Society of Friends.

After spending some time in the employ of a chemist at Southampton, and afterwards as a surgeon's assistant at Tottenham, he devoted himself to the study of medicine, and finally qualified as a physician, and had a fairly good practice. All this time he was the subject of religious anxieties, and in 1853 withdrew from the Society of Friends, the same year in which he obtained his diploma of M.D. He had not lost sight of his early purpose, and now decided to be ordained and go out to Africa, and serve under Bishop Colenso. The story of his labours in South Africa is a very interesting one, his medical experience being of the greatest service. When Colenso was deposed by the Bishop of Capetown, Callaway reluctantly accepted the judgment, and gave in his adhesion to Bishop Macrorie. Canon Benham, sound Churchman though he is, appears to have more sympathy with Bishop Colenso than with Bishop Gray, and admits "that Bishop Colenso said many things that were true, many of the younger generation of clergy have come to believe," and we presume Canon Benham means many things which were denounced as heretical at the time. Dr. Callaway was a man of a certain breadth of view, and entered more sympathetically into the habits and thoughts of his native flock than was common with missionaries at that time. Dr. Callaway will be best remembered, by those who are not ecclesiastically inclined, by his valuable contributions to anthropology—*The Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulus*, and *The Religious System of the Amazulu*. The brief sketch of this part of Dr. Callaway's work, in this volume, is most interesting, but the whole book will repay reading. There are two striking portraits and a good map, for which we are grateful.

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

*Social Rights and Duties*¹ by Mr. Leslie Stephen is, in the main, a republication of addresses delivered to the Ethical societies of London, some of which have already appeared in the monthly magazines. These societies have been formed to promote the serious study of political and social problems in a spirit purged from the prejudice and narrowness of mere party conflict. At any time such societies should prove of the utmost value; but at the moment when party

¹ *Social Rights and Duties*. Addresses to Ethical Societies. By Leslie Stephen. In Two Volumes. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

spirit is somewhat less fierce, owing probably to the fact that the spirit for reform in the present generation is somewhat spent, Mr. Leslie Stephen's temperate views have the greater chance of obtaining a patient hearing. Steering a middle course between the crudities of Socialism on the one hand, and the iron-bound dogmas of Individualism on the other, Mr. Leslie Stephen, if he does not succeed in solving the various social problems with which he deals, at any rate places the *pros* and *cons* of each clearly before us. These essays are distinguished not so much for any original thought as for their terse expression of what so many really feel and think, but who are too tied down to orthodoxy to have the courage of their opinions. For instance, speaking of the origin of morality Mr. Stephen says this "depends upon something deeper and more permanent than any dogmas that have hitherto been current in churches. It is a product of nature, not of any of those transcendental speculations or faint survivals of traditional superstitions." Again, it is frequently said that human nature is incapable of radical change. To this Mr. Stephen replies: "The tacit assumption that all changes of human nature are impracticable is simply a cynical and unproved assertion." In the chapter on "Science and Politics" the same methods, says Mr. Stephen, may be applied to sociology which have been so fruitful in other departments of thought. We must never forget that we are dealing with an organism, and that a very delicate one, which the extreme school of Individualists scarcely ever bear in mind. On the morality of competition Mr. Stephen's conclusion is, that the true ideal is not a state where there is no competition, "but a state in which competition should be so regulated that it should be really equivalent to a process of bringing about the best possible distribution of the whole social forces." Other essays of special interest are those entitled "Social Equality," "Ethics and the Struggle for Existence," "Heredity," and "Punishment." The whole work is characterised by clear enunciation of principles, high level of thought, and a lofty tone of morality.

*Criminal Sociology*¹ is a translation of that portion of Professor Ferri's volume on Criminal Sociology which is immediately concerned with the practical problems of criminality. The present work consists of three chapters entitled, respectively, the Data of Criminal Anthropology, the Data of Criminal Statistics, and Practical Reforms, the latter forming one half of the book.

An assumption based upon the official returns relating to crime, that crime is on the decrease, is frequently made. Professor Ferri, however, considers this assumption unwarranted by the facts. The decrease, if any, is apparent and not real. Many causes are at work

¹ *Criminal Sociology*. By Enrico Ferri, Professor of Criminal Law, Deputy in the Italian Parliament, &c. Edited by W. Douglas Morrison. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1895.

to account for this, one of which is "the fact that the public is every year becoming more lenient and more unwilling to prosecute." But whether the decrease of crime is absolute, or whether it is only relative, the problem of criminality is one of immense magnitude, and not to be solved, according to the Professor, by a mere resort to punishments of greater rigour and severity. If we wish to solve this problem, we must go to the root of the whole question. Hitherto efforts have been directed almost entirely to the repression of crime, and to the reformation of the criminal, but the consideration and study of the causes of crime have been almost wholly neglected. Coercive measures will, of course, still be necessary for the reformation of the occasional criminal; that of the confirmed or habitual criminal Professor Ferri considers hopeless.

Instead of penal legislation being the first line of society's defence from crime, it should be the second. The first line should consist of what Professor Ferri calls *penal substitutes*. These are social, economic, and political measures, based upon the observation of the origin, conditions, and effects of individual and collective activity of the various types of individuals and groups forming a given society, so that this human activity, instead of being continually and unprofitably menaced with repression, may be insensibly directed into non-criminal channels.

In economics, the Professor instances Free Trade, which, by preventing famines and exceptionally high prices of and taxes on food, eliminates many crimes and offences, especially against property. On the other hand, penal laws against drunkenness, by themselves, are far from being effectual, and in France, for instance, have only resulted in a terrible and fatal increase in alcoholism. A prudent social legislation, not stopping short at mere superficial and perfunctory reforms, might, concludes the Professor, constitute a genuine code of penal substitutes, which could be set against the mass of criminal impulses engendered by the wretched conditions of the most numerous classes of society.

In the political sphere, prevention of political crime and coercion are powerless. "There is no other means," declares the Professor, "than harmony between the Government and the national aspirations." He instances Italy under foreign rule, Ireland and Russia of to-day, and the failure of Germany to stamp out Socialism by exceptional penal laws. Prevention is better than cure, and "it is best," says Professor Ferri, "to observe the laws of psychology and sociology, and to avail ourselves of social substitutes, which are far more efficacious than whole arsenals of repressive measures."

Of the practical reforms advocated we have only space to mention two. One is the abolition of the jury, which, under a Liberal Government, Professor Ferri considers unnecessary, and under a despotic government it is either not instituted or if in existence is rendered powerless.

The other is the appointment of specially trained criminal judges, and, he adds, the unfettered authority of the judge is inadmissible. He must be under the control of a superior disciplinary power, which should reside in a Ministry of Justice. It is scarcely necessary to add how valuable this authoritative work should prove in this country to the study and practical reform of criminology. The whole breathes a unity of purpose, a breadth of view, and a grasp of detail which show the master-hand.

*Why Gordon Perished*¹ is a somewhat belated appeal to the nation at large, irrespective of party, to condemn those who are alleged by the unknown author to have been responsible for Gordon's death and the other mistakes and disasters of the Soudan campaign. For our part we see little to be gained by stirring up these bygone controversies. If Mr. Gladstone was to blame, the Duke of Devonshire must also take his share. Lord Wolseley may have been mistaken in the measures he took for the relief of Khartoum; but it is easy to be wise after the event, and it is quite possible that our unknown author would have fared no better had he occupied Lord Wolseley's position! All men are liable to errors of judgment, and a man who has not the courage to put his name to serious charges against statesmen and soldiers of the highest integrity and proved ability is hardly likely to gain the ear of the British public. The appeal by the author to his readers to throw aside their party feelings is marred by the author's violent attack upon the Liberal Government of the day. A writer who appeals for impartiality should be the first to set an example in this direction.

Those engaged in the great educational controversy now being waged might do worse than direct some attention to the system of public instruction carried out in the Province of Ontario. This is known as the "separate school" system, and it appears to work without any appreciable friction. From the *Report of the Minister of Education*,² we learn that there are 5649 public schools, 328 Roman Catholic separate schools, and 10 Protestant separate schools. The whole of these, together with Kindergartens, night schools, and secondary schools, such as high schools and collegiate institutes, are under the authority and direct control of the Minister of Education. Each public school is under the management of a Board of Trustees, elected *ad hoc*, which looks to the central authority for advice and assistance. As part of the assistance consists of a share in the Provincial Grant, it will be seen that general principles of education and sanitation can be successfully enforced. So successful has this system proved that the Minister is able to report that "the

¹ *Why Gordon Perished; or, the Political and Military Causes which led to the Soudan Disasters.* By a War Correspondent who accompanied the Nile Expedition. With Maps and Plans. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Ltd. 1896.

² *Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) for the Year 1895.* With the Statistics of 1894. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter. 1896.

provisions made by boards of trustees for the comfort and accommodation of the school population of the province is very gratifying." We notice that one of the inspectors recommends "green" instead of "black" boards, as less calculated to injure the eyesight.

* There is no falling off in the *Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand for 1894*.¹ We notice that immigration in excess of emigration has fallen from 10,412 in 1893 to 2253 in 1894. This is chiefly due to increased emigration, of which the bulk has gone to New South Wales, presumably in consequence of the recent gold-mining development.

We certainly fail to see why the editors of the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Auckland Evening Star* should on the grounds of public morals have objected to publish Dr. Kilgour's *Divorce*.² Amongst the reasons advocated by Dr. Kilgour for an alteration in the divorce laws are imprisonment of husband or wife for more than three years, desertion for two years, habitual drunkenness, insanity, and incurable or constitutional disease. These reasons have been openly advanced by many eminent thinkers in this country, and the Press only weakens its position when it listens to Mrs. Grundy, who, though outwardly highly respectable, undoubtedly represents the least intelligent part of the community.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Norway,³ by John Bradshaw, briefly introduces some of the chief characteristics of Norway and its inhabitants. Reference is made to the wonderful scenery of the land of the Vikings. This book will be found interesting, and is written in a pleasant style.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE question of England's Naval Administration is one of enormous importance. Though considerable discussion of a more or less heated character has, from time to time, taken place on the subject, it is a curious fact that hitherto we have had no work in which the

¹ *Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand for the Year 1894*. Wellington: Samuel Costall. 1895.

² *Divorce as a Means of Improving Social Morality*. By Dr. Kilgour. Auckland: Spencer & Co.

³ *Norway*. By John Bradshaw. London: Digby, Long & Co.

system has been clearly and systematically explained. This much-needed want has at length been supplied by Sir Vesey Hamilton's readable and well compiled handbook on *Naval Administration*.¹ The author in his Preface points out that, owing to the complexity of the subject, he was confronted with many difficulties in the preparation of the work. Apparently, however, these difficulties only required some research and a practical knowledge of the details of the various departments of the navy to be entirely overcome. Sir Vesey Hamilton has performed his task admirably, and his handbook is full of information which will be quite new to a great portion not only of the educated public but even to many Members of Parliament and experienced journalists.

It should always be remembered that England's system of naval administration has been historically developed. It is the product of centuries of constantly expanding conditions. The Admiralty Board represents the functions of the Lord High Admiral, and its powers depend more on long usage than on the patents which originally gave it authority.

The keynote of our admiralty administration, as Sir Vesey Hamilton points out, is the flexibility of its working. The members of the Board are not in the strictest sense heads of departments at all. Subject to the supremacy of the First Lord of the Admiralty, they are jointly co-equal "Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom," and the British Colonies. The English system of naval administration is carried on under the responsibility of the First Lord, whose powers must, of course, be proportionately large. If he were not thus vested with supremacy, the Admiralty Board could never work. In fact, the First Lord occupies a position closely analogous to that of the Lord High Admiral himself, and, from this standpoint, the other Lords are in the position of the Lord High Admiral's counsellors.

The obscurity surrounding the early history of the navy has evidently been appreciated by Sir Vesey Hamilton; but we fear he has failed to bring home, to ordinary readers at least, what the original powers, functions, and responsibilities of the Lord High Admiral were. The naval business of England was, up to the early part of the fifteenth century, conducted by the King's Council. The executive control of the fleet was vested in the "Keepers of the Sea"—afterwards designated admirals. In King John's days these high functionaries had a certain judicial authority—if one may speculate on the exact position of the persons known as "Keepers of the King's Ships" and "Keepers of the Seaports." In 1406, John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, eldest legitimised son of John of Gaunt,

¹ *Royal Navy Handbooks and Naval Administration*. By Admiral Sir R. Vesey Hamilton, G.C.B., late First Sea Lord of the Admiralty. London: George Bell & Sons.

by Katherine Swinford, was appointed "Admiral of England," for the purpose of correcting the maladministration of the navy during the closing years of the fourteenth century. This is historically the date from which the office of Lord High Admiral may be said to have enjoyed a definite existence in England. It confided to its holder under the Crown the naval administration of the kingdom, and it was retained by different individuals until 1628. The functions now exercised by the Board of Admiralty are conferred by reference to the patents of the Lord High Admiral. In Henry VIII.'s reign the naval business of the country having become greatly enlarged, a number of civil establishments were created in connection with the Admiralty. From that period the growth of the civil administration of the navy can be traced down to 1832, with a control exercised by Navy and Victualling Boards, till Sir James Graham reformed the system. James I. appointed a council of officers and men of rank to assist Buckingham, who fulfilled the duties of Lord High Admiral. In 1628, Buckingham was stabbed by an officer who had served under him, and who cherished some grudge against him. During the Commonwealth the affairs both of the Admiralty and Navy Boards were conducted by committees of Parliament, and Blake's administrative ability raised England's naval resources to a high pitch. It is needless to recall the fact that James II. was a naval administrator of great ability. The present constitution of the Board of Admiralty derives its authority from an Act of the reign of William and Mary, which vested all the powers exercised by the Lord High Admiral in the Commissioners who were appointed to exercise the office for the time being "to all intents and purposes as if the said Commissioners were Lord High Admiral of England." An elaborate account is given of the existing constitution and practical working of the Board of Admiralty. While the First Lord is responsible to the Crown and Parliament for all the business of the Admiralty, each of the other Lords has a well-defined list of duties. The First Sea Lord, the Second Sea Lord, and the Junior Sea Lord are responsible to the First Lord for the *personnel* of the navy; the Controller is responsible for the *matériel* of the navy, and the Parliamentary Secretary for the finance, while the Civil Lord looks after buildings, works, and contracts, the Parliamentary Secretary looks after the estimates and general expenditure, and the Permanent Secretary looks after questions of registry, transmission, correspondence, the commissioning of ships, and the pensioning of naval employés.

In the last portion of his work, Sir Vesey Hamilton endeavours to show that the work of the different departments has enabled the Admiralty Board to provide England with the greatest and, at the same time, the cheapest navy in the world. In discussing the mode in which the important question of shipbuilding is handled by

the Board through the instrumentality of the Director of Naval Construction, the Engineer-in-Chief, the Director of Naval Ordnance, and others, the author displays profound knowledge of all the intricacies of the subject.

In his closing chapter he observes : " The spending well of the public funds voted for the naval service of the country is the crown and completion of the Admiralty's work." He goes on with a self-complacency which is, no doubt, the product of cheerful officialism : " That our Navy is the admiration of the world, both for the characters which it possesses, and the economy and rapidity with which ships are built, is sufficient evidence that the money is well-spent."

The weakness of the book—we have dwelt emphatically on its strong points—may be seen in sentences like those we have quoted. The superiority of the British Navy is not a proof of economy in the management of naval matters. To use a homely phrase, we may " pay too much for our whistle." Moreover, though the career of a hero like Nelson has helped to hand down great traditions to succeeding generations of naval warriors, it is by no means certain that England possesses an invincible navy. Officials are apt to become optimists with regard to everything connected with their department ; but it is only the test of experience that can finally determine how much foundation there is for such optimism.

An admirable biography of the great Scottish poet, Allan Ramsay,¹ has been written by Mr. Oliphant Smeaton. It presents to us not only the principal events in the poet's life, but also the characteristics of Scottish life in the early part of the eighteenth century. Though inferior to Burns as a poet, Ramsay possessed a rare merit, which entitles him to be always remembered and honoured in his own country—that of fidelity to life, in which respect he resembles Crabbe, that much-neglected English poet. Mr. Smeaton is full of his subject, and his book is a mine of information and, at the same time, an able study of the poet. The last chapter but one of the volume appropriately concludes with Burns's beautiful lines in praise of Allan Ramsay, of which we may quote the closing stanza :

"Thy rural loves are nature's sel'
Nae bombast spates o' nonsense swell,
Nae shap conceits, but that sweet spell
O' witchin' love,—
That charm that can the strongest quell,
The sternest move."

Voltaire is by this time one of those great figures in the world of letters, and also in the realm of philosophy, that must be regarded not from a partisan point of view, but with the dispassionate analysis of

¹ *Famous Scots Series: Allan Ramsay.* By Oliphant Smeaton. Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.

the intellect. It is in this way that M. Nourrisson in his work on *Voltaire et le Voltaireanisme*¹ professes to survey the life and work of this celebrated Frenchman. The author addresses his book to "minds which are really free, and to spirits which are truly French." There certainly seems to be a kind of narrowness in this appeal, for why should not the whole world appreciate Voltaire if he possessed the qualities of intellect and of heart that command the admiration of humanity at large?

But according to the author of this work, the "patriarch of Ferney" might well have applied to himself a line from one of his own tragedies: "*J'ai des adorateurs, et n'ai pas un ami.*" The task undertaken by M. Nourrisson is a stupendous one—to write a real biography of Voltaire and to present a true idea of his philosophy. The documents on which this inquiry is based are, of course, very numerous. Voltaire's works are a library in themselves. But, after all, there is reason to fear that a character like Voltaire is too elusive to be subjected to any process of literary photography. He was a cynic, but not an avowed one. His philosophy was mainly of a negative description, and as such it was masterly. He did not, like Rousseau, try to convert men to his views by appealing to their passions or their imagination. Wit, common-sense, and logic were his chief weapons in controversy.

In the volume before us the main incidents in Voltaire's career, including his early wanderings in England, where he met the principal literary celebrities of the day, his connection with the Marquise du Châtelet, his friendship with Frederick the Great, his life at Ferney, and his multifarious work as a writer, are vividly described.

It cannot be denied that Voltaire was what the French call a *moqueur*. In 1760, he wrote to Madame du Dessand: "Je ris de tout;" and in 1766 he wrote to D'Alembert: "Je mourrait, si je puis, en riant." M. Nourrisson is rather too severe on the sage of Ferney for this love of laughter. After all, laughter has its redeeming side; and though Voltaire seemed to turn everything into ridicule, he showed by his dauntless opposition to the things he despised that he had the courage, let us say, of his unbelief.

As a critic, he possessed extraordinary acuteness, and he was pretty near the truth when he said that the *Social Contract* of Rousseau had scarcely a single page free from errors. While we must deplore the bad taste he sometimes displays, we can scarcely fail to admire the elegance, the charm of his style. It is not easy to read without pleasure his *Age of Louis XIV.*, in spite of its rather meretricious polish. That he was a plagiarist, a borrower of the most ingenious thoughts of other minds, can scarcely be denied.

¹ *Voltaire et le Voltaireanisme*. By M. Nourrisson, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

And we must go a certain length with this latest critic of Voltaire in regarding him as an artificial writer.

But when it is contended that Voltaire, in an age that enlisted little sympathy with the poor and lowly, showed no true spirit of humanity, that he had no real patriotism, that, while professing liberal ideas, he was a mere sycophant, we must protest against so harsh a judgment. As for his opinions on religion, many of them were characterised by a kind of philosophic piety. For instance, is it not profoundly true that "a false science makes atheists, and that a true science prostrates man before the divinity"? Is he so far wrong in describing metaphysics as the "field of doubt," even if he exaggerates in calling it "the romance of the soul"?

The author of this extremely well written study of Voltaire views him from a lofty moral standpoint, which tends to belittle the gifted French poet and humanist. We can now see Voltaire with disillusioned eyes as merely a man—a man of good sense and wit, with intense grip of the real relations of humanity to its environment. He was faulty and inconsistent, let us acknowledge, but he was a champion of progress and a friend of human liberty. We must, therefore, claim for him, with all his shortcomings, the gratitude and love of his fellow-men, who, now that he has been so long in his grave, can realise the true value of his life-work.

Another book has appeared to add to the history of the Revolution and the Empire. Many accounts of this period have already appeared by diplomatists, political men, &c., but now it is the simple account of a "witness," Madame la Comtesse de Chastenay Lanty.¹ This lady was the daughter of a deputy of the "Etats Généraux," and was in a very good position to see the old society disappear, and the new society which replaced it. She had a far superior education to most young ladies of her time, which, added to a rare spirit of observation and a straightforward judgment, permitted her to appreciate with entire maturity of spirit the events which unrolled themselves before her eyes. Those who seek for anything new with relation to history will find in this book many hitherto unknown references.

A second edition of the *Memoires du Colonel Combe*² has just appeared at the Librairie Plon. The campaigns of Russia 1812, Germany 1813, and France 1814-15, are recounted in a very picturesque style, and with military frankness. These memoirs are amongst the most interesting which have appeared concerning Napoleon's campaigns.

The position of Sir Samuel Ferguson as an Irish poet has yet to be decided by impartial and intelligent critics.³ His own friends

¹ *Memoirs de Madame de Chastenay, 1771-1815.* Publiés par Alphonse Roserot. Paris: Librairie Plon.

² *Memoires du Colonel Combe.* Paris: Librairie Plon.

³ *Sir Samuel Ferguson and the Ireland of his Day.* By Lady Ferguson. Two Vols. London: William Blackwood & Sons.

have certainly overrated him, and it is really rather absurd to describe him as "a great poet." His only meritorious verses, from any high artistic standpoint, are those which were published in *Blackwood* while he was still a young man, under the title of *The Forging of the Anchor*. His longer poem, *Congal*, has been called an "epic;" but its defects of form and structure are so obvious that it must be pronounced a failure. The best work done by Sir Samuel Ferguson was as an archæologist, and as such he deserves appreciation. He was the President of the Royal Irish Academy, and his researches with regard to Ogham inscriptions, though not very fruitful, were exceedingly laborious. In the two volumes now placed before the public by his widow we get an elaborate account of a rather uneventful life. Sir Samuel Ferguson was a Belfast man and was born in 1810. His grandfather was an astronomer, and the family originally came from Scotland. Before his twenty-eighth year he had to support himself with his pen, and was a contributor to *Blackwood*. He then was called to the Irish bar and practised for some years. Eventually he obtained the post of Deputy-Keeper of the Records of Ireland, which he held from 1867 until his death in August 1886.

He had many friends and admirers, and Lady Ferguson, with a natural partiality, collects all the laudatory criticisms she can find on her husband's literary achievements. This principle of selection is carried too far, and one cannot help smiling at the indignation exhibited in the work against the *Saturday Review* for having failed to recognise in Sir Samuel Ferguson a great poet. The two volumes have been brought out in a very attractive style, and if there were less exaggeration in the references to such abilities as Sir Samuel Ferguson really possessed the biography would have been far more valuable and more likely to secure a permanent place amongst books of this class.

We have received the first volume of a new edition of Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*,¹ one of the most valuable contributions ever made to the history of Europe. There is an excellent biographical sketch of the author by Mr. Moncure D. Conway. Motley was a man with all the qualities required for a good historian. He collected his materials conscientiously, and he sympathised with the subject. As he put it himself, it "took him up." As a writer of romance, his efforts were not quite successful, and the achievements of his friend Hawthorne in that department dwarfed his experiments as a novelist. But in this work we have a most vivid picture of the Dutch struggle for political and religious liberty against Spanish tyranny. The account of the Inquisition is a marvellous specimen of historic realism.

There is a good portrait of the historian prefixed to the volume.

¹ *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*. By John Lothrop Motley. With Introduction by M. D. Conway. Three Vols. London: George Bell & Son.

BELLES LETTRES.

WE have received the April part of the *Oxford English Dictionary*¹ (vol. iv., Field—Fish). The section contains 766 main words, 553 combinations explained under these, and 97 subordinate entries—1416 in all. The words “field,” “fight,” “figure,” “file,” “fill,” “fillet,” “find,” “finance,” “fire,” “firm,” and “fish,” exhibit interesting developments. The number of quotations from English authors, by way of illustration, enrich the dictionary considerably.

In this new story of Scotland and British Columbia by Mr. Paton² we can bring ourselves to condone the former theme (though beginning to be distinctly tiresome and overdone) in consideration of the latter scene, which gives us pictures of life across the Atlantic at once fresh and exhilarating :

“Here is the home of the people, such as those whose spirit breathed in the deep, wide soul of Whitman ; men and women ignorant of books, childlike, full of generous blood and the sap of the earth, mild republicans, sheltered from gross taint and vulgarity by the ægis of distant monarchy. How long shall we wait for the rising of some Canadian writer splendidly inspired by the Homeric simplicity of the people and the immensity of river, lake, plain, and mountain ?”

Mr. Paton has a style of his own. “The fond Mrs. Cheadle flattered her boy, who, fortunately, did not spoil easily. Had the mother been rich, she would have faunteroyed him. But Fate had been in a Greek mood at Billy’s birth, and had withheld vulgar opulence.” It may be said that the story ends well in the true-till-death and happy reunion way.

Everybody finds it necessary to possess at least a nodding—or passing—acquaintance with the great poem of Italy ; and besides the few who study the original, there are the many who fall back upon translations. If for any of these even the standard versions in their own vernacular are too heavy, such readers may perhaps find what they require in the present little volume of selections ;³ though we are bound to say that for our part we cannot appreciate Dante in the garb of English quatrains.

*L'eau qui dort*⁴ gives its title to this volume of short stories—that style of literature in which the French particularly excel—being the most important among some dozen others, all of which make

¹ *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray. Vol. IV. Field—Fish. By Henry Madley, M.A. Oxford : Clarendon Press.

² *A Home in Inveresk*. By T. L. Paton. London : Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, W.C. 1896.

³ *Cantos from the Divina Commedia of Dante*. Translated into English Verse by C. Potter. London : Digby, Long & Co., 18 Bouverie St., West St., E.C.

⁴ *L'eau qui dort*. By Paul Margueritte. Armand Colin et Cie., Editeurs. Paris : 5 Rue de Mézières.

delightful reading. Some have affected to see in M. Paul Margueritte a new Guy de Maupassant; but, without grudging the intended compliment, we cannot recognise similarity between the gifted writer of *bizareries* and the talented, more healthy-minded, author of the present tales.

*Ruth Farmer*¹ is an agreeably varied story with shifting scenes, taking the reader from "Auld Edinburgh" to Havannah and elsewhere, and with diverse character sketches. Of these latter that of Dr. Gemmel is not least entertaining. "Dr. Gemmel was a man who, having been successful in one branch of knowledge, considered that Nature hardly hid any secrets from him. He had a large head and a great quantity of iron-grey hair, that he wore rather long. His features were good, though he was very stout. . . . The wicked students said the bow of Dr. Gemmel was studied before a mirror."

This volume of sacred verse² contains poetical effusions on (in addition to the title-piece, *The Victory of Defeat*) other kindred devotional topics, such as "The Quieted Soul," "The Eternal Refuge," "The Redeemed City," "The Discipline of Pain," and "Before the Battle." The metre is in parts defective, but there are other passages which are distinctly musical, and the book is not without traces of merit.

A useful and charming volume has been published by M. Victor Meignan, at the Librairie Plon, entitled *Conseils*.³ It contains what one might call the "science of happiness." The author, unlike most men, declares himself happy! and his recipe is given in four maxims, which he develops in a practical and captivating manner. Much pleasure and profit will be found in perusing this book, which is prettily illustrated.

Acte de Foi,⁴ by Eugene de la Queyssie, is a novel of a new and original style. The story is that of a young man who sees the one he loves marry another, and, instead of giving way to despair, or seeking forgetfulness in pleasure, finds the necessary consolation in faith, and thus ennobles and elevates his life, and ends by tasting the delicious fruits of his sacrifice.

Mr. Georges Beaume, the author of *Au Jardins*, a work crowned by the "Académie," has just published at the Librairie Plon, a book entitled *Les Vendanges*.⁵ The author's descriptions of southern life, which are given with scrupulous fidelity and fervour, form a charming frame for an interesting intrigue.

¹ *Ruth Farmer*. A Story. By Agnes Marchbank. London: Jarrold & Sons, 10, 11, Warwick Lane, E.C.

² *The Victory of Defeat, and other Poems, chiefly on Hebrew Themes*. By William Hall, M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1896.

³ *Conseils*. Par Victor Meignan. Paris: Librairie Plon.

⁴ *Acte de Foi*. Par Eugene de la Queyssie. Paris: Librairie Plon.

⁵ *Les Vendanges*. Par G. Beaume. Paris: Librairie Plon.

Contemporary Literature.

ART.

It is as "a beautiful specimen of literary art" that Mr. Hannigan presents to us *The Temptation of Saint Antony*, by Gustave Flaubert, in a faithful English translation.¹ It forms a volume of 360 pages, of unusual luxury of print and paper for a book of ordinary price. An appropriate design decorates the blue and gold binding, and there are others on plates inserted between the leaves of text.

Flaubert has remained a name of power in French literature, although his works were too finely wrought to appeal to the general reading public. His efforts to secure absolute truth to reality in his representation of contemporary French life resulted in the creation of a few characters which have already become classical types. Such are Madame Bovary, Homais, Pécuchet, and the rest. He applied the same art to the reconstruction of ancient Carthaginian life in his *Salammbô*; and, partly owing to his splendid sense of archaeological detail, he still produced the illusion of reality. How far this actually corresponds with the reality of existence so many centuries ago is another question that scarcely concerns mere literature. The thinking out of the thoughts of a long past age with only a nineteenth-century brain can never be wholly satisfactory to the scholar and philosopher. The English poet, using his best powers of introspection on his contemporaries, only succeeded in travestying the thought and feeling of the prelate at his doors; and so his popes and painters of the Renaissance are pure Browningsians rather than Italians as they existed. So, too, the personages of Flaubert's art could think and feel as they do only after Rousseau had trained the sentiment of Frenchmen, and while Renan was giving them his own comparative mind.

This is the chief value, indeed, of the present work. In a dramatic framework, amid exotic scenes of picturesque magnificence, Flaubert shows, in a rapid succession of scenes that resemble the new moving photography, all that the unbelieving, earth-loving, nineteenth-century soul feels at the thought of the Oriental asceticism which still casts its shadow athwart the world. To this he has joined a brilliant review of the fantastic religious notions started up by the early development of the Christian idea, and often repeated since. These he personifies in their historic exponents, casting the rare drapery of his imagination about them. He thus sums up a whole side of modern thought, adding, as Anatole France has done

¹ *The Temptation of Saint Antony*. By Gustave Flaubert. Translated from the French, with an Introduction, by D. F. Hannigan, LL.B. Illustrated with nine original designs after S. Górski. London: H. S. Nichols. 1895.

in *Thais*, the distinctively French conception of love. From the real and quite prosaic life of Antony, and his own local-preacher-like account of his temptations, and from his positive ascetic teaching which built as well as destroyed, a philosopher alone would be likely to derive profit. Besides, it requires a certain Greek erudition. The legend, as interpreted in French and here translated, is palpitating with the most diverse interest.

The faithfulness and literary excellence of the late John Addington Symond's translation of *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini* have long been recognised.¹ The publishers have done well in the present reprint of the cheaper, one-volume edition. Paper and print are all that could be desired; and the nine plates, though not quite up to an artist's desire for distinct detail, are sufficient to give an idea of Cellini's art to the general reader.

The book has long been a classic, not indeed of the Italian language, but of rough-and-ready Renaissance thought. It is a *bravo*, as well as incomparable artist, who tells us his life and, with no self-consciousness, reveals his processes of thought. A course of reading in these pages might be profitable to those critics who are now inventing so many psychological phrases wherewith to describe the Italian art of that age. Those who love adventure will find here more than Dumas put in a score of volumes; and there are thrilling episodes of the devil-worship which is again coming into fashion.

The translator thought it well, in his very interesting Introduction, to give a few pages of specimens from the former translation by Thomas Roscoe. These may still be pondered with profit, for the days of incompetent and haphazard mistranslation are by no means over. There is no reason why every foreign work, in proportion to its merit, should not have an English version as adequate as this.

A small volume, of a little over 230 pages, without literary pretension and apparently unheralded, contains an amount of useful information concerning *The English Glee Composers*.² It embraces 241 names, from James Corfe, born at the close of the seventeenth century, to the still living composer of "I love the merry Spring-time." A brief biography, with the names of his chief compositions, is given to each of these distinctively English musical writers. An appendix names, year by year, the Prize Glees from 1763 to 1866; and there is a chronological as well as an alphabetical book of names. It is a most useful book.

We can only repeat the praises already given to previous issues, on the occasion of the fourth volume of Mr. Sabine-Gould's *English*

¹ *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini*. Translated by John Addington Symonds. Fourth edition. London: John C. Nimmo. 1896.

² *Sketches of the English Glee Composers*. (1735-1866.) By David Baptie. London: William Reeves.

Minstrelsie.¹ "The Girl I left Behind me," "Love lies Bleeding," "Hearts of Oak," "O Mother, a Hoop!" say too many and diverse things to the English consciousness not to make us welcome this fine resetting of them and others like them. The prefatory notes are delightful in their anecdotes. We still regret that more of the old words could not have been given us, even along with the new ones demanded by our fastidious age. But songs and words alike are a pleasure to both heart and ear. "*Chore di guerco!*" said Boswell's Corsicans. "*Bravo, Inglesi!*"

¹ *English Minstrelsie*. Edited by S. Baring-Gould, M.A. Volume the Fourth. Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. 1896.

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